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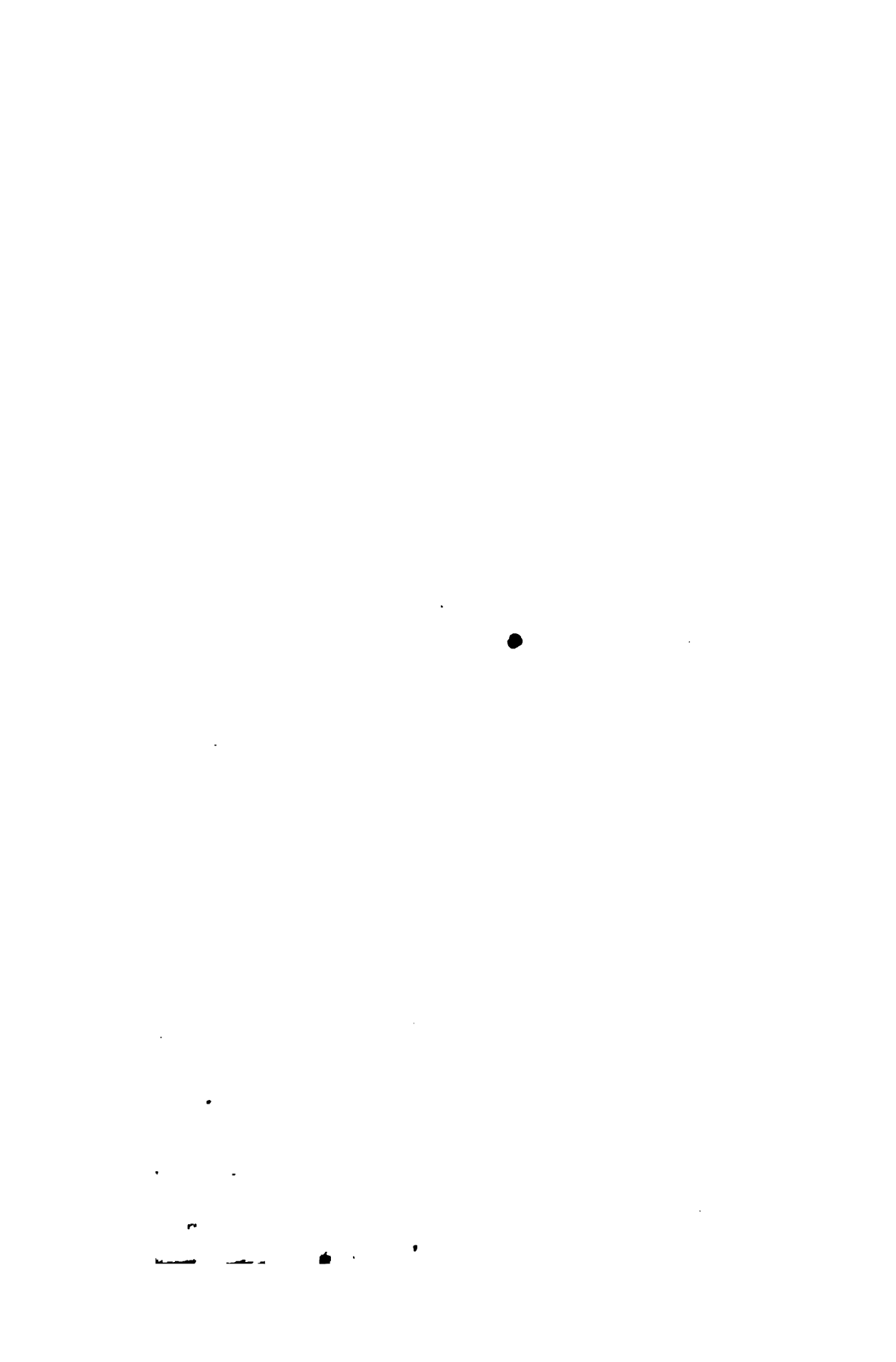
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**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AMERICA.**



**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AMERICA ;**

**INCLUDING**  
**THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, THE SHORES OF THE**  
**POLAR SEA, AND THE VOYAGES IN SEARCH OF**  
**A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE ;**

**WITH**  
**OBSERVATIONS ON EMIGRATION.**

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**BY HUGH MURRAY, ESQ., F. R. S. E.,**  
**Author of Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, Asia, &c.**

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**Illustrated by a Map of North America.**

**VOL. I.**

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE following Historical Account of Discoveries in North America, including a View of the Actual State of that Continent, is on the same plan with the former works of the Author on Discoveries in Africa and in Asia. These works having been favourably received, he has been led to believe that the present one might be equally acceptable to those readers who take an interest in the progress of geographical discovery and the present state of the world.

The series of bold adventure by which the coasts of North America were discovered and its colonies founded ; the daring attempts to find a Northern Passage by its arctic shores ; the unparalleled growth and extending power of the United States ; with the openings which America affords to our emigrant population,—all these circumstances conspire to render that continent an object of peculiar interest.

In regard to the execution of these volumes, the Author has only to say, that neither research nor exertion has been spared, in order that they may merit, in at least an equal degree, that measure of public approbation which was bestowed on those similar works by which they have been preceded.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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AMERICA, of the three quarters of the world that lie beyond the limits of Europe, possesses the strongest claim upon the attention of the nations of that continent. It has had the most powerful influence in calling forth their energies, and modifying their destiny. The moment, in which that mysterious veil was lifted up, which had so long covered from their eyes this other half of the world which they inhabited, was the most memorable in their annals. It was a moment mighty in itself, and big with a long train of event and adventure. America was every way a different world from that to which the eyes of its discoverers had been familiar. Nature appeared in savage and primeval grandeur, without a trace of those arrangements of art and culture, which give to Europe its form and aspect. The eternal forest, not planted by human hand, covered almost its entire surface. Every feature existed on a bold and

sublime scale. The mountains were more extended, more lofty, and subject to volcanic action more terrible, than any yet known to exist in the old world. Rivers, rolling across the entire breadth of the continents, held a course so immense, and poured such a profusion of waters, that streams which appeared great in Europe ranked here only as creeks or rivulets. Man in America was a still more singular object than the region which he occupied. The man of nature was seen ranging through his primeval forests, a stranger to art, to science, to even the rudest forms of social existence. Even in the few favoured regions where civilization had already begun her career, it had taken a direction, and assumed forms, essentially different from those which the old world any where exhibited.

As the new world thus presented so many objects calculated to arrest the attention and enlarge the ideas of its visitants, it afforded also peculiar excitements to their energy and enterprise. Being found thinly peopled by savage, and, as compared to their invaders, defenceless tribes, the discovering nations established among themselves, certainly an iniquitous law, by which every part of America was held to belong to the European by whom it was first discovered and occupied. The early prizes were singularly brilliant. Private individuals, often of humble birth, made the conquest of empires, whose treasures eclipsed even the boasted wealth of the East. As kingdom after kingdom opened to the view, the sanguine hope was always excited, that a new adventurer would arrive at something still more splendid

than had rewarded the search of his predecessors. Although these hopes proved ultimately illusory and even disastrous, yet they impelled to high exertions, and developed great characters, for the display of which America became one of the grand modern theatres.

Through the agency of these causes, in the course of a few centuries, a new form has been impressed on the whole of the western continent. It has been filled with European colonists, before whom the natives have disappeared, or sought shelter in its ruder and remoter tracts. The native race of wandering savages has been succeeded by another, the most civilized and improved on the globe. This new race, by transporting into America the arts and industry of Europe, fit its immense surface to yield a mass of subsistence, and to support a population, incalculably greater than was formerly possible, or than yet exists. Its people are, therefore, in that state of rapid increase which always ensues when the means of subsistence are ample. There is every presumption, that, in a very few centuries, the whole of the western world will be as highly peopled as Europe. America will then be the most powerful and flourishing portion of the globe; and the arts and improvements of life, transported from Europe, will be carried, perhaps, to higher perfection than they have ever attained in their parent region. At present, America, growing with such rapidity, presents the spectacle of constant and cheerful change;—new countries rising, new cities founding, desert after desert converted into the abode of culture and habitation.



Before beginning to trace the progress of American discovery, two preliminary questions arise, which have excited the natural curiosity and interest of the modern world :—Was America known in any degree, or through any channel, before the days of Columbus?—and what was the origin of the nations by whom it was found inhabited, thinly indeed, but throughout its whole extent? The questions are closely connected, and have generally been treated in combination ; but as they are materially different, we shall here endeavour successively to collect the means of forming a judgment relative to each.

## CHAPTER I.

### ON SUPPOSED EARLY DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

*General Statement of the Question.—Absence of authentic Records.—Probabilities.—Mode of ancient Navigation.—Different Modes in which Vessels might have reached America.—The Carthaginians.—The Saracens.—The Welsh under Madoc.—The Scandinavians.—Voyages to Vinland—Eric, Leif, Thorvald, Thorfin, &c.—Vinland not America.—What Country Vinland is.—Voyages of the Zeni.—Estotiland.—Drogio.—Icaria.—Estotiland not America.—What Country Estotiland was.*

IT occurs at once as a curious and interesting question, whether the ancients, who made such researches into all the kingdoms of nature, and from whom we derive the principles of almost every other knowledge, remained in profound and perpetual ignorance of that vast portion of the globe which lay beyond the Atlantic? Did no Greek or Phenician navigator ever venture across that formidable gulf?—Did they never for a moment succeed in lifting that awful veil, which covered from their view the vast world of the West?

Upon this subject volumes have been written, the

## 6 SUPPOSED DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

authors of which have made an immense display of erudition. They have ransacked the records of every naval state in antiquity, to examine whether they have or have not undertaken this grand expedition. These discussions have served no purpose but that for which, perhaps, they were mainly intended,—of displaying the erudition of their authors. They have all been obliged to begin and end with the simple fact, that the records of antiquity contain upon this subject absolutely nothing. There are distinct notices of voyages undertaken along the eastern and western coasts of Africa, the southern of Asia, and the northern of Europe; but there is not the faintest rumour of one who directed his daring keel into the vast abysses of ocean. In the total absence of historical document, we have left only a calculation of probabilities. Was it or was it not probable that some one vessel belonging to the great maritime Mediterranean states should make its way across the Atlantic? If we listen to some speculators, nothing could be less difficult. To a learned professor, seated at ease in his elbow-chair, and looking at the space which the Atlantic occupies on a sheet-map of the world, the crossing of it appears no very vast achievement. Very different is the lot of the mariner, who, without guide or compass, amid the peril of tempest and famine, must make his way across the space which it really occupies on the surface of the globe.

Let us grapple closely with the subject. There were only two modes in which America could have been discovered. Either an adventurer, like Columbus, must have undertaken a voyage for that express

purpose, or a vessel sailing along the western coasts of Europe must have been driven by tempest upon the shores of the new world. Let us attempt to weigh the probabilities in either case.

Is it likely that any voyage was undertaken and achieved by the ancients for the discovery of America? Of this idea a strong refutation is certainly afforded simply by the profound silence of antiquity. Doubtless its naval records, when compared with the modern, are very scanty. Yet enough transpires to show that deep interest was excited, and reiterated efforts made, for the exploration of all the unknown shores of the three continents. Eudoxus, Sataspes, and Hanno, are celebrated by their attempts to navigate the eastern and western coasts of Africa; Himilco and Pytheas examined the western and northern shores of Europe; while Nearchus was sent by Alexander to traverse the southern shores of Asia. But there is not the least hint as if a wish or idea had ever arisen, to inquire into the secrets of the Atlantic deep. Such a conception was indeed altogether foreign to the genius of ancient navigation. The vessels were constructed and equipped solely with reference to coasting voyages. The oar was the main instrument in producing the movement even of the largest vessels, which were only distinguished by the numbers and successive benches of oars. Being thus in the constant proximity of the coast, they were not in the habit of carrying either provisions or water for the whole voyage, but trusted to obtaining them on land at short intervals. Even the fleet of Nearchus, equipped by Alexander with all

the resources which Asia could furnish, could not keep the sea for a week, without landing and obtaining supplies by the most violent means. All the exploratory voyages, therefore, which appear to have been anciently attempted, or even conceived, were along coasts, and never had for their object to fathom the depths of an unknown ocean. Unreal terrors probably guarded that vast expanse which terminated all the western shores of Europe and Africa; and the idea seems to have prevailed, that on this side lay the dark boundaries of the universe.

It may be said, however, that though the Greeks and Romans were not likely to undertake the voyage to America, it lay fairer for the Carthaginians, a much greater maritime people, and who had extensive possessions and commerce beyond the Straits. The deep and studied mystery which that people threw over their naval transactions, may have shrouded for ever the knowledge of such an event from the classic writers of Greece and Rome. Nothing, however, either in the nautical system of the Carthaginians, or in the structure of their vessels, appears to have materially differed from the forms common to antiquity. Amid all the depth of that veil which they threw over their naval operations, some voyages of discovery, and even one entire narrative, have made their way; but not the least hint appears as if they had ever conceived the idea of penetrating across the ocean. All their enterprises recorded seem to have been undertaken with a view to commerce rather than curiosity; and in that early state of navigation, a route which led

across a thousand miles of open sea would not have been considered by them as a naval route.

It must not be concealed, that one, and only one, path across an ocean appears to have been traced in antiquity. This was effected by the Alexandrians, in the most advanced state of their skill and enterprise, under the Roman empire. They then traced a line across the Indian ocean from the mouth of the Red Sea to the coast of Malabar. The voyage was performed under the influence of a favouring monsoon, which rendered it secure and prosperous. It was not at all by this route, however, that the Indian coast was discovered. The circuitous voyage along the coasts of Arabia and Persia had been followed for ages, ere some daring sail adventured to strike across to a coast, of which the situation was already well known, and which was of such a great and continuous extent, that the navigator could not fail of arriving upon some one of its portions.

To perceive all the improbability that the discovery of America should ever have been made by the ancients, we have only to consider the magnitude of the efforts which it cost to Columbus, with the use of the compass, and under a greatly-improved system of navigation. After the resources furnished by the most powerful monarch in Europe, joined to his own almost superhuman fortitude and enthusiasm, his undertaking met every thing short of failure. What then would have been expected from any expedition fitted out under antique auspices? But there was, I think, every ground to believe that no such expedition was ever undertaken. The ardent ima-

gination of the Greeks was so strongly acted upon by every thing which bore a sublime and adventurous aspect, that an enterprise of so much bolder and more peculiar a character, than any of those of which the fame spread so wide, could scarcely have existed, without penetrating to them, through every veil which distance and mystery could draw across it.

There is another hypothesis, according to which vessels may have been reluctantly driven upon the shores of the new world. On this subject it is observable, that the distance from any part of the coasts of France and Spain to America would seldom fall short of two thousand miles. I cannot forbear remarking, that these monstrous aberrations occasioned by tempest, which occur so frequently in the writings of maritime theorists, are excessively rare, if they exist at all, in real navigation. Although the number of ships passing along the western coasts of Europe exceeds now, perhaps, a hundred times what it anciently was, has it ever been known that a vessel sailing between a port of Spain, France, or Ireland, found itself landed on the coast of Virginia? Let us take the much more limited space of the German ocean. I really am not aware if there ever was an instance in which a ship sailing along the somewhat rough eastern coast of England and Scotland was obliged to put into a port of Denmark or Norway. The mariner, driven before an adverse wind, takes down every sail, opposes every obstacle, avails himself of every interval to regain his course; and it seldom happens, that a wind of extreme violence blows many days in the same direction. The ancient

vessels, from causes already observed, were singularly ill prepared for such a fearful extent of enforced navigation. The scanty stock of provisions and water with which they were furnished, rendered it impossible for them to be long distant from land, without being reduced to the most dreadful extremities. When we consider that their reluctant progress westward would at least be retarded by their continual efforts to return, it seems inevitable that they would either regain their destined course or perish. Supposing that they did reach America, nearly equal obstacles would occur to their ever returning ; and, on the whole, it seems still more improbable that this than the former process should have led to the discovery of the transatlantic continent.

The Arab or Saracen conquerors, who for several ages were the most civilized and enterprising of the old continent, had been bred in the interior of the Asiatic continent, and never acquired much of maritime habits. The idea of the termination of ocean in darkness, which had only floated in the minds of the Greeks and Romans, was formed by them into a regular creed. The whole circuit of the bounding ocean of the earth appears in their maps under the appellation of the "Sea of Darkness." A region to which such a name and idea were affixed was not likely to invite the course, even of enterprising navigators. There is, however, the record of a voyage westward from Lisbon while that city was under the dominion of the Saracens. It was performed by two brothers, of the name of Almagrurim, and led to the discovery of some islands at a considerable dis-



tance in the West. But Hartmann, in his edition of Edrisi, seems to have clearly proved that these were the Azores only, and not any portion of the West Indies.

The Welsh have a tradition of some celebrity, in virtue of which they claim the discovery of the western world.\* Amid certain dissensions which distracted the royal family of North Wales, Madoc, one of its members, fitted out, in 1170, several vessels, and set sail in quest of maritime adventure. Proceeding to the westward, after a long navigation, he arrived at a "faire and large country," in which many wonderful things were beheld. After leaving there the greater part of his companions, he returned to Wales, and prevailed on a number of his kindred and acquaintances to accompany him in a second expedition, which consisted of ten sail. Here authentic tradition stops, though various other tales were circulated among the people of the country.\* The narrative is so meagre, that it is difficult to found any conclusion, unless upon the probability of the event, which, assuredly, is very slender. These easy and comfortable trips across the vast Atlantic have nothing which can suggest to our minds the Welsh navigation of the twelfth century. The little that is said of the direction is far from pointing precisely at America; "he sailed west, *leaving Ireland so far north* that he came," &c. Here it is clearly implied, that the main direction beyond Ireland was south. The country at which he arrived was

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 1. Powell's History of Wales, p. 196, &c.

then most probably Spain; the reaching of which, across the bay of Biscay, was in that age no inconsiderable achievement of a young Cymric chieftain. As for the tribes found in the interior of America speaking purer Welsh than is spoken in Wales itself, I shall leave M. Humboldt to deal with them, finding nothing to add to his judicious observations on that subject.\*

But, if these discoveries are fanciful or fabulous, there is one, it is said, which can no longer admit of any reasonable doubt. The Northmen who settled Iceland and Greenland, sailed from the latter country to Labrador and Newfoundland, with which they had regular intercourse, and founded settlements. Some centuries after, a party of Friesland fishermen found their successors in Newfoundland, where they had built castles, founded cities, endowed libraries, and introduced all the arts of European life into a region formerly supposed to be the seat of unbroken and primeval barbarism.†

As I am about to contest the established opinion of the learned in Europe, and especially of the northern literati, upon this curious and celebrated question, the reader must excuse a somewhat greater detail than the limits of the work might perhaps otherwise have warranted. It is carried on under the disadvantage of being unacquainted with the Norse languages; but the Saga of King Olaf Tryggesson has been translated by Peringskiöld, in his edition of the

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\* Personal Narrative, vi. 324-6.

† Forster, *Discoveries in the North*, b. ii. ch. 2. Malte Brun, *Précis I. La Richarderie, Bibliothèque des Voyages*, i. 49, &c.

Heimskringla ; and Torfaeus, in his histories of Greenland and Vinland, has collected with the greatest care all the northern traditions upon the subject. As the statements by which I expect to overthrow this hypothesis will all be drawn from the writings of these its most zealous supporters, there can be no room for the suspicion of their being false or garbled.

About the end of the tenth century, the Icelanders had begun to form settlements on the opposite coast of Greenland. Biorn, a young Icelandic mariner, who had employed the summer in some distant voyages, arrived at home in the end of the season, intending to spend the winter with his father, who, however, was found to have gone across to Greenland. The enterprising and affectionate disposition of Biorn induced him to follow, though across a stormy sea which he had never before traversed. For three days the voyage was prosperous ; but then the sky was overcast, a strong wind blew from the north, and they were tossed about for several days they knew not whither. At length the darkness dispersed, and, after a day's sail, they descried an unknown land covered with woods and low hills. Biorn sailed for several days along this coast, after which, the wind becoming favourable, he made his way back, and arrived at his Greenland destination.\*

This adventure was no sooner reported to Leif, son of Eric Redhead, a bold and enterprising young chief,

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\* Torfaeus, *Hist. Vinland*, ch. i. Heimskringla (edit. Peringskiöld), i. 328.

than he determined upon an expedition to this newly-discovered region. He set sail with thirty-five men, and, following the direction pointed out by Biorn, arrived in view of the unknown land. It was rude and rocky, with lofty mountains, whose interstices were filled with snow. This he called Helluland, or the land of rocks. He came next to a flat and wooded region, which he named Markland. Sailing still onward, and favoured by a north wind, he reached a delightful island, situated opposite to the northern coast of the continent. The soil was fertile, the ground covered with bushes which bore sweet berries, and there was a river and lake amply stored with salmon and other fish. The very grass dropped dew, sweet like honey. In this agreeable abode they spent the winter. Their retreat was one day enlivened by the arrival of a German of the name of Tyrker, leaping and dancing, in that state of extravagant gaiety which wine usually inspires. As his companions crowded round him to inquire the cause, he showed them some fruits, which, from his experience of southern countries, he knew to be grapes; whence the name of Vinland or Winland continued to be given to this newly-discovered region.\*

The next adventurer was Thorwald, the brother of Leif, who, after repeated voyages, came at last to a promontory, with which he was so much delighted that he made a vow to fix his abode there. Just as the settlement was forming, however, there appeared

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\* Torfaeus, Vinland, ch. 2. Heimskringla, i. 335.

three little barks, covered with skins in the Greenland manner, each containing three men, who, from their diminutive size, were denominated *Skrællingers*,—"cuttings or dwarf-shoots." Sorry am I to say, that the Norse adventurers, in the most savage and wanton manner, attacked these poor creatures, and killed them all except one, who contrived to escape. They were not long, however, of reaping the fruits of this crime. As they lay buried in slumber, a voice, it is pretended, was heard calling out,—“Awake, if you wish to save your lives!” They awoke, and saw the bay covered with boats, and found clouds of arrows poured in upon them. They defended themselves with planks and boughs of trees, and, by their superior skill in fighting, succeeded in repulsing the assailants. Thorwald, however, feeling himself mortally wounded, gave instructions that he should be buried upon this promontory, so as to fulfil in some shape the vow to make it his final abode.\*

Thorstein, the brother of Leif and Thorwald, not discouraged by the too-merited fate of his kinsman, fitted out another expedition, composed of twenty-five followers. He encountered a violent storm, and reached home only after being obliged to spend some time on a desert shore. The fatigue of this voyage, joined, probably, to a scorbutic affection, brought on a disease which terminated his life. As Gudrid his wife and some other friends were watching round him, the dead man rose from his bed, and predicted,

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\* Torf. Vinland, ch. v.

that a person from Iceland would marry Gudrid, and would migrate with her into Vinland. The reader will of course believe of this only so much as may agree with his own preconceived ideas; but it is a much more probable fact, that Thorfin, surnamed Karlsefnius, did come over from Iceland, did marry Gudrid, and with her fitted out a much larger colony than any that had heretofore sailed for that country. It consisted of three vessels, on board of which were upwards of a hundred emigrants, with furniture and cattle. They reached prosperously their destination, and very opportunely found a large whale cast ashore, which afforded ample subsistence; and they began to cut wood and construct habitations. They were soon visited by a party of Skrællingers, who seem to have had no concern whatever in the former disastrous transactions of their countrymen. These simple people were affrighted beyond measure by the lowing of the bull, an animal wholly strange to them, and, running for shelter to the cottages, were repelled with equal terror by the strange faces with which they found them occupied. However, the present visitors, wiser and more humane, invited them back, presented various articles to them unknown, and milk, which extremely delighted their palates. Weapons were prohibited articles; but one of them contrived to steal a battle-axe, with which he sportively struck one of his companions, as he had been wont with their wooden hatchets, but was seized with horror when it killed him on the spot. A friend who stood by took the axe and threw it into the sea.

Thorfin, in the course of several years, was enriched by this traffic, and returned home, where he lived in some splendour. After some time, another party resorted to Vinland, but were involved in dreadful and bloody contentions, chiefly fomented, we lament to find, by a lady of the name of Freidis; but there is little temptation to follow the colony through the dire feuds in which she involved them. In 1321, Bishop Eric, it is said, went to Vinland; but Torfaeus, instead of relating any particulars of this voyage, gives merely the genealogy of the worthy bishop,—a long roll of barbarous names, which afford no edification to the reader. Indeed, from what is elsewhere mentioned, I incline to think that this voyage was merely contemplated, and never really took place. Soon after, by some cause never fully ascertained, the communication both of Greenland and Vinland with Iceland, and the rest of the north, entirely ceased; and the coast of the former, on which considerable colonies had been settled, was lamented by Europe under the appellation of Lost Greenland.

Such is an epitome of the history of Vinland. There cannot, I think, be a question as to its being in the main authentic. Torfaeus admits that there are a number of particular discrepancies in the different accounts; but this is accompanied with a general agreement, which, in his opinion, must have been produced by a special interposition of Providence, in order to preserve the memory of such remarkable events. Without being able to see any sufficient ground for Providence specially to interfere,

we readily allow that this variation of particulars, amid agreement as to essentials, tends to confirm the authenticity of the narrative, by showing that it does not emanate from any single or artificial source. Even the tincture of the fabulous and supernatural, without which the narratives could not have been those of that age, does not detract from its genuineness. In short, I agree with all the northern writers, that the voyages to Vinland were real voyages; but that Vinland was America, is a question respecting which I entertain the greatest possible doubt.

It is by examining the details of these voyages that the question must be decided. Biorn sets sail from Iceland, and three days after the tempest overtakes him. We may suppose him here about midway between Iceland and Greenland,—the distance from which to the nearest point of Labrador, or Newfoundland, cannot be reckoned at less than thirteen hundred miles. It is as if a vessel sailing from Ireland to Spain should be driven upon Newfoundland. Now, I may refer to all that was formerly said as to the doubtful occurrence, and slender probability of such enormous aberrations occasioned by tempest. There is no exact statement of the duration of the tempest, although the expressions ‘some or several days’\* do not suggest any very lengthened period. In the return there is something more specific. Biorn, after losing sight of the last point of the

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\* Aliquot dies; Torfæus, ch. 1. Complures dies; Heimskringla, p. 328.



newly-discovered land, came, in the course of the fourth day, in view of a coast which proved to be that of Greenland; and on the evening of that day he arrived at his father's house, on Herjolfsness. I do not inquire if it be physically possible;—but can any one seriously believe, that Biorn, in his little bark, could make this voyage of twelve hundred miles in somewhat less than four days? The duration of the voyages immediately subsequent is not particularly mentioned; but the expressions employed in no case suggest any protracted or formidable voyage.\* At last we come to something very positive. Karlsefnus, who fitted out an expedition on a greater scale than any preceding, sailed along the coast till he came to the cultivated extremity of West Greenland, and then, *noctem diemque (two days and one night) ultra navigantem*, he came to Helluland. From one point in Greenland to one point in Vinland he sailed *in one day and one night*. But there is no point in Greenland nearer to any point in Labrador, or Newfoundland, than seven hundred miles. This distance and this period seem to place the identity of Vinland with America beyond every range of possibility.

But it will of course be asked, If Vinland be not America,† what country is or can it possibly be?

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\* Neque vero ulla itineris commemoratio facta sit donec Vinlandiam appellerent.—Mari se committebat, cum navigantibus ipsis terra ipsa se primum aperuit, quam nuper viderat Bionus. This is the whole narrative of two of these voyages. Heimskringla, i. 335.

† Torfaeus, Vinland, 50.

I think it quite evident that it is the southern part of Greenland, separated from the Greenland of the ancient Icelanders by that deep sound or bay on which all their settlements are described as situated. The fact is, that the earliest of the series of maps given by Torfaeus, constructed in 1570, gives Vinland, as forming one continuous continent with Greenland, and separated only by a deep gulf. This map was the production of Sigurdus Stephanus, reported as a person deeply versant in the antiquities of Iceland. It is the only one of the series which is constructed upon purely Icelandic materials. All the others are adjusted to the knowledge of America, and to the theory of Vinland being America. Even that of Thorlacius, in 1606, separates Vinland indeed, but only by a strait of about a hundred miles in breadth, placing it, not in the position of America, but due south from Greenland. In both maps the promontory of Herjolfsness, opposite to Iceland, where the settlements began, is represented as at once the most eastern and the most southern part of the continent to which it belonged; and this opinion is stated to have generally prevailed. To these we may add the very high antiquarian authority of Arngrim Jonas, who describes Vinland, in relation to Greenland, as "*non admodum dissita*,"\*—an expression difficult to translate, but which implies the separation to have been so small, that the countries could scarcely be said to be separated at all.

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\* Specimen Historicum Islandiae, p. 154.

There are two features which may be alleged to militate against this view of the subject. Forster roundly says, that on the shortest day of winter the sun was eight hours above the horizon. He does not notice that Torfaeus in the body of his work makes it only six hours, stating that the sun rose at nine and set at three. He appends indeed a long note, to prove that he had misunderstood the expressions of the original, and that eight hours was the real time. I pretend not to judge on a point of Icelandic etymology; but, as Torfaeus frankly confesses that this new interpretation was adopted solely with a view of adjusting Vinland to the Estotiland of Zeno, and both to Newfoundland, there seems ground to suspect that the first after all was the most genuine version. Surely, at least, we may conclude, that the words are susceptible of the meaning first attached to them by this learned antiquary. One of the islands to the south of Cape Farewell, which may be that described as having a mainland to the north, and where this phenomenon was observed, would be in about 59 degrees, and would have a day not much shorter than six hours, which, from the very roundness of the number, was evidently only an approximation. There is next the term of Vinland, or the land of the Vine; but this expression, though most inapplicable to this southern point of Greenland, is scarcely more so to the opposite American coast. There is a species of grape which is found in the colder parts of America, and even in Canada, but never, that I know of, in Newfoundland or Labrador. If it could thrive there, probably it might do so in sheltered

situations in the most southern part of Greenland. But it seems more likely that one of those berries, which these northern regions yield in profusion, was mistaken by the fancy of Tyrker for the grape. A subsequent and more careful account preserved by Torfaeus describes the country as producing neither grain nor wine.\*

But there is another theory which has recently obtained acceptance among the northern literati, and which would no doubt change the complexion of this question. According to Mr Eggers, whose opinion is embraced by La Richarderie† and Malte Brun,‡ all the early Greenland settlements were, not upon the eastern coast, which faces Iceland, but upon the western, which extends along Baffin's Bay, and faces America. This supposition would no doubt diminish the impossibilities above recited, though it could never solve the voyage to America (a distance nowhere less than seven hundred miles) in one day and one night. But this hypothesis is directly opposed to all Icelandic faith and tradition. By Torfaeus himself, and in all the series of maps copied by him, these settlements are placed on the eastern coast; nor does there seem to have been ever a doubt in Iceland upon the subject. The map of Zeno, who states himself to have actually visited Greenland, and whose authority the present writers are far from wishing to

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\* Vinland, p. 51.

† Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, i. 46-7.

‡ Précis de la Géographie, i.

undervalue, is equally positive to the same effect. It seems, indeed, a very wild supposition, that those little barks should sail seven hundred miles along a stormy coast in search of a place of settlement, which, according to the information of Crantz and Egede, was similar and in no respect superior to that which they passed by.

The ancient belief, indeed, which makes Herjolfsness the most southern point of Greenland, may be urged in support of the opinion of Eggers; but it is accompanied with the belief that it is also the most eastern, and the conclusion, that, in that case, Greenland stretches little or nothing to the south (*parum procedit ad austrum*). But the point on which they mainly rest is the north-west course which, after coming first in view of Greenland, the vessels took in order to reach the place of settlement. That this course was followed to a certain extent admits of no doubt. That coast, when first viewed by the mariner, was rugged and precipitous, and the surrounding sea encumbered with masses of floating ice. But the sailing directions quoted by Torfaeus expressly state, that from this point the navigator had only to sail twelve Icelandic miles (60 English) till he came to the episcopal seat of Gardar. Lowenorn, sent out in 1786 to seek the lost settlements of Old Greenland, but who unluckily never read any of the works in which they are described, came in view of this rugged and perilous coast; but, instead of avoiding it by taking the south-west direction, which had been clearly pointed out, he stood always more to the north, till, being dangerously involved in ice-islands, he was

obliged to return. Lowenorn has somewhat shaken the authority of the ancient sailing directions, by disproving one leading statement, according to which there was a point in the voyage, where the mountains Snowfell in Iceland, and White-Shirt in Greenland, were seen at the same moment.\* This was clearly proved to be an optical deception; fully accounted for, however, by the fact, that in sailing towards Greenland his people had an almost continued view of apparent land, which melted away as they approached. But if he had read Torfaeus's account of the country which he came to explore, he would have found that this imagined contemporaneous vision of Snaefell and Huit-Serk was not accompanied with any false estimate of the actual distance between the two coasts. Torfaeus supposes, from this middle point, the distance to each to be thirty-five German miles, making the entire distance nearly three hundred English, which agrees very exactly with Lowenorn's own estimate of eighty-six marine leagues (of twenty to a degree).†

To those who attentively consider the views which have now been given, it will manifestly appear, that the Oesterbygd and the Westerbygd, the East and West Greenland of the old Icelanders, instead of being both on the western, were both on the eastern side of this great peninsula. The Westerbygd was only seated farther in the interior of the great gulf, (called by

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\* Torfaeus, Grönland, 75, &c. Purchas, iii. 520.

† Lowenorn, *Annales des Voyages*, Septem. 1826, &c.

Arngrim Jonas *vastus sinus*) on the northern side of which appear to have been placed all the settlements of Old Greenland. This view exactly agrees with the statement of the great antiquary just named, who describes the whole of these settlements as “*maximæ continentis districtus, reliquæ continentis respectu perexiguus, in duplicem habitationem Asturbygd et Westurbygd, i.e. Orientalem et Occidentalem Grœnlandiam divisa,*”—a part of this vast continent *very small* in comparison of the rest. Thorlacius also, though he separates Greenland from Vinland, gives to the former a long coast facing the south, on which are both the Oesterbygd and the Westerbygd, while he marks our western coast as “*Grœnlandia Occidentalis veteribus incognita,*”—West Greenland *unknown to the ancients*. Our division of East and West Greenland, therefore, is founded upon a much more extensive knowledge, and has no relation to this early distribution of the Icelandic settlements.

I cannot quit this subject without observing, that the belief, according to which a coast extending upwards of six hundred miles in direct distance, and partly situated within the temperate zone, is supposed to be bound in chains of perpetual ice, appears very gratuitous. It has come by frequent repetition to be received as an established fact, that numerous attempts have been made to discover the site of these lost colonies, but that all have been vain. But if we look narrowly into the matter, we shall find, that the attempts to reach this eastern coast have been excessively few, and those few not vain. In 1578, the king of Denmark sent Magnus Henningsen with a vessel to

search for these lost colonies. But as Captain Henningsen was approaching with a favourable gale and an open sea, the ship suddenly stopped, and could not be worked forward in the direction of Greenland. Henningsen was obliged to return; and his failure became a subject of deep speculation among the northern sages. According to some the vessel must have been caught by the teeth of the fish *remora*; while others conceived that it must have been drawn back by an immense mountain of magnet, placed at the bottom of the sea; but Crantz insinuates, that the magnetic attraction exercised in the minds of the sailors by the idea of home was that which really produced this sudden and marvellous pause in her career.\* Whatever theory we may adopt on this subject, it is in no quarter alleged, that the nature of the coast had any influence in producing this signal failure. Yet from it seems to have been originally derived the idea of its inaccessible character. In 1606, Christian IV. king of Denmark, sent out Gotske Lindenau, with the title of Admiral, and three vessels, one of which was commanded by James Hall, an Englishman. Three voyages were accordingly made; but the researches were almost exclusively confined to Davis's Straits, and consequently to Western Greenland. On one occasion only, Lindenau touched on the eastern coast, which he found no difficulty in reaching, maintained for several days a traffic with the natives, and ended with carrying off

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\* Crantz, i.



three, who, inconsolable for the loss of this favoured country, did not long survive.\* I really find no record of any other voyages to this coast, except that of Lowenorn, the fortune of which has been already accounted for, and of Egede, who immediately after followed in his steps, on the same plan. As soon as Davis's Straits and the bays of Baffin and Hudson were discovered, it became evident that the north-west passage, the primary object of all northern voyages, could only be sought for in that direction ; and thither accordingly almost all adventurers directed their course.

We have now to consider a narrative of still greater celebrity, which is supposed to include an early record of the discovery of America. Venice, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the capital seat of all commercial and maritime enterprise. Among its noble families, few held a higher rank than the Zeni, who had filled the highest offices of the republic, and distinguished themselves in the wars against the Ottoman Porte. In 1380, Nicolo Zeno set sail for the north, with the view of visiting England and Flanders, but was driven by a tempest on the coast of a country which he calls Friesland. Zichmni, its prince, received him with much kindness, and, finding him deeply skilled in maritime affairs, placed him at the head of his naval force. In this capacity, Zeno had occasion, during the course of twenty years, to visit almost all the countries of the north,—Norway, Iceland, Greenland, with others which he calls Porland,

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\* Forster, b. iii. ch. 6, sect. 2. Crantz, i.

Estland, and Sorany.\* These last, with Friesland, not being now appropriate to any known region of Europe, threw a veil of doubt over the whole relation. Forster, in endeavouring to elucidate the question, at first contended, that all these countries had, by some mighty convulsion, been swallowed up in the bottom of the sea. Had he been able to give no better account of the matter, not all the antiquity and high exploits of the Zeni could have saved their narrative from the imputation of decided forgery. But Forster wisely began to consider whether, under these names, might not be implied other countries, now known to us by different appellations; and it soon appeared that Orkney, Shetland, the Faro Islands, and the Hebrides, might very well furnish out the apparently unknown countries described by Zeno.† In fact, Estland is fixed very clearly as Shetland, by the names Bras (Bressa), Broas (Bara), Talas (Zeal or Yell), and several others. The introduction even of these uncouth names, not known in Europe when the narrative was published, tends to remove the suspicion of its being a manufactured production. Agreeing, therefore, with the northern writers in thinking this a genuine relation, I shall proceed directly to that part of it which is supposed to concern the discovery of America.

Four fishing vessels belonging to Friesland, being overtaken by a violent storm, were tossed about for

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\* Ramusio Navigazioni e Viaggi, ii. 230.

† Discoveries in the North, b. ii. ch. 3, sect. 13.

many days by the tempest. As the weather cleared, they discovered a large island, which they called Estotiland, reckoned to be a thousand miles distant from Friesland. Being obliged to land, they were conducted to a most beautiful and very populous city. They were introduced to the king; but neither party were able to understand each other, till a man was found who had been cast upon the same shore, and who could speak Latin. The Frieslanders were detained for five years in this country, which they found nearly as large as Iceland, and much more fertile, watered by four large rivers springing from a high mountain in the interior. The inhabitants raised grain and brewed beer, and had ships with which they navigated the sea. The king had a library, in which were Latin books, which the people, however, did not now understand. The country contained many towns and castles.

To the south of Estotiland there lay a more extensive and fertile country, called Drogio; and the Frieslanders, on account of their skill in navigation, were employed in guiding thither a small fleet. They were cast away, however, on the shore of a savage nation, by whom the greater part of them were killed, and, it is said, devoured. One fisherman, however, by teaching the before-unknown art of fishing with nets, came into so great favour, that war was even waged for the possession of him. He passed, by forcible or friendly means, through the hands of twenty-five different lords in the course of thirteen years. He found them a rude people, going naked, destitute of any species of corn, and living by the chase. They car-

ried on furious wars, and committed dreadful cruelties, to the extent even of devouring each other. To the south-west the manners of the people were more civilized. They made use of gold and silver, had cities, temples, and idols, to which they offered up human sacrifices. At length the Frieslander effected his escape from this country to that of Drogio, where, having remained for three years, he found some barks bound to *Estotiland*, in which he obtained a passage. He afterwards, it is said, carried on a traffic between the two countries, by which he acquired considerable wealth, and, being thus enabled to equip a small vessel of his own, returned to Friesland.

The intelligence brought by this fisherman roused the adventurous spirit of Zichmni. He equipped a fleet, which he placed under the command of Zeno, for the purpose of exploring *Estotiland*. Unluckily the fisherman died just as they were getting out; but one of the sailors who had accompanied him served as a pilot. They sailed by *Ledovo* (Lewis), and *Ilofe* (Islay); but, after leaving this last island, were overtaken by a violent storm, by which they were tossed for several days, when they discovered land to the westward. It proved to be an island called *Icaria*, governed by a son of *Dædalus*, king of Scotland. These names have a very fabulous sound; but Forster surmises that, classical recollections floating in the mind of Zeno, he here confounds plain common names with those furnished to him by ancient poetry. At this island he met with a very inhospitable reception, and, in attempting to land, a scuffle ensued, in which several were killed on both sides. Zeno, therefore,

sailed onwards to the west ; but, encountering a contrary wind, he allowed his fleet to be carried northward to Greenland, whence he returned to Friesland by way of the Faro Islands.

It is considered by Forster, Malte Brun,\* and other foreign *savans*, as beyond all contradiction, that Estotiland can be no other country than Newfoundland ; and that the civilization and European aspect which that region presented were derived from the Icelandic colonies, who, two centuries before, had settled there, and given it the name of Vinland. The very name, synonymous with East Out-land, is said to be strikingly descriptive of the relative situation of Newfoundland to the American continent.

After the rigid scepticism which has reigned throughout this discussion, the reader will probably be prepared for finding the present pretension considered as equally questionable. I cannot indeed but think, that he himself must have found these Latin books, in a castle on the coast of Newfoundland, of somewhat difficult digestion. About a century after this country was discovered by Cabot ; and its coasts, forming the finest fishing-station in the world, were very soon frequented and even crowded by European vessels. How was it then, that not a vestige was ever seen of any one of the objects described by the Friesland fishermen ? Where were the castles, the libraries, the “ *belle e popolate citta* ? ” Where was the brewing of beer, an art of all others the least like-

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\* Précis de la Géographie, i.

ly to be lost, among a people passionately fond of intoxicating liquors. These accounts have generally a somewhat boastful character, being written with the view of inviting emigrants; but they all describe Newfoundland as existing in a complete state of savage and primeval nature. Supposing that this numerous and flourishing people had been exterminated by the handful of naked savages who were found on the coast, there would surely have remained some traces of culture, some fragments or foundations of buildings, some remnant of European arts or instruments. But it was not till the discoverers of America had reached the banks of the Mississippi, a thousand miles in the interior, that they found any traces of departed civilization; and though some have attempted to refer these to Norman emigrants, the idea cannot surely be deserving of a serious refutation.

It may be observed finally, that the geographical position assigned is very far from agreeing with Newfoundland. The distance is stated at a thousand miles; but from the Orkney or Faro Islands to this part of America it cannot be less than two thousand; and the space, in such difficult and hazardous voyages, is always exaggerated instead of being so remarkably diminished. If, then, the relation be, as I rather incline to think, substantially correct, I have little doubt that Estotiland is neither more nor less than Ireland. According to Forster's translation, it exceeds a thousand miles due west; but this is by no means implied in the original, which says, "*posta in ponente, lontana de Frislanda piu de mille miglia*,"—"situated in the west, distant from Friesland more

than a thousand miles." The distance is no doubt exaggerated, but it might be expected to be so; and it might be the coast of Connaught on which they landed. The expression, East-out-land, under a somewhat different view of the subject, would be as applicable to Ireland as to Newfoundland. One thing is clear, that, under the guidance of a person who had come from Estotiland, they were going (by Lewis and Islay) the direct route to Ireland, and a very circuitous one to America. If, indeed, according to Forster's supposition, the shore of Icaria, on which they were cast, were that of Ireland, it would be strange if the Estotilander should not know his own country. But it seems clear that Ireland could not be Icaria, a small island which the expedition sailed all round, while the party of natives who met them on their arrival went round along with them. It was evidently one of the minor Hebrides, Tyree, or Barra. Drogio, and the countries to the south, more extensive and fertile than Ireland, might be Spain and the south of France. But here there do occur certain features which have a tendency somewhat to shake our unbelief. The account of nations who subsisted solely by hunting, and were unacquainted with the use of iron, bears certainly an American character, and would not perhaps, even at that era, apply to the rudest portions of Europe. There seems no foundation also, in that continent, on which a rumour of human sacrifice could be founded. These particulars are so striking, while, at the same time, the negative proofs above adduced appear quite decisive, that I am somewhat reluctantly driven to suspect

*interpolation.* This relation, it must be observed, though stated to have long existed in manuscript, did not appear till sixty years after the discovery of America, yet while the world was still echoing with that discovery. That there was a good deal of piecing and manufacturing before it arrived at the press, is evident from the relation of Marcolini, the editor, who confesses that the letters of the Zeni, from which it was drawn up, having come into his hands while a child, he had, with the wantonness of that age, torn them into pieces, which he afterwards, when he became aware of their importance, sorrowfully collected and put into shape. Yet they form a connected narrative, which could not have been effected without some help from the editor. Marcolini might easily avail himself of these circumstances to eke out the evidence of an early discovery of America. I cannot help remarking, that the Friesland fishermen know a good deal too much for their own credit. If carried into the interior of New England or New York, they might learn somewhat of the savage natives of those countries; but where did they hear of the gold and silver, the temples and human sacrifices of Mexico? It is also remarkable that, along with all the knowledge respecting America possessed at the time when the narrative was published, they should combine the errors which were then prevalent. It was generally believed at that period, that the Indians of North America were cannibals, which, as America became better known, has proved an erroneous idea; and of this the fisherman, if he really passed through so many of their tribes, and on such an in-



timate footing, could not but have been aware. Lastly, we may confidently assert, that merchant vessels passing between Newfoundland and New England, and persons getting rich by this traffic, was a feature of which there could not exist the least vestige in the native state of those countries.

## CHAPTER II.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

*General Statement of the Question.—Whether all Men were derived from one Original.—Arguments for this Opinion.—Difficulties answered.—Action of the Sun on the Human Skin.—Form and Colour of the Americans.—Various Causes affecting it.—White Nations in America.—Various Theories respecting the Peopling of America.—Imagined Resemblance between the Americans and Jews.—Acosta.—Grotius.—Probable Quarter whence America was peopled.—Question whether Colonists might come from any other Quarter.—Supposed Resemblance between the Languages of America and those of the other Continents.*

How or whence America has been peopled is a still more curious question, and is connected with some of the deepest problems respecting the origin and nature of the human species. It is primarily involved in that grand question, Whether all mankind had one common original, or whether the different races which are separated from each other by such marked distinctions, have each sprung from a separate source? It is on the former supposition only, that the question respecting the peopling of America is a question at

all ; for if there were a number of separate originals, that continent as well as others might have had its own.

On considering those great masses of mankind, among whom reigns an uniform aspect, with the broad distinctions which separate them from other portions, various learned inquirers\* have concluded, that there must be distinct original races of men, as there apparently are of dogs and other animals. They observe, that the negro, and other races, whose peculiarities have been supposed to be most decidedly the effect of climate, when transported to a different sky, continue for generations to preserve all their characters unaltered, and to transmit them to their posterity. But men transported from the temperate to the tropical climates, though they acquire a darker tint, do not communicate it to their children. Although colour be the circumstance supposed most especially to depend on climate, yet the tints of the different nations can by no means be exactly measured by their distance from the equator. There are nations of a light colour between the tropics, and others in the vicinity of the polar regions that are extremely dark.

The whole of this work would be no more than enough to enter into a full discussion of this difficult and extended subject. Our limits can allow us only to take a very rapid sketch. Without referring to any historical documents, however venerable, we may find, in the mere examination of existing phenomena, strong presumptions that all men belong to one com-

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\* Pritchard, Lawrence, &c.

mon race, and may observe various particulars which have been overlooked by those who argued on the opposite side.

There are no differences in the form and component parts of the human body similar to those which zoologists are accustomed to employ as distinctive characters. All races of men are of the same size; the very slight existing departures from this rule being easily solved by the abundance or scarcity of food, and by other causes favourable or otherwise to the development of the human growth. There is no difference in the number or form of the extremities, which, being the circumstance least acted upon by situation and habitude, is usually considered as the surest test of a distinct species. All men have the same number of fingers, of toes, of teeth; while very slight distinctions of this species mark, I believe, otherwise similar species of various animals.

Colour is, of all other particulars, the most remarkable in which one race of men differ from another. Now the action of the sun, in darkening the human tint, is too obvious to be denied or unnoticed. The European, transported under the burning influence of a tropical sky, has its effects soon marked upon his complexion in the most distinct manner. Let us observe the gradations of colour upon the meridian under which we live. Under the equator we have the deep black of the negro; then the copper or olive of the Moors of Northern Africa; then the Spaniard and Italian, swarthy compared to any other Europeans; the French still darker than the English; while the fair and florid complexion of England and Germany passes, more northerly, into the bleached

Scandinavian white. At last, indeed, the gradation is broken; for a dusky tint reigns along the whole circuit of the arctic border. This colour does not seem very well explained; but its universal prevalence under that latitude seems very clearly to indicate, that there is something in the climate with which it is connected. During their short but brilliant summer, the sun, perpetually above the horizon, shines with an intensity unknown in temperate climates. May not the natives, who spend this season almost perpetually in the open air, hunting or fishing, receive from it that dark tint which is not easily effaced? But I cannot withstand the suspicion, that this deep tint is neither more nor less than a smoke-brown. The tenants of all this bleak circuit necessarily spend half the year in almost subterraneous abodes, heated by fires as ample as they have fuel to maintain, the smoke of which, deprived of any legitimate vent, constantly fills their apartments, and must have an effect in darkening the complexion, to which it very closely adheres.

When observations are made on the difference of colour in nations placed under the same latitude, due allowance is not always made for the other causes by which the temperature is modified. Many of these are of the most powerful nature, and sufficient entirely to counteract the influence of a southern position. Among those which tend to diminish the heat are elevation, the proximity of the sea, vast woods and marshes covering the surface of a country. The intensity of the heat, on the other hand, is remarkably increased by the existence or vicinity of arid and sandy deserts.

To understand farther the varieties in the action of heat, we must consider, that the sun does not paint the human skin by an external and mechanical process, as the limner lays his colours on the canvass. It acts by altering the character of the juices, and causing the secretion of a coloured fluid, which effuses itself into a cellular membrane immediately under the cuticle. Blumenbach seems to have ascertained, that the negro colour is produced by the secretion of the carbon which abounds in the human frame. It is thus easily conceivable, that heat itself, by a different action, arising out of some constitutional peculiarity, may produce the dead white of the Albino. Thus disease, especially of the biliary system, tinges the skin of a very deep colour. This change seems in general to form a salutary provision, affording a fence against the scorching heat, and even against the various vicissitudes of the weather. The complexion of the negro enables him to present a more iron front than any other race against every inclement action of the elements. It seems too much, however, to think with Mr Jarrold,\* that he becomes the most perfect specimen of the species, in consequence of possessing this coarse impassive tegument. As well might the hide of the buffalo, or the quills of the porcupine, be considered as ranking those animals above man, because they defend against many evils to which his delicate skin exposes him. Humboldt observes, that the dark races are almost entirely free from those deformities

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\* Anthropologia.

to which the whites are liable.\* But the greater delicacy and sensibility on which this liability depends must be considered, on the whole, as a perfection in the human structure. The Caucasian or European variety, formed under the influence of a temperate climate, not only possesses a manifestly superior beauty, but appears the best fitted for performing all the higher functions of life.

There are other characteristics different from colour, which yet, being usually combined with it, are urged in support of the opinion that they belong all to a race differing throughout from the rest of mankind; but, if the colour of the skin be the result of a constitutional affection, the same affection may modify other parts of the human frame. The hair is very particularly climatic; and the manner in which, even in the same country, it varies with the complexion, shows how much it is ruled by the same causes. It is a matter of long observation, how, in proportion to the coldness of the climate, the covering of every animal becomes richer and softer;—hence, probably, the scanty and rude hairs of the nations under the equator, as compared with the full covering of the European head. The action of mind, and the habits of life, have doubtless an action upon the frame, imperfectly estimated, on account of the extreme slowness of its operation. The unintellectual visage of the negro has been supposed, along with his colour, to form different parts of that general structure, which constitutes him a different being from

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\* *New Spain*, i. 152.

other mortals. I apprehend, however, that the conjunction will be found to be casual, and the two particulars to arise from distinct causes. The Foulahs, of a more thinking and vigorous character than the Mandingos, unite a deeper black, with much less of the negro features. Nearly the same may be observed of the more intelligent natives of Ashantee and Haoussa. The Hindoo unites the black colour with a delicacy of form and expression, arising evidently from habits of mind and life, which render him in these respects the antipode of the negro. Thus, the black colour and the negro features seem connected casually, or at least in so far only as exposure to the seasons, and intellectual sluggishness, may jointly accompany a certain backward state of civilization.

The cases particularly urged by those who argue in favour of the difference of races are those where an individual transported to another climate than that of his birth, and one destitute of those peculiarities to which his form and colour have been referred, retains these unaltered, and transmits them to his posterity for generations. These facts appear to have been much exaggerated, both as to the length of time and the absence of any gradual change. Undoubtedly, however, when any characters have been thoroughly worked into the system, they will long survive the causes which gave them birth, especially when no active contrary causes are in operation. A dark colour, though soon acquired, is not easily effaced; and when the causes acting on form have come to affect the bones, the effect is of course very obstinate. This may serve for the solution of many cases in which the form and



climate do not appear to correspond. The Chinese, descended from the Mongols, retain still a modified Mongol visage and shape. The natives of New South Wales, sprung from the oriental negro, and continuing still, from their rude habits, exposed to the constant action of sun and air, have remained black. Thus Indostan is still peopled by races of various form and colour. But I imagine that, upon narrow inspection, the original characters will be found undergoing gradual modifications, which tend to assimilate them to those of the new country and situation. The Jews form certainly a very striking example on this subject. "Descended from one stock, and prohibited by the most sacred institutions from intermarrying with other nations, and yet dispersed, according to the divine predictions, into every country on the globe, this one people is marked with the colours of all ;—fair in Britain and Germany, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and in Spain, olive in Syria and in Chaldea, tawny or copper-coloured in Arabia and in Egypt."\*

But it is said the Americans themselves, of whom we are treating, afford the strongest argument against this supposed power of climate in forming the peculiarities of race. One tint, one form, is said to prevail over the whole continent from the equator to the pole. This statement has a superficial aspect of truth ; but Humboldt remarks, that, " after living longer among the indigenous Americans, we discover that celebrated travellers, who could only observe a few

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\* Smith on the Variety of Complexion of the Human Species.

individuals on the coasts, have singularly exaggerated the analogy of form among the Americans.”\* If a broad, squat, somewhat short form be the general type, the Patagonians in the north have attained the reputation of giants, and the tribes on the Orinoco, according to Humboldt, are among the largest and most robust of the human race. The same great traveller found on the banks of the Orinoco tribes whose features differed as essentially from each other as those of the various Asiatic nations. The general type resembles the Mongolic, though with some variations; the surface of the face, though broad, being less flat, and the cranium of a peculiar form. The north-east of Asia is the quarter from which it is probable, and indeed almost certain, that the great mass of the Americans were derived. But this type itself was formed from situation and habits of life, and is liable to be modified when these are changed. The features themselves appear to be the result of a hardy, hunting life, among persons who feel continually “the seasons’ difference.” Hence these features, though not generally Celtic, have been formed to a certain extent among the Celts of the Scottish Highlands.

But it is the colour of the American nations which has been especially urged as subverting the theory of an unity of race. Even Humboldt himself conceives that climate forms the colour of the old world, but does not act upon it in America.† But I cannot be satisfied with the facts which this very learned in-

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\* New Spain, i. 141.

† Ibid. i. 143-5.

quirer adduces in support of an opinion so little probable in itself. There are two extremities of colour among mankind, the black and the white, which appear in their perfection, the one in the African negro, the other in the northern European. Between these two there is a series of medial colours, —brown, copper, swarthy, mingled with tints of yellow and red. The Americans are placed among these medial tints, the colour in scarcely any instance running into those two extremes, which are exhibited in so great a proportion of the inhabitants of the old world. In the physical structure, however, of the American continent, and the circumstances of its people, we shall find probably a sufficient solution of this peculiarity.

Why does the complexion of the American never run into black, even when he lives in climates which in the old world are marked by the deepest shades of this colour? On examination, we soon discover remarkable circumstances, which in the new world mitigate the violence of the solar action. Elevation is the most influential of all these circumstances. The equatorial regions of the new world are pervaded by mountain-ranges of stupendous altitude, in consequence of which they present all the features of a temperate climate. The breezes, descending from the perpetual snows with which these awful heights are covered, cool the surrounding plains to a vast extent. The floods descending from them, unrivalled in the old world, inundate and convert into marsh a great part of America, producing thus a remarkable lowering of its temperature. They prevent also the

formation of any of those ranges of sandy desert, the reflection of which, and the breezes blowing from them, excite the most intense and scorching of all heats, and, existing on a great scale in Africa and Indostan, are doubtless one principal cause of producing the deep black of those regions. Lastly, America is almost one continued forest, intertwined with the most profuse growth of underwood. Even in the wide open savannahs the grass attains a growth above the human height. The deep shade thus produced not only affords a fence against the rays of the sun, but causes a general coolness of the surface, and renders America under the same latitude every where colder than Africa or Europe.

Though there are general causes sufficient to connect the absence of the negro in America with climatic influence, there are admitted to be great varieties in the depth of the brown complexion ; but M. Humboldt contends that these cannot in any case be referred to the greater or less degree of heat. It is the same, he observes, in the most elevated plains of the Cordilleras, and in the narrowest and deepest plains of the equinoctial regions. But the upper table-plains of the Andes are in a great measure open and cultivated, while the valleys at their feet are buried under an almost impenetrable depth of shade. A shaded heat, I imagine, has not the same influence on the complexion as the direct beating of the rays of the sun. A person, who, even in the hottest summer, remains constantly within doors, suffers perhaps more from heat than those who go abroad, but never becomes, like them, freckled or sun-

burnt. A pale colour predominates even among the most vigorous tenants of the back woods of America. These considerations may solve much of the mystery which M. Humboldt remarks in the swarthy colour of the inhabitants of the high Mexican table-land. This lofty plain, arid, and remarkably bare of vegetation, of course leaves its tenants without that shelter which the lower regions afford. Another mystery does not appear very profound. "In the forests of Guiana, especially near the sources of Orinoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion." The very terms of this description, implying considerable elevation, and deep shade, seems to involve the solution of the difficulty. The closest approach to black appears to be in Brazil, where climatic causes ought certainly to place it,—that country being comparatively low, and immediately under the equator.

But how then are we to solve the opposite phenomenon, that the American complexion never passes into *white*? America has a temperate region, more extensive than that of Europe, and cooler, or rather colder, under the same latitude. Yet the Hurons and the Iroquois, inhabiting the Canadian rivers and lakes, frozen during half the year, are decidedly copper-coloured nations. The simple reason appears to be, they are savages. Scarcely half-clothed, most imperfectly defended, in miserable wigwams, from the inclemency of the elements; wandering often for weeks on their long war and hunting excursions, without any shelter but that of the trunk of a tree, they are exposed to bear all the vicissitudes of weather, and constantly "to bide the pelting of the

pitiless storm. Their visage soon acquires that hard and bronzed aspect which is always formed under such circumstances. A gentleman who should hunt for a whole summer exposing himself to all weathers, over the Highland mountains, would return with that brown complexion which we call weather-beaten, and which sailors, even in the temperate seas, generally acquire. The peasantry who work constantly in the open air, unless, as in England, they take some peculiar precaution, soon acquire a hard and imbrowned visage. No class of men is white, unless those who are regularly clothed, live under cover, and enjoy some of the conveniences of life.

After all, there *are* white nations in America, and those of no inconsiderable extent. On the northwest coast, about lat. 50°, in Nootka Sound, and a number of other bays examined by Cook, Meares, and Vancouver, the people are more numerous, and have attained a much greater share of external accommodation, than over the rest of the continent. One of their towns contains 2000, another 4000 people. They have built large houses, walled and roofed with gigantic trunks of trees, which, as in Florida, are often carved into a rude species of images. They are well clothed, and, besides the products of the chase, derive an abundant subsistence from the fishery. They are thus in a great measure exempted from those hardships, and those dire vicissitudes of the seasons, which the hunting tribes encounter. Accordingly, when the thick coating of dirt and ochre in which they are usually cased could be taken off, they proved to be *white*. Cook's

narrative calls it an *effete* white, like that of the southern nations of Europe,—a description which does not seem very easily understood ; but Meares expressly says, that some of the females, when cleaned, were found to have the fair complexions of Europe. Somewhat farther north, at Cloak Bay, in lat. 54° 10', Humboldt remarks that, “ in the midst of copper-coloured Indians, with small long eyes, there is a tribe with large eyes, European features, and a skin less dark than that of our peasantry.”\* M. Humboldt considers this as the strongest argument of an original diversity of race which has remained for ages unaffected by climate. But is it likely that there should be a creation of the inhabitants of Cloak Bay distinct from that of the rest of America? These people exist evidently under the same circumstances with those of Nootka, and present the same features, rendered perhaps more decided by their being somewhat farther to the north, while the long-eyed copper Indians are the wandering savages of the interior.

European writers, for some time after the discovery of America, busied themselves to an extraordinary degree in conjecturing whence and by whom this vast continent had been peopled. The volumes, or rather libraries, which have been written on the subject, can be little deserving of any detailed analysis, now especially, when the mysteries which once hung over the subject have been in a great measure dispelled.

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\* New Spain, i. 145.

One French writer has written five volumes to prove that America was peopled by the Antediluvians.\* It is the opinion of many, that the Canaanites, after being driven out by the Jews, fled into America; and it is added, that the Jews themselves followed after the captivity and dispersion of the ten tribes. The Tyrians and Carthaginians, in the course of their extensive navigations, could not possibly miss the shores of the new world. Garcia does not see, when so many nations are putting in their claim, why the Trojans should remain behind.† In short, to read these writers, one would think there never was any class of persons, from the earliest ages, that felt straitened or uneasy at home, who did not instantly set out for America. But we have said enough to show that the undertaking is far from being of that easy or likely description which the student seated in his closet so readily imagines.

The weak positive proofs on which the above opinions rest, have been enforced by a supposed resemblance in customs and character between the Americans and certain nations of the old world. The Jews have been specially pitched upon, probably from being the people whose usages were best known to the Spanish ecclesiastics, who began the controversy, and whose opinion has been seconded by Hennepin and other French missionaries, and most zealously

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\* *Essai sur la Question quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée*, 5 tom. 12mo, 1767.

† *Origen de los Indios*.



by Adair, an English trader, who certainly had a most intimate knowledge of the Indians. According to these writers, the resemblance is so striking as to leave no room to doubt that the Americans were Jews. The judicious reader, however, soon perceives that these boasted similarities consist merely in those fundamental principles, in the constitution of man, which are common alike to every country and every age. Hennepin and Adair particularly instance that the Indians are divided into tribes, over which chiefs preside; that they mourn at the death of their relations; that their females are fond of ornamenting themselves; with other customs equally singular, which, it is thought, could never have entered the minds of any people who were not of Jewish origin.\* Garica, in particular, remarks, that a great proportion of them honoured their parents, and considered theft and murder as crimes; whence it appears to him manifest, that they must have received the ten commandments from Moses. Others, on the contrary, showed themselves obstinate, unbelieving, hard-hearted, and ungrateful,—faults which they could only have learned from the stiff-necked posterity of Abraham. Every attempt to establish analogies of a more positive nature has entirely failed.

Acosta has, of all the early writers, produced the most judicious essay upon this subject. He rejects positively the Jewish hypothesis, though he does not much strengthen the arguments against it, by remark-

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\* Hennepin, *Découverte*, &c. ch. 11. Adair's *History of the American Indians*.

ing, that the Indians are not usurers; for this practice belongs to the later era of Jewish exile and degradation, not to that in which they are supposed to have emigrated to the west. He views also, with much and just suspicion, all the colonies supposed to have been sent across the ocean. The difficulty of that age, however, was the want of any known point of America which was not separated by an almost immeasurable space from any other land. He indites on this subject a sentence which is almost predictive. He says, "I have long cherished in my mind this opinion, that the two worlds join at least in some point of their extremities, and are not separated by such vast intervals."\* He then points to the north and north-west, observing, that there was here too vast a range of unknown coast to allow of any absolute negative being placed on his suggestion. Then, unfortunately, he turns to the south, and suggests, that colonists from Asia may have come across the great Austral continent, and crossed at the Straits of Magellan. We must not condemn Acosta too hastily for this wild conjecture. Only the northern coast of Terra del Fuego was then known; and it was very generally viewed as part of the great Austral continent, of which the existence was not doubted. Had Acosta not split upon this rock, he might have been considered as having produced the ablest solution of this problem that has yet appeared.

Grotius, the ablest man who undertook to treat this

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\* Ap. De Bry, ix. 37.

subject, wrote perhaps the weakest of all the books upon it. He denied the Tartar origin, and supposed North America to have been peopled from Norway, by way of Greenland. These northern emigrants, however, were unable, he supposes, to pass the isthmus of Panama, and South America was peopled partly from Africa and partly from China.

The peopling of America is no longer an object of the slightest mystery or difficulty. The north-west limit of this continent approaches so close to Asia, that the two are almost within view of each other, and small boats can pass between them. Even farther south, at Kamtschatka, where the distance may be six or seven hundred miles, the Fox and Aleutian Islands form so continuous a chain, that the passage might be effected with the greatest facility. The Tschutchi, who inhabit the north-eastern extremity of Asia, are in the regular habit of passing from one continent to the other.\* These tribes, then, from the earliest ages, had discovered that mysterious world which was hidden from the wisest nations of antiquity, and appeared so wonderful to modern Europeans. It was not a discovery in their eyes. They knew not that this was Asia and that was America; they knew not that they were on one of the great boundaries of earth. They knew only that one frozen and dreary shore was opposite to another equally frozen and dreary. However, it is manifest, that by this route any amount of people might have passed over into

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\* Cochran's Pedestrian Journey.

America. The form of the Americans approaching to that of the nations in the north-east of Asia, the comparatively well-peopled state of its north-western districts, and the constant tradition of the Mexicans, that the Aztecs and the Toultecs, who early occupied their territory, came from the north-west; all agree with the indications afforded by the natural structure of the continent.

But it may be said, that although people by this channel undoubtedly passed over from the old world to America, this does not exclude other colonies from finding their way across the Atlantic or the Pacific. Supposing it too much to have crossed the entire breadth at once, they may have taken their departure from some of the numerous islands with which both oceans, and especially the Pacific, are interspersed: all peopled at their first discovery. If these islands were peopled from the distant continents of Europe and Asia, why not America from them? We are to observe, however, that the South Sea groups, however distant some of them may be from any mainland, range in a continuous line with each other, so that the extremity of one group is seldom very far distant from the extremity of another. It was therefore no very mighty achievement for men possessing, on a small scale, the maritime enterprise natural to an insular territory, to effect a passage successively to each. But America is every where, unless on the north, begirt with an unbroken breadth of at least a thousand miles of ocean, without a single insular point which could form a step in the progress of the navigator. Combining this circumstance with the

observations already made on these immense voyages, whether voluntary or compulsory, the probability appears very great, that no such passage ever took place. If any detached individuals ever were wafted across the ocean, I am persuaded that they would not possess or retain any of the civilization of the old world; and that they did not contribute in any shape to that measure or form of improvement which was attained in Mexico or Peru. It is vain to urge that the Mexicans expressed their ideas, and even their history, by paintings, which bore some resemblance to the paintings and hieroglyphics of Egypt. Man, as soon as he emerges from total barbarism, must feel the desire of expressing his ideas by some mode more durable than words; and this mode, in the first instance, must inevitably be painting. He must begin with a picture of the object which he wishes to record. This picture, generalized and refined, passes gradually into the symbol, the hieroglyphic, the expressive mark, and, finally, into the alphabetic character. In these latter stages, although they depend upon the general principles of human nature, there is much, in point of form, that is arbitrary, and a coincidence in regard to which might indicate very clearly an ancient connexion. But mere paintings, as they must bear a certain resemblance, so their common use seems to indicate nothing more than the action of the most elementary principles in the human mind. The forms of architecture also, as they are dictated by convenience or the sense of beauty, may often exhibit some casual coincidences. I am convinced that all the

civilization which existed in America arose, as it flourished, in the delightful table-lands of Mexico, Quito, Cusco, and Cundinamarca. It is in these happy regions where men multiply, and the means of subsistence are abundant, that the refined arts first become an object of cultivation. This conclusion is not at all shaken by the fact quoted by Humboldt, that the Toultec conquerors, who came from the now barbarous regions in the north-west, were the framers of the most remarkable of the Mexican monuments.\* Generally, conquerors adopt the arts and improvements of the vanquished nation; and their active and ambitious character impels them to call these into action on a greater scale than the usually supine dynasty which they have overthrown. The grandest monuments of Hindostan and China were erected by monarchs of Tartar origin; but the art which constructed them was Hindoo or Chinese.

Several very learned and diligent efforts have recently been made to fix on a more precise basis the origin of the American nations. Attempts have been made to find in their languages such a similarity with those of the old continent as might indicate the one as a derivative from the other. The first and most meritorious research upon this subject has been made by Mr Smith Barton of Philadelphia, in comparing his own researches with the rich collection of the Asiatic dialects made by Pallas, under the auspices of

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\* New Spain, i. 133.

the empress Catherine. He has thus made a collection of similar sounds, which at first sight wear a somewhat imposing aspect. Professor Vater,\* however, by collecting these into one point, has, in my opinion, triumphantly refuted the inference attempted to be drawn from them. The resemblances amount in all to about fifty-five; but they are by no means of any one language to any other language. One correspondence, for instance, is between the Samoiede and the Delaware language; the next between the Ostiak and the Algonquin. Upon the whole, upwards of thirty Asiatic and the same number of American languages are employed in bringing out this very slender amount of coincidences; making an average of not quite two words to each language. It seems somewhat odd, that a greater number of similar sounds should not have been the result of mere chance. It is also very singular, that the most remote Asiatic countries, those which seem most beyond the reach of intercourse with America, contribute as liberally as those which are in the closest contiguity with that continent. Professor Vater, however, after overthrowing the work of his predecessor, has not hesitated to undertake a similar fabric of his own, and, by immense labour, has actually raised the number of resemblances to a hundred and four; but, to obtain this result, he has been obliged to bring into requisition more than thirty other languages, including those of Europe, Africa, and Australasia; so that

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\* Untersuchungen über den America's Bevolkerung, p. 47-55.

his results are quite as futile as those which he had previously subverted.\* Lastly, M. Malte Brun, taking Asia and America only, collecting all that had been done by his predecessors, and adding a few of his own, has made out about a hundred and twenty ; but for this purpose he has been obliged to bring into play upwards of sixty languages in each world ; so that it seems somehow impossible to pass the fatal average of two words to a language.†

The resemblances being so inconclusive, in consequence of the smallness of their number, it may seem superfluous to criticise that small number very severely ; and yet they afford considerable room for criticism. Almost all the striking agreements consist in the natural sounds,—Ata, Baba, Papa, Mama, Ana, which, being the first usually uttered by the infant organs, are employed in all languages to express the tender relation which exists between the parent and child. Of the others, many really appear excessively faint. The similarity of *kekackquees* to *kuk*,—*pappoos* to *pup*,—*peechten* to *paschi*,—*keesq* to *kus*,—*metzli* to *muts*,—*mequarme* to *mik*, appear to be the reverse of striking.

There really is something mysterious in this total absence of all analogy between the languages of the old and new world. It appears the more singular, when we observe that all the languages of the numerous nations of the civilized world spring from one or two original stocks, which have also close ana-

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\* Untersuchungen, &c. 156-74.

† Universal Geography, v.



logies with each other. It should seem, that the speech of wandering tribes, who migrate to distant regions, and have neither written record nor traditional poetry to preserve any fixed standard, undergoes by degrees a total change. Even the provincial dialects in the remoter districts of England diverge so widely from the genuine standard as to be absolutely unintelligible to the speaker of pure English and to the inhabitants of other provinces. Hence we may wonder less at a still more entire change taking place in cases of wider and longer separation. The extraordinary number of languages which exist within America itself, and their faint analogies to each other, tend to confirm this supposition.\*

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\* Vater, Untersuchungen, &c. 195-203. Humboldt, Personal Narrative, vi. 359.

# BOOK I.

## DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EARLY VOYAGES TO THE AMERICAN COAST.

*Discovery of North America.—John and Sebastian Cabot.—Various Accounts of their Voyage.—Ponce de Leon, Discovery of Florida.—Verazzani—His Voyages along the American Coast—His tragical Fate.—Cartier discovers the Gulf of St Lawrence—Canada—Montreal—Roberval.*

It is not here intended to enter into any detail of the grand discovery by Columbus. That event (the best known of any in modern times) has been received into the domain of history, and has been recorded by Robertson with an eloquence and interest with which I should reluctantly enter into competition. Still more, since Mr Irving has given new force to the character of Columbus, and painted the shores of the new world in such magic tints, the writer would be daring who should attempt to tread in such footsteps. This work, besides, relates to *North America*, and Columbus

only saw the southern, and did not, at any point, come into contact with the northern part of that mighty continent, which he had been the instrument of discovering.

Henry VII. of England narrowly, and somewhat hardly, missed the glory of attaching to his name and that of his country, the discovery of the transatlantic world. Columbus, finding his negotiations at the courts of Spain and Portugal in an unpromising state, sent his brother, Bartholomew, to treat with Henry, who, notwithstanding his cautious and penurious habits, appears very readily to have closed with the proposition.\* Before, however, Bartholomew returned to Spain, his brother, under the auspices of Isabella, had sailed on the voyage, from which he returned triumphant.

Henry, though he had missed the main prize, continued still disposed to encourage those who were inclined to embark in the brilliant adventure. An offer was soon made to him from a respectable quarter. Such are the vicissitudes of human destiny, that the English, who were to become the greatest maritime people in the world, ventured not then to undertake distant voyages but under the guidance of Italians,—a people whose vessels are now never seen beyond the Mediterranean. Finding encouragement, however, from the rising spirit of the nation, John Caboto, whom we call Cabot, a Venetian, came over with his three sons to settle in England. By him a plan was

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\* Hackluyt, i. 4.

presented to Henry for a western voyage, to undertake the discovery of lands and regions unknown. Fabyan and Ramusio assert, that Henry defrayed the cost of at least one ship; but their testimony, though followed by Forster, cannot stand against the express words of the charter, in which the Cabots are authorised indeed to carry out ships and men, but “*suis et eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis.*” Their commission indeed is abundantly ample. They are empowered to discover all the parts, regions, and bays of the eastern, western, and northern seas. They may fix the royal banners of England in any city, castle, town, island, or firm land, which may be by them discovered. John and his sons, their heirs and assignees, are to conquer, occupy, and rule the said cities, castles, towns, islands, and firm lands, as governors and lieutenants under the king; and no one is to approach or inhabit the said cities, castles, &c. without their permission. They are to enjoy the exclusive trade of these newly-discovered regions, being only bound to bring all their productions to the port of Bristol. These goods are to be exempted from all the ordinary duties of customs; but a fifth of the net profits arising from their sale is to be paid over to the king.

Under this warrant, Cabot set sail, and, on the 24th June, 1497, saw land, which he termed *Prima Vista*; but the English have since substituted their native term of Newfoundland. He afterwards sailed along a considerable extent of coast both to the north and south; when, finding a continuous range of coast, and no opening to the westward, he returned to England.

This was the first discovery of the American *continent*; for it was not till the following year, and in his third voyage, that Columbus saw the coast of South America, where the Orinoco pours its vast flood into the ocean. It is remarkable, and seems to indicate a very supine state of feeling upon these subjects, that, while the Spanish discoverers found such numerous historians, not a single narrative should exist of this memorable voyage. Hackluyt has with difficulty collected from various quarters a number of shreds, which do not harmonize very well together, and give only a very imperfect idea of the proceedings. The most authentic document is contained in a writing, made on a map drawn by Sebastian, and engraved by Clement Adams, which was kept at Whitehall, and of which there are said to have been copies in the houses of many of the old merchants. It is very short, and merely states the discovery of Newfoundland, and some of its qualities. The natives, it states, are clothed in the skins of wild beasts, which they value as much as we do our most precious garments. In war they use bows, arrows, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The land is barren, and bears no fruit, whence it is filled with bears of a white colour, and stags of a magnitude unusual among us. It abounds in fishes, and those very large, as sea-wolves, (seals?) and salmon; there are soles of a yard in length; but, above all, there is a great abundance of those fishes which we call *baualaos*, (cod).

This chart is stated, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to be in his time still preserved in the queen's private

gallery at Whitehall ; but I have understood that it was afterwards destroyed by fire.

The only other meagre testimony is that of Fabryan, who saw three natives brought over by the Cabots from Newfoundland. "These were clothed in beasts' skins, and did eat raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them." However, two years after, he saw them apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, "which that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were ; but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word."

Such are all the records which England has seen fit to preserve of this her earliest and one of her most illustrious naval exploits. John Cabot, it would appear, soon died, and Sebastian, the most intelligent of his sons, finding no sufficient honour or encouragement in England, repaired to Spain, where the ardour for discovery still continued. He was readily received into the service of the Catholic king, and sent to the coast of Brazil, where he made the important discovery of the Rio de la Plata. He became the most eminent person of his age for the sciences connected with his favourite pursuits ; the construction of maps, geography, and navigation ; and, after age had rendered him unfit for the active exertions of a seafaring life, he guided and directed others in this career, and obtained the honourable title of Piloto Mayor of Spain. Afterwards, on the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, when the nation caught at last the enthusiasm of maritime adventure, Cabot was invited back to England, and

constituted, by a special deed, Grand Pilot of England, with an ample salary. In this capacity he formed the plan and drew up the instructions for the expedition sent under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Chancellor, to attempt the discovery of India by the north-east. Sebastian, with all his knowledge, and in the course of a long life, never committed to writing any narrative of the voyage to North America. The curious on the continent, however, drew from him in conversation, various particulars, which gave a general idea of the extent and tenor of his discovery. Butrigario, the pope's legate in Spain, told Ramusio that he had much intercourse with him, and found him a very polite and agreeable person; and Peter Martyr mentions in his history, that he had him often at his house, and was quite on an intimate footing with him. In the reports from these different quarters there are discrepancies, and even errors, which mark imperfect memory on the part of the narrators; but the general outline of the voyage appears to have been as follows:—The Cabots, like Columbus, held it for their main object to reach Cathay, and the golden regions of India, which had still attached to them all the European ideas of wealth. Sebastian proceeded first to the north, in the hope, that, by turning on that side the boundary of the continent, he might find himself in the expanse of ocean which led to the eastern regions. He reached the latitude of sixty-seven degrees, or, by a more probable account, only of fifty-six degrees; but, finding the sea encumbered with floating ice, and the coast tending back to the eastward, he was either

himself discouraged, or, as others say, overpowered by a mutiny of the sailors. Perhaps there might be a combination of both causes. Retracing his steps, and reaching his former point, he thence proceeded to the southward, still keeping the same object in view. But though this, like the former coast, tended steadily to the westward, it preserved the same unbroken continuity, and gave as little hope as ever of the passage, to find which had been his primary object. Worn out with a voyage of such unusual length for that age, he returned to England. He stated himself in this southern course to have reached the latitude of Gibraltar, and the longitude of Cuba, which would place him near the entrance of the Chesapeake.

It cannot fail to strike us as a remarkable circumstance, that, in all the foreign accounts of this voyage, Sebastian is represented as its mover and sole conductor. The legate even told Ramusio, that he understood the father to have been dead before it was undertaken; yet the charter of Henry, and the record on the map, place it beyond a doubt, that old John was at the head of the whole undertaking. This suggests a disagreeable doubt, whether Sebastian, when abroad, having his own story to tell, did not drop all mention of his worthy father, and even kill him before the time. The hypothesis to which Campbell is driven, of there being two voyages, in one of which were both father and son, and in the other the son only, does not seem very tenable. Nothing of the kind is hinted at in any of the original relations; and the date which Sebastian assigns to that of which he



makes himself the sole conductor, is rather prior than subsequent to the date of the joint voyage.\*

It appears that, on the 9th December, 1502, Henry gave a patent to John Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, with John Gonzales and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with English colours in quest of unknown countries.† I have not been able to learn any thing of this voyage, which seems to have escaped the diligent researches of Hackluyt. He communicates the fragment of a letter from Mr Robert Thorne of Bristol, boasting that his father, and Hugh Elliot, another merchant of Bristol, had been the discoverers of Newfoundland; but this, I suspect, is only in respect of having aided in setting forth the Cabots, not of having preceded them.

Another important step in discovery was made by a naval nation of the highest distinction at that era. The Portuguese stood long foremost, and even alone, in tracing a naval career through the ocean. Their efforts, indeed, were for a long period concentrated in that series of exploratory voyages, by which the passage of the Cape was effected, and a path opened into the Indian seas; in the course of which they made the discovery of Brazil. One Portuguese family, however, called at first Costa, and afterwards Cortereal, signaled itself in the career of northern discovery. There is even an authority, not devoid of some weight, according to which a Cortereal, twenty years before Ca-

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 6—9. Ramusio, iii. Pref. p. 28. Peter Martyr, Dec. iii. ch. 6. Fabian. Kent's Memoirs of Seamen, i.

† Rapin's History, i. 683.

bot, is said to have sailed from the Azores to Newfoundland ; but though this voyage seems more plausible than any of those made by the Scandinavians, it stands yet on too slender evidence to dispute with Cabot and Columbus the glory of discovering America. An expedition, undoubtedly genuine, was that of Gaspar Cortereal, who, in 1500, set sail with two caravels to discover a shorter passage to India and the Spice Islands. He appears first to have reached Newfoundland, whence, pushing on to the north, he came to that great range of coast, to which, from some very superficial observation, he gave the name of Labrador, or the Labourer's coast, which it has ever since retained ; though Munster, Ortelius, and others of the early cosmographers, give it, in honour of the discoverer, the name of Corterealis. He found the coast covered with abundance of timber, well stocked with fish, and inhabited by a poor, robust, and hardy race. They are described correctly as skilful archers, clothed in the skins of beasts, and living in caves. They were found very jealous of the chastity of their women. He brought with him several of the inhabitants, though surely not so many as fifty-seven, the number stated by Pedro Pascoal. On reaching lat. 60°, and seeing snow drifting through the air at the close of summer, and the sea beset with huge islands of ice, he determined to postpone farther proceedings till a future season. Much is said of his having discovered a strait called Anian, which was probably one of those entering into Hudson's Bay. He returned, on the whole, with sanguine hopes as to the discovery of a northern passage ; and in the following year he

set out again with two vessels, under the sanction and furtherance of the court. The voyage was prosperous till they reached a coast which they called Terra Verde, Greenland; not, however, our Greenland, but some part, more smiling than the rest, of the coast formerly visited. Here the two vessels, overtaken by a violent storm, were completely separated; and that in which Cortereal was not, after long beating about and searching in vain for its consort, was obliged to return to Lisbon without the author of the expedition, who was never more heard of.

Gaspar had a younger brother, Miguel, who, inconsolable for the fate of his brother, obtained permission from the king to sail in search of him. He had with him three vessels, which, on coming to the mouth of the straits, took each a separate passage, appointing a rendezvous, at which they were to meet on the 20th of August. Two of them did there meet; but Miguel was wanting, and was no more seen or heard of. There remained yet a third brother, who eagerly sought to follow in the traces of his lost kinsmen; but the king, who thought he had lost already too much in this bold adventure, interposed his royal prohibition. Since these two gallant and ill-fated youths, no Portuguese appears to have attempted either a passage or a settlement on any part of the coast of America; though the nation engaged early and to a great extent in the Newfoundland fishery.

The next point upon which the continent of America was approached was its southern extremity, from the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had begun the career of discovery in so brilliant a manner, sought

long to absorb the whole of the new continent. One of the most eminent of the followers of Columbus was Juan Ponce de Leon. After serving with distinction in a subordinate capacity, he became desirous of a field of action which might be wholly his own. In sailing along the coast of Porto Rico, he had been struck with its attractive aspect, and with symptoms which appeared to portend gold, that almost sole object of Spanish desire. Ovando, under whom he served in *Hispaniola*, very readily allowed him a detachment with which to try his fortune. Ponce, acting with equal prudence and vigour, soon reduced the island to subjection; and though he did not discover that ample deposit of gold which had been hoped and expected, he did not entirely fail in his search after this precious metal.\*

Ponce de Leon having completed this undertaking, had a mind too ardent and active to remain at rest. Another object attracted his desire, and absorbed his whole soul. He was assured by a number of Indians, that in some part of the islands called *Bahama*, or *Lucayos*, there was a fountain called *Bimini*, of such marvellous virtue, that the happy man who bathed in its waters, to whatever period of life he might have reached, rose in the full bloom and vigour of youth. To the discovery of this precious fountain, Ponce devoted his existence. He spent many months sailing along these coasts, landing at every point, and plung-

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\* Herrera, Dec. i. lib. vii. ch. 9.

ing into every pool, however shallow or muddy, always hoping to rise in that state of blissful renovation which he had been taught to anticipate. The consequence of such long and incessant agitation under a burning sky was, that, instead of the brilliant youth which he so vainly hoped to attain, he brought upon himself all the infirmities of a premature old age. Indeed, by what Oviedo could learn, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood, and never discovered the same vigour, either of body or mind, as before he entered upon this delusive search. It is seldom, however, that extraordinary efforts of human activity fail of leading to some result.\* While Ponce was beating about restlessly from shore to shore in search of the mysterious fountain, he came in view of a more extensive range of land than any formerly seen. It was crowned with magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, which presented an enchanting aspect, and to which, therefore, he gave the name of Florida. In navigating along its shore, his ships were violently agitated by the currents arising out of the action of the gulf-stream, which rushes here with concentrated force through the Bahama channels, and from which he gave to the southern cape the name of Corrientes. The Spaniards, however, still continued to attach the idea of island to all the newly-discovered lands; and the pointed and

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\* Ramusio, iii. 347. Osorio, History of the Portuguese, book i. Barrow's Voyages, 37-48.

peninsulated form which the continent here presents to the Gulf of Mexico made them obstinately continue for some time to attach to Florida the character of insularity. In vain did the natives assure them, that it formed part of a vast continent, of which they even named various nations and provinces. Some years elapsed, according to Herrera, before the Spaniards could learn to view Florida as part of the American continent. When at last they did so, they hesitated not to claim as Florida, and as belonging to Spain, the whole northern continent, as its vast extent was successively discovered. But this pretension was soon met by others, advanced by nations who possessed better means of making their claims effectual ; and the name of Florida was obliged to give way before those of Virginia, Carolina, and others, which the prosperous colonies of England imposed upon this extensive line of coast.

Ponce de Leon having at length renounced his unfortunate search after the fountain of youth, determined to make the utmost of his real discovery. He repaired to Spain, and obtained from the king authority to lead an expedition into Florida, with the title of Adelantado, which included the powers of governor and commander-in-chief. Finding, however, Porto Rico disturbed by an insurrection of the Caribes, he was obliged to take the field against them ; but, being unequal to his former exertions, he made an unfortunate campaign, and lost much of his former reputation. At length he contrived to equip an expedition for Florida ; but his constitution, exhausted by visionary hopes and efforts, being now unfit for the

fatigues of such a voyage, he was obliged to put into Cuba, where he died.\*

The Spaniards from Cuba soon found their way to Florida, and made expeditions, of which one object soon came to be the iniquitous practice of carrying off the Indians as slaves. A considerable time elapsed, as we shall see, before attempts began to be made for the actual conquest and occupation of Florida.

While the nations both of the north and the south of Europe had made such vigorous exertions for the discovery of America, the French flag had not yet appeared in the western seas. That nation, though equally powerful and enterprising, had been more attached to feudal usages, and less imbued with the modern maritime and commercial spirit, than any other of modern Europe. A monarch of such spirit as Francis I., however, could not be content to see Charles, his rival, carrying off all the brilliant prizes offered by the new world. He listened readily to the suggestion, that he too should send an expedition to the west, for the discovery of kingdoms and countries unknown. He found himself, however, under the same necessity as Henry, to employ foreign science and skill to guide his fleet into those distant seas. Juan Verazzani, a Florentine, who had distinguished himself by successful cruises against the Spaniards, was sent with a vessel called the Dauphin to the American coast. In the narrative of his voyage

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\* Herrera, Dec. i. b. 9. c. 10; Dec. ii. c. 8; Dec. iv. b. 4; c. 4, 5, 6. Oviedo ap. Ramusio, iii. 146-7.

which he sends to Francis, Verazzani sets out from the little island or rock near Madeira, called the Desertas. About midway across the Atlantic, he encountered one of those disasters to which navigators of that age, in their comparatively small vessels, were so liable. His little bark had nearly perished. It survived, however, and, completing happily the rest of his voyage, he arrived on a coast which, according to him, was never seen by any either of the ancients or moderns, and which appears to have been some part either of Carolina or Florida. That it was inhabited appeared from the large fires kindled on shore; but he sought in vain for a port into which his vessel could enter. After sailing first south, and then north, in the fruitless search, he determined to put out a boat, and open an intercourse with the natives. They came to the shore in considerable numbers; but as soon as the French landed, and began to follow them, they ran away, turning back, however, with evident signs of wonder and curiosity. At length, being satisfied that they had nothing to fear, they offered victuals to the French, assisted them in drawing their bark on shore, and viewed with surprise and admiration the white colour, the dress, and the whole appearance of this unknown people. They were tall, handsome, swift, perfectly naked, except that various skins and tails of animals were fastened round the middle by a girdle of woven grass, and hung down to the knee. The coast was sandy, rising behind into little hills; but as they proceeded, it became more elevated, and was covered with magnificent woods, not of the common forest-trees, but of the palm, the



cypress, and others unknown to Europe, and which diffused the most delicious perfume. This land was in lat. 34°, which, if correct, would place it about Cape Fear. They now proceeded along the coast, which turned to the eastward, and appeared very populous, but so low and open, that even a boat could not approach it. In this emergency, a young sailor undertook to swim on shore, and open an intercourse with the natives. They crowded to receive him ; but just as he had arrived within a few yards of the land, his courage failed, and he attempted to turn back. A high wave, however, met him, and, amid the agitation of fear and of the waters, he was thrown on shore more dead than alive. The natives immediately stripped him naked, and conveyed him to a large fire which they had been busily kindling. His companions in the ships then never doubted that he was about to be roasted alive, and to furnish one of those horrible banquets in which the Indians were supposed to delight. The youth himself was at first of the same opinion ; but he was soon consoled, when they merely brought him so near as to place him in a comfortable state of warmth. They viewed with an eager but kindly curiosity the whiteness of his skin, and all the particulars which made him a different being from themselves. On his making signs that he wished to return, they took leave of him with tender embraces, accompanied him to the shore, and kept their eyes intently fixed on him till he reached the vessel.

Verazzani now sailed onward, and reached the coast of Virginia. It was found, like the former, beautiful, and covered with noble trees, which did

not, however, in this colder climate, emit the same agreeable perfume. They found the barks of the natives made of a single tree, not by any instrument either of iron or wood, but hollowed out by the use of fire,—a process more fully observed by subsequent travellers. The men had all fled, and they only succeeded in overtaking two females, of whom one was old, the other young, tall, and handsome. The old woman was soon prevailed upon to eat with relish of the victuals which they offered, and even allowed them to take a boy who was in her arms, for the purpose of carrying him into France; but the young woman threw indignantly on the ground every thing which they tendered to her, and when they attempted to carry her off, uttered such frightful screams, that they were obliged to desist. After sailing a hundred leagues farther, they came to a fine and sheltered bay, surrounded by gentle hills, which received a very great river, (the Hudson?) so deep that loaded vessels might have ascended it; but, dreading accidents, they merely went up in boats, and found a country equally rich and beautiful, which they left with regret. The hills, to their anxious view, appeared to afford some metallic promise. They now sailed fifty leagues eastward, along a coast, (probably that of Long Island,) without suspecting its separation from the continent, and came to an island ten leagues from land, apparently Martha's Vineyard. It was covered with gentle and finely-wooded hills, and reminded them of Rhodes. There soon appeared twenty boats filled with natives, who approached within fifty paces, raising various

cries. After carefully viewing the French, they set up an united shout, expressive of joy and security, and came nearer. The French threw them bells, mirrors, and other little toys, when they no longer hesitated to come on board. Verazzani thought them the finest and handsomest race, as well as the most civilized in their manners, that he had yet seen in America. Their colour was less dark than that of the more southern people, and their forms even approached to the beauty of the antique. They became extremely intimate with the French, who made several excursions with them into the interior of the country, and found it covered with noble woods. They showed, however, an extreme jealousy of their females, whom they would, on no account, allow to enter the French vessel. Even the queen, while her royal husband spent a long time on board, examining the different parts of the vessel, and communicating with the crew by signs and gestures, was left with her ladies in a boat, at a little distance. At length the French took leave of this friendly people, and sailed a hundred and fifty leagues, along a coast running first to the east, and then to the north, which last direction marks that they had now entered upon New England. The country was in general similar to that which they had left, though it gradually became higher, and even sometimes rose into mountains. Other fifty leagues, in the direction of east and north, brought them to a region covered with peculiarly dense and dark woods, (apparently the district of Maine). Here they stopped, and endeavoured to open an intercourse

with the natives, but found them every way the reverse of their last acquaintances. They were alike rough in their persons and dispositions, and repelled every friendly overture. They were tempted, indeed, by the display of articles which the French brought, to accede to a certain species of barter; but they would admit of it on no footing except the following: They came to the shore, at the point where the surf was breaking most violently, while the French boat kept on the outer side, and a rope was passed from one to the other, along which the articles of traffic were conveyed. They would accept of nothing, however, but knives, fishing-hooks, and cutting metal; “*ne stimavano gentilezza alcuna.*” While this traffic was going on, they were continually calling to the French on no account to approach the shore, and they closed it by rude gestures indicative of disdain and aversion. There was little temptation to linger here, and the French followed, therefore, a course of fifty leagues farther, during which they counted thirty islands, separated by narrow channels, (pretty evidently those of the Bay of Penobscot). Another course of 150 miles brought them to the land discovered by the Bretons, (British,) in about 50° N. lat., and which is therefore Newfoundland. Verazzani's stores being now exhausted, he took in wood and water, and returned to France.

Verazzani had thus completed a survey of seven hundred leagues of coast, including the whole of that of the United States, and a great part of British America, forming one of the most extended ranges of early discovery. He returned to France in high

hopes and spirits, and laid before Francis plans not only for completing the discovery of the American coast, but for penetrating into the interior of the continent, and also for colonizing some part of this vast and fertile region. That monarch seems to have welcomed the proposal with his characteristic ardour, since Ramusio speaks of the "immense liberality" with which he was disposed to favour it, and from which the most important results were expected. Verazzani did indeed set out on another voyage; but its records are equally brief and fatal. Ramusio gives neither date nor place, nor country, but states, that having landed with some of his crew, he was seized by the savages, killed and devoured in the presence of his companions on board, who sought in vain to give any assistance. Such was the fate of one of the most eminent navigators of that age, whom Forster ranks as similar to Cook, both as to his exploits during life, and the dreadful mode of his death. But Verazzani, though possessed of many great qualities, cannot be placed on a level with the first navigator of modern times. I should even hope that this analogy fails as to the peculiar fate which he is reported to have suffered. That all the Indians were cannibals was a standing belief of that age, of which the slightest appearance or presumption was held conclusive. But closer observation has, in almost every instance, proved, that though their treatment of enemies and captives was abundantly direful, it scarcely ever assumed this peculiarly dreadful form. That Verazzani perished amid flame and torture is but too probable; but I do not think that

he perished in that fearful manner which his annalist has recorded.\*

The gloomy impression produced by the tragic fate of Verazzani seems to have deterred others for some time from such enterprises. At length Jacques Cartier, a bold seaman of St Malo, proposed another voyage, and was readily supplied with two ships, under the direction of the Sieur de Melleraye, then Vice-Admiral of France. He set sail on the 20th April, 1534, and on the 10th May came in view of Cape Bonavista. As large masses of ice, however, were still floating about the coast, he deemed it wise to enter a harbour which he called St Catherine, and to remain there ten days. The sea then becoming favourable, he came out, and stood to the north. The first striking object was an island named the Island of Birds, from the prodigious flights with which it was covered. They appeared as if they were planted, and standing like crops of grain upon it and the surrounding sea. In his second voyage, he says, there would have been enough to have loaded the whole navy of France, without any sensible vacancy being left.

Cartier now sailed along the whole northern coast of Newfoundland, giving names to all its capes and harbours. He found it barren in the extreme, and considers it a great license to call it *Newfoundland*, when there was not land enough to have loaded a cart; nothing but rocks and sand, covered with arid

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\* Ramusio, iii. 348-52.

stones: he verily thought it must have been the land assigned to Cain. The natives were tall, stout, and fierce; they were clothed in skins of beasts and fishes, had their bodies painted, and used canoes made of bark. A French boat, which had been sent on shore, was surrounded by five of their canoes, when they offered the usual savage welcome by dancing and raising cries of joy. The French, however, afraid of their superior numbers, discharged some guns, which caused them to fly with the utmost speed. Next day they appeared in nine barks, but fled at sight of the French, at the same time looking back and showing skins, with which they were willing to traffic. On receiving assurance of safety, they gladly approached, and, seeing the knives and toys with which the French were provided, began dancing with all their might, and setting up loud shouts of joy. In the purchase of these much-prized objects they not only expended all the skins with which they had come prepared, but took from their persons those with which they were scantily covered, and went off stark-naked in search of more. Proceeding along the coast, the French came to a place where they were visited by forty barks, having on board about two hundred men, women, and children. They received with equal delight the slender gifts which the foreigners bestowed upon them. The young ladies were at first kept in the background, within a grove; but two or three having contrived to get forward, received such handsome presents, that the other damsels were presently brought up, in the hope of coming in for a share.

Cartier thought these the most miserable mortals he had ever beheld. They wore nothing but a scanty covering of poor skins, the value of which could in no case be rated above fivepence. They lived solely on fish, and on some berries and small grains which grew spontaneously ; and they had no habitation, except their barks, which, when they went on shore, they turned upside down, and slept beneath them.

Cartier having sailed along the northern coast of Newfoundland, and passed through the Straits called afterwards Belleisle, found himself in a wide and open sea, which no navigator, except, perhaps, Cortereal, appears before to have reached. All had sailed across from the coast of Newfoundland to that of Labrador, or Nova Scotia, considering the passages separating them only as gulfs. To the west he now saw a wide and open field of discovery ; but the season was far advanced, and the east wind, which was driving him with violence towards these unknown seas and coasts, would have rendered his return to France precarious. He determined to reserve till another voyage and season the farther prosecution of this object.

When Cartier returned to France, and reported the prospects opened to him by the sea to the west of Newfoundland, he found the Court still ready to second his enterprise. A larger expedition was equipped next spring, consisting of three vessels, of 120, of 70, and of 40 tons. They were solemnly prepared for the expedition by confession, and receiving the sacrament in the church of St.-Malo.



They proceeded direct to Newfoundland, which they rounded by the same line as in the former voyage. On coming to the sea on the west, and proceeding to explore it, Cartier soon found himself in a broad gulf, to which he gave the name of St Lawrence, which it has since retained. What he called so, however, was only the channel between the island of Anticosti and the opposite Labrador coast. On reaching its eastern cape he opened a communication with the natives, who informed him, that this gulf gradually narrowed till it terminated by receiving a large river coming from a vast and unexplored distance in the interior of a great continent. Two days' sail above this island was the river and territory of Saguenay, beyond which was Canada, having passed which, and ascended the river, he would come to Hochelaga, a populous territory, at the highest known point of the river. Thus instructed, Cartier sailed up the gulf, which gradually narrowed to a river, and here he found the channel divided by a long and populous island, the same afterwards called Orleans, situated immediately below Quebec. He was waited upon by Donnaconna, the ruler of Canada, with about five hundred subjects, of all ages and sexes. Donnaconna began first a long harangue, or, as it is termed, a preaching, the terms of which were not at all understood, but it appeared to be of the most friendly import; the whole party then raised three tremendous howls, as another sign of welcome. Donnaconna crowned the whole by a very high and singular gift; for having brought a boy and girl, who, the French were informed, were

his son and daughter, he made a long preaching, and bestowed them upon Cartier. As soon, however, as the French intimated their intention of proceeding upwards to Hochelaga, every persuasion was employed to induce them to desist,—the ice, the dangers of the navigation, the want of any object of interest. As Cartier persisted, one of the chiefs hinted that the prince and princess would never have been bestowed but under the understanding that he would not undertake this unwelcome journey; but Cartier denied any such interpretation, and insisted upon returning their Highnesses, if this condition were annexed to the donation of them. He was then assured that they had been a free gift; but another expedient was now tried. Three men, painted black in the most frightful manner, with horns upon their heads, came out in a little boat, and rowed round the vessel, making various unintelligible gestures and orations. Donnaconna came out himself to expound this mystery. They were, it seems, messengers from Cudruaigny, their supreme deity, sent with the doleful tidings, that if the French attempted to go up to Hochelaga, they would all inevitably perish. Cartier, however, scoffed at this celestial interposition in his favour, after which no farther attempts were made to detain him. He was obliged, however, from the diminishing depth, and the obstructions on the river, to betake himself first to his smallest vessel, and then to two boats. In sailing upwards, he was delighted with the aspect of the country, which appeared to him one of the finest he ever beheld. The banks were crowned with the noblest trees, among which were

vines, standing as thick as if planted by human hands. The grapes, however, were neither so large nor so agreeable to the taste as in France, which might, he thought, be only from want of culture. On his way he met with a great lord, who presented him with another princess, eight years old ; and who endeavoured also, but in vain, to terrify him with the dangers of going up to Hochelaga. At length Cartier reached that long-sought-for term of his voyage. He found it, as measured by the Indian standard, a considerable town. It was built in a circular form, enclosed by a strong palisade of stakes crossing each other, and forming a series of pyramids. There were not above forty or fifty houses, but each was divided into a number of apartments, where separate families slept, while there was a common hall in the centre, where they took their meals, and spent the day in common. They had large stores of dried fish and grain, with melons, cucumbers, and other fruits. They soon poured down to the number of about a thousand, and received the French with the usual welcome of preaching, dancing, and howling ; they even wept for joy at seeing the presents which their visitors drew forth. Cartier was then led to the largest house, in which resided the prince, an old infirm man, scarcely distinguished by his dress from his subjects, only that he wore a cap composed of skins of animals that were esteemed of peculiar richness. He seemed, however, the object of singular veneration, since a number of sick were brought to receive the benefit of his touch.

Cartier ascended the lofty hill behind Hochelaga, which he called Mont-real, a name which has since ad-

hered to the place itself. To the north he saw numerous ranges of mountains, interspersed with fine plains, capable of the highest cultivation. Beyond these, he was told, lay another great river, flowing also from the westward (the Ottawa). On looking up the St Lawrence, it appeared broken by a high waterfall; but its broad and spacious channel was seen extending fifteen leagues higher, when it disappeared amid three circular mountains. The natives informed him, that in its upper course there were two other waterfalls, beyond which the river was navigable for the space of three moons.

Cartier now returned down the river, and found his ships where he had left them; but the crews were soon assailed by a calamity of the most dreadful and unexpected nature. They were assailed with an unknown and terrible disease, caught, as they imagined, by infection from the natives, many of whom also laboured under it; but the symptoms,—swollen and putrefied gums, discoloured blood, and general debility,—mark it for the scurvy, a malady which has since rendered itself so fatally familiar to the European mariner. It went on continually spreading, till there were not three in all the ships that had wholly escaped it. The living had not strength to bury the dead: unable to dig graves in the frozen ground, they were obliged merely to lay them under the snow. Cartier was also greatly alarmed lest the natives, whose cordiality had by degrees abated, should discover the infirm state of his crew, and be tempted to seize both upon them and the ships. He used the most extraordinary efforts to conceal it from them. He pretended that he

was carrying on great repairs in his vessel, and could receive no one on board ; but whenever any of the Indians came round the ship, all who could move were made to come on deck, and go busily backward and forward, the captain calling to those below that he would beat them heartily if they did not work harder. At the same time, such as could stir an arm, had pieces of wood put into it, with which they made all the noise in their power. He did not neglect also such means as occurred as best fitted for obtaining a cure of the malady. He caused an image of the Virgin to be set up on a tree at a little distance from the bank, where he ordered mass to be celebrated, and all who were able to walk there in procession. He made a vow also, if he should ever return to France, to go in pilgrimage to the shrine of Madonna de Rocquemado. All these vows and ceremonies were of no avail, till he observed one of the natives, who, after being ill, had rapidly recovered his health. On earnest inquiry, a species of tree was pointed out (the white pine), a decoction of the leaves and bark of which was of sovereign virtue in this malady ; and, accordingly, by the use of it all those on board the ships were soon placed in a state of convalescence.

The French commander now thought of returning home ; as a preliminary to which he hatched the nefarious scheme of smuggling on board Donnaconna, and conveying him to France. Poor Donnaconna was not very easily caught, and even took to his bed as an apology for not visiting the French. Various steps were taken to reassure him. One of the attendants having proposed that they should carry off a man who had given them some offence, it was answered,

that they did not wish to carry off any one, except a few boys to learn the language. The suspicions of Donnaconna being thus lulled, he was tempted, on occasion of a splendid fete, when the French set up a brilliant cross, and hung out all their colours, to venture on board. Presently he was seized and confined in the cabin. The Indians at first took to flight, and hid themselves in the forests; but during the night they came round the ship, howling and lamenting in the most frightful manner over the fate of their lost prince. Next day they appeared again, and bitterly reproached the French for having killed him; and on the fact being denied, asked then to be allowed to see him. Donnaconna was brought upon deck, and instructed to say, that he was well treated, that he went willingly to see the king of France, from whom he expected a great present, and would return in ten or twelve moons. The people were satisfied, and raised three shouts of joy. The king, who seems really to have experienced good treatment, received various presents, which he distributed among them, while they, in return, brought a large store of provisions for his use during the voyage. Cartier now set sail, and arrived at St Malo on the 6th July, 1536.

The arrival of Cartier, and his presentation of the Indian chief, produced a strong sensation in the court of France. The Sieur de Roberval, a gentleman of extensive property in Picardy, undertook to form a settlement on a great scale in this newly-discovered country. Francis invested him liberally with titles, creating him viceroy and lieutenant-general of Canada, Hochelaga, Norimbega, and all the names which had

been bestowed upon these shores. But this expedition, notwithstanding its pomp of preparation, produced nothing. Cartier, in 1540, was sent forward to prepare the way for the main armament. He did not carry out with him Donnaconna, who had died in France; and this failure laid the foundation of an unkindly feeling on the part of the natives, which ripened into many acts of open hostility. Cartier, however, built a small fort, which he called Charlebourg, and which formed the first European establishment in this part of America. Having waited, however, two years in vain for his principal, and being annoyed by the natives, he set sail for France. At Newfoundland, to his great surprise, he met Roberval coming out in full equipment; but Cartier, now disgusted with the whole business, contrived to give him the slip, and made his way home. Roberval proceeded, and made some attempts at discovery; but he soon returned to France, at what time or for what reason is not recorded. He undertook another expedition in 1549, accompanied by his brother; but both are said to have perished, without any details being preserved of this catastrophe.

## CHAPTER II.

### SPANISH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

*Florida becomes known as Part of the Continent.—Expedition of Pamphilo Narvaez.—War with the Indians.—Various Adventures.—Alvaro Nunez reaches the Gulf of Mexico.—Expedition of Fernando de Soto.—Various Countries through which he passes.—His Return.—His Death.*

THE brilliant fortune of the first adventurers who had drawn the rich golden prizes of Mexico and Peru, kindled throughout Spain a general hope and excitation. The wide circuit of the shores of the new world embraced other regions, which might contain in their bosom treasures as immense, and might raise their conquerors to the rank of kings. Spain contained abundance of daring spirits, who were prompt to embark their persons, their fortunes, and their all, in the career of American discovery and conquest.

Florida, after its first discovery by Ponce de Leon, had been visited by a number of Spanish vessels, and some idea attained of the magnitude of the continent



to which its name was attached. It was found to stretch indefinitely to an unknown extent; and no reason appeared why it should not afford mines as ample as those which had enriched the early adventurers. Florida therefore became for some time the grand theatre of Spanish enterprise.

Pamphilo de Narvaez was a distinguished, though not a fortunate leader in the early expeditions to America. Velazquez, governor of Cuba, finding that Cortes, whom he had employed in the conquest of Mexico, secure in the attachment of his own adherents, disregarded his orders, sent Narvaez, with a very superior force, to chastise this presumption, and assume the command himself. Narvaez, brave, but full of blind confidence, allowed himself to be surprised and defeated by Cortes, when most of his troops went over to the victorious standard. Notwithstanding this unfortunate and mortifying result, Narvaez possessed still great influence at home and favour at court, and was thus enabled to equip an expedition for Florida on a considerable scale. With this he hoped to efface the memory of his former disgrace, and rival the glory of his fortunate competitor. He was invested with the pompous title of *Adelantado*, which included the functions both of governor and commander in chief, and went commissioned, first to conquer, and then to rule the extensive territory which reaches from the Cape das Palmas to the extreme point of Cape Florida.

In June, 1527, Narvaez, with an armament of five vessels and 600 men, set sail from St Lucar. Alvaro Nunez, surnamed *Capo de Vacca*, acted as his

treasurer, and is the author of the only narrative which has been preserved of this expedition.

The fleet touched first at the Island of Dominica, where it remained for some days, to supply itself with provisions, and particularly with horses. Here no less than a hundred and forty members of the expedition, swayed by invitations from the islanders, and probably also by a dread of the unknown and barbarous shore to which they were tending, declined proceeding farther,—a course which their chiefs seem to have had no power to prevent. The fleet proceeded to St James's, in Cuba, where they continued for some time, refitting and taking in supplies. Alvaro being sent with one of his ships to a port at some distance for provisions, had gone on shore with some of his men, when they were attacked by a hurricane so tremendous, that the like had scarcely ever been witnessed even in these climates. The walls and houses continually falling round them, made it impossible to remain in the city without the utmost peril. They issued forth, seven or eight linked together, by which position alone they could avoid being carried before the wind, and they sought refuge in the woods; but here the trees falling, or torn up by the roots on every side, caused almost equal alarm. All night they seemed to hear loud cries, with the sound of flutes, drums, and trumpets, which doubtless were only the varied voices of the tempest. In the morning it fell; but there appeared such a scene of desolation as they had never before witnessed. The trees lay strewed on the ground, and every leaf and plant destroyed. On

turning to the sea, they beheld a spectacle still more doleful; for instead of their vessel, only some of its planks were floating on the face of the deep. They searched long for any remnants which might have been cast ashore, but found only a little boat, carried to the top of a tree, some cloths torn in pieces, and two bodies of men, so mangled that they could not be recognized. No time was lost in rejoining the main body, which, having found a harbour, had suffered less dreadfully. The armament was now reduced to 400 men and 80 horses, and Narvaez, in compliance with the general opinion, determined not to attempt landing in Florida till the depth of the winter was past.\*

On the 20th February, 1528, the armament set sail, and, after having suffered considerably from tempest in coasting along Cuba, ran across from the Havanna to the shore of Florida. On the 12th April they found themselves at the mouth of an open bay, where there was a village. They landed, hoisted the king's standard, claimed, and seemed to consider themselves as having had full right and ground to expect implicit obedience to his authority. The narrator even asserts that they obtained such obedience; but this is in no harmony with his own subsequent narration, that when the natives did appear, they made long discourses, with many signals and gestures, of which the Spaniards could interpret

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\* Cabeza de Vacca, Alvar Nugnez, *Relacion de los Naufragios*, 2. Ramusio, iii. 259.

nothing, except that they contained urgent intimations to depart, and vehement threats in case of noncompliance; but, finding probably that they were not strong enough to execute these menaces, they retreated into the interior. In this village there is said to have been a house so large that it could contain three hundred persons.

An excursion was now made into the interior, and another village was visited, towards which the same domineering system was observed. Seeing a number of chests in which the Indians preserved the dead bodies of their relations, the governor conceiving this to be a species of idolatry, caused both chests and bodies to be reduced to ashes,—a proceeding very little calculated to conciliate the Floridans. The avidity of the Spaniards was, however, very strongly excited by the view of some fine cloths, and especially of some golden ornaments worn by the Indians; in reply to their eager inquiries respecting which, Apalachen, a country situated at some distance in the interior, was referred to as the quarter whence were derived these and all the other articles seen to be desirable in the eyes of the Spaniards.

It was now time for the governor to consider what course he was to pursue in exploring and conquering Florida. Miruelo, a pilot whom they brought from Cuba, had undertaken to guide them into a secure and commodious harbour, instead of which he had brought them into a mere open road, and now declared himself quite out of his reckoning, and at a loss whither to steer. Narvaez, whose mind was full of the reported wealth of Apalachen, then proposed that they should at once push into the interior, leav-

ing the vessels to find their way at leisure into this or any other convenient port. Alvaro, the narrator, supported the directly opposite opinion. He observed, that they were entering a savage and almost uninhabited country, of which they had not the slightest knowledge; they were entering it as dumb persons, who could not make the natives understand a single word, or obtain from them the least information. He urged, therefore, that they should reembark and sail on, till they should find a secure harbour in a fertile country, from which, as a basis, they might penetrate into the interior. Only the secretary supported this opinion; all the rest, dazzled with the hope of wealth, and impressed with the dangers of the sea, which, being recently felt, appeared more dreadful than any they could encounter on land, cordially seconded the governor's proposal. Alvaro still remaining obstinate, Narvaez observed, that since he was so dreadfully alarmed at the idea of marching into the country, he might take charge of the ships, which he deemed so much safer a task. The Castilian pride of Alvaro took fire. He declared, that though he did not expect that they would ever again see the ships, or the ships them, but that they would leave their bones on this savage earth, he was determined to share every extremity with his countrymen, rather than expose his honour to the slightest imputation. The fleet was therefore committed to an officer of the name of Caravallo, and all preparations were made for the interior expedition.\*

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\* Ramusio, iii. 260. Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. 4. ch. 4.

On the 1st of May, 1528, the Spaniards, three hundred strong, of whom forty were mounted, and with an allowance of two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of pork to each man, set forth to explore the depths of this vast continent. They travelled fifteen days without seeing house or habitation. No long time was required to consume their biscuit and pork, after which they became solely dependent on some wild palm trees. Amid the exhaustion to which this hungry toil reduced them, they were obliged to spend a day in crossing a broad and rapid river, at the opposite side of which they found a village. Here, in answer to their eager inquiries respecting Apalachen, the Indians informed them that the Apalachens were their own enemies, and that they were ready to aid in whatever might be undertaken against that people. After having held some friendly communication and obtained guides, the Spaniards proceeded; but soon reached another river still more rapid, and which could be crossed only by constructing a large canoe for the purpose. John Velasco, a bold horseman, having attempted to swim across, was drowned along with his horse. This first loss cast a considerable gloom over their minds; however the horse, being found by the Indians, was made to afford the only hearty meal they had enjoyed for many days. They had still a long march to perform, over tracts sometimes mountainous and sometimes marshy, encumbered with large trees blown down by the tempests, and often blocking up the road. At length, on the 26th of June, they arrived in sight of a village, which was an-

nounced as Apalachen. Joy took possession of their hearts, and they returned fervent thanks to Heaven that they had come to the end of this long and dreary journey, and of the heavy labour and gnawing hunger which they had endured; that they had reached a region of abundance and wealth, such as this had been painted.

Narvaez desired Alvaro, with fifty infantry and nine cavalry, to enter and take possession of the town. This he easily effected, as all the men were absent, probably on a hunting excursion, and only women and children left in the place. The warriors, however, soon appeared, and were neither little nor agreeably surprised to find their abodes in the possession of a band of strangers. They showed their sentiments by letting fly a shower of arrows, one of which killed a Spanish horse. When fairly attacked, however, they were unable to bear the shock of European troops, and retreated into the woods. They appeared two days after in a pacific attitude, and besought, that if they could not recover their houses, they might at least have their wives and children. This was granted, the Spaniards only retaining one of their Caciques as a hostage. It was soon found, however, that their enmity was in no degree abated. Next day they made an attack so furious, that they succeeded in setting fire to some of the houses; and though again quickly repulsed, fled with such celerity into the woods and marshes, that only one could be killed. Next day an equally brisk attack was made, with a similar result.

The Spaniards had not remained long at Apala-

chen, when they became satisfied that the brilliant wealth which had lured them on to this laborious and perilous expedition was a perfect chimera. The country was mountainous and rugged, covered with extensive marshes, which, both from their depth and the large trees strewed across them, were exceedingly difficult to pass. On strict inquiry, it appeared that the farther they proceeded in this direction they would find it always the more barren and rugged. They now began to feel themselves in evil plight. Though the Indians could not face them in the field, they hemmed them closely in, and every man or horse which straggled from the main body was overwhelmed with a shower of arrows. At length it was learned, that to the south was the country of Aute (now called the Bay of St Mark), which was situated on the seacoast, and abounded in maize. So valuable did these comforts now appear, that the Spaniards, renouncing all their chimeras of gold and conquest, determined to set out in search of the coast of Aute.

The journey was free neither from difficulty nor danger. They had to cross lagoons and marshes deeper and more encumbered than any they had hitherto encountered. On the second day, while they were struggling through, with the water up to their breast, the air was suddenly darkened by clouds of arrows, shot by invisible hands. These were the Indians, who had lodged themselves along the banks of the lake, or behind the trees which floated on its surface. With bows eleven or twelve spans long, and as thick as a man's arm, they discharged arrows to the



distance of two hundred yards with almost unerring precision, and such force, that they penetrated the thickest armour, and grievously wounded both man and horse. Sometimes even a single wound caused immediate death. The Indians, when seen, being tall, naked, and moving with prodigious swiftness, had almost the appearance of supernatural beings. No movement of resistance or attack could be made till the Spaniards were extricated from the lagoon; and even then the ground was so encumbered, that the cavalry could not act, and it was only by dismounting and pursuing the enemy on foot, that it became possible to drive them to a little distance. They soon re-appeared, and allowed the Spaniards no rest, till after their stock of arrows was exhausted. The expedition then proceeded without farther molestation, and in nine days from its last departure arrived at Aute. The natives had abandoned the place; but a good store of maize was found, and after another day's march they came to the banks of a river which appeared to open at some distance below into a broad arm of the sea.

The situation of the Spaniards was now such as called for the most serious reflection. All their brilliant hopes had vanished. Nearly a third of their number had perished. More than a third of those remaining laboured under disease, which was gaining so rapidly as to make it certain that a continuance of these laborious marches through a hostile country would place the whole on the sick-list. There was thus every reason to fear, that either in attempting to

retrace their steps, or to march along the coast in search of their fleet, the whole would perish. A general meeting was called, and every one was asked what he had to propose. After long deliberation, there appeared only one resource which afforded a gleam of hope ; this was to construct little barks, and sail along the coast till they should find their fleet. It was difficult to conceive a resource more forlorn. They had neither knowledge of ship-building, nor any implements of the art, nor any materials out of which sails, ropes, and rigging could be constructed. Still the plan had this one recommendation, that every thing else was utterly desperate. They therefore applied themselves to the task, and called upon Heaven, and upon Necessity, the mother of invention, to aid them. One of them, out of wooden pipes and the skins of wild beasts, contrived to make a pair of bellows, by the operation of which their stirrups, spurs, and cross-bows, were converted into nails, saws, and hatchets. Their shirts, cut open and sewed together, made sails ; the juice of a species of pine was a substitute for tar ; the woolly part of the palm-tree served as oakum ; its fibres, with loose hair, formed a species of rope. A horse was killed every three days, and its flesh distributed, partly to the working hands, partly as a dainty to the sick. In short, with such ardour did the work proceed, that having begun on the 4th of August, by the 22d of September they had completed five boats, in each of which were embarked from forty to fifty persons ; but they were so crowded, that they could not move or turn in the boat, of which not more than a fourth

part was above the water. In this plight, however, it behoved them to sail.\*

After proceeding six days, a favourable circumstance occurred. On approaching an island, they descried five canoes belonging to Indians, who immediately abandoned them. The canoes being taken and attached to their boats, enabled the Spaniards to place themselves in a somewhat better condition. They sailed on, however, thirty days without finding any secure haven, or opportunity of refreshment. The scarcity of victuals was now felt; and that of water was so extreme, that many were driven to drink seawater, which, when taken in any quantity, proved fatal. Their sufferings were aggravated by a severe storm, which continued for six days; at the end of which they seemed on the point of perishing, when, on turning a point, they discovered a fine and secure bay, with a considerable village. Here they were received most cordially and hospitably: before each door stood vessels of water, from which they quenched their thirst, and they enjoyed a hearty meal of roasted fish. Mutual presents were exchanged, and such a cordial intercourse established, that Narvaez agreed to spend the night under the roof of the Cacique. This calm was of short duration. At midnight the village was attacked by a hostile tribe of Indians; the Cacique fled with all his people, and the Spaniards were left to maintain alone a desperate contest. The governor

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\* Naufragios, p. 6-9. Herrera, Dec. iv. 6-9, lib. 4. ch. 6. Ramusio, iii. 262-3.

himself and all his people were wounded more or less severely, before the enemy could be beat off; and they had no choice left but to re-embark. They touched afterwards at another populous bay; but being involved in a quarrel with the natives, respecting two of their people who had been lured away, were obliged again to put out to sea. Their situation became now every moment more critical. Their remnant of provisions was drawing fast to a close, and the shattered barks could scarcely be got forward. That of the governor being the best manned, now began pushing on at a rate with which the rest were unable to keep pace. Alvaro called out to ask orders how he was to proceed; to which Narvaez answered, that the time was past for giving or receiving orders, and that it rested with every man to save his life as he best could; he then pushed on, and was soon out of sight. Alvaro, with another of the barks, continued the voyage for four days; but having only half a handful of maize daily for each, and encountering severe weather, they were reduced to the most extreme distress. On the evening of the fourth day the crew sunk entirely, and fell down half dead over each other. Alvaro being alone capable of any exertion, the master called to him, that he must take the helm, as he himself would certainly die that night. Alvaro took the post, but after a few hours' rest the master resumed it. Towards morning they heard the sound of breakers, and found the vessel in six fathoms water, which led to the hope of being near land. Daylight confirmed this hope, and, after a severe shock in crossing the breakers, the boat was

got near to the land, and the exhausted crew crept on shore upon their hands and feet. Here they kindled a fire, cooked the maize which they had still left, and began to feel their strength and spirits revive.

Alvaro desired Lope d'Oviedo, the most vigorous of the company, to mount a tree and see what land it was on which they had been thrown. Oviedo reported that it was an island, and so well cultivated, that it appeared almost a Christian land. He was then desired to advance a little into the country, though with caution. He soon found a village, with only women and children in it; but three archers speedily appeared, with others behind, who, following Oviedo, quickly reached the shore, and formed a circle of about a hundred round our party. They were well-armed and tall, and, to the alarmed eyes of the Spaniards, appeared almost gigantic. Alvaro, who had not six men that could rise from the ground, saw clearly that he had nothing to hope from resistance, and that his only course was to endeavour to propitiate the strangers. This he sought to do by courtesy, and by presenting them with those toys in which savages delight. He met a most kind and gracious return; the Indians presented him with arrows, their surest pledge of confidence; they regretted much having no provisions with them, but promised by next morning to return with a copious supply.

The Indians fulfilled their engagement, and both this day and the following brought fresh stores of fish, roots, and other productions of the soil. Alvaro, having formed a stock of these sufficient to last for some time, determined to set sail and pursue his voyage.

For this purpose it was a matter of great labour, in their weak state, to loosen the boat out of the sand in which it was fixed, and drag it afloat ; in doing which it was even necessary to strip themselves naked, throwing their clothes into the boat. A fresh calamity here overtook them, more dreadful than any former one. A violent wave upset the boat, which sunk with all the clothes, and carried down three of the Spaniards ; the rest with difficulty reached the shore. They threw themselves naked on the sand ; and their former condition, deemed so wretched, appeared almost happiness when compared with that extremity of misery at which they had now arrived. Their destitution was utter ; all the little they had was gone down, and with it every hope and chance of deliverance. As they looked at the emaciated bodies of each other, in which every bone could be counted, each felt sympathy for his companions, mingled with a more intense feeling of his own misery. While they lay in this state, the Indians came up with a fresh supply of provisions ; but at the view of their changed and dreadful condition, set up loud cries of lamentation, which were heard at a great distance, and were continued for half an hour without intermission. As soon as their plaint had somewhat abated, Alvaro asked his companions (without fear of being understood by the Indians), what was to be done in this extremity, and whether they ought not to ask shelter from strangers who showed so tender a concern for their sufferings. There happened, however, to be several of the party who had accompanied Cortez in his expedition to Mexico, and had seen from a dis-

tance the dreadful pomp with which their countrymen had been sacrificed in the temple of the Mexican god of war. These adjured Alvaro, by all that was sacred, to abide every extremity, rather than deliver them into the hands of men from whom they might expect a fate of similar horror. Alvaro looked round him. His companions were lying stretched on the sand, on the point of perishing, without any human hope or aid, except that dreaded one against which he was so solemnly warned. His position was manifestly quite desperate, but for the Indians; and their tender lamentations, with the kindness and pity which beamed from their eyes, made it surely at least possible, that their intentions might not be of the horrible nature now suggested. Disregarding, therefore, the terrors and remonstrances of his comrades, he related his disaster to the Indians, and entreated the shelter of their hospitable roof. The Indians gave the most cordial consent, only proposing that they should remain for a short time round the fire which had here been kindled, till they should hasten and prepare for their reception. In a few hours they returned, and then led, or rather carried, the Spaniards to their village, scarcely allowing their feet to touch the ground. They had kindled large fires at short distances, where the naked and shivering bodies of the Spaniards had from time to time the heat restored to them. On reaching the village, it was found that a house, of the slight materials used in the country, had been specially constructed for them, and had been brought, by large fires, into a comfortable temperature. All this care and kindness abated in no degree the panic

of the Spaniards, to whom it appeared, that these were only arrangements for placing their bodies in a state which might render them fit to be placed on the altar of the Floridan deities. The Indians bid them a cordial good-night, and, retiring to their own habitations, began, according to the custom of the country, to sing and dance through the evening; but these cheerful sounds, instead of tranquillizing the Spaniards, heightened their alarm, being deemed only the festal pomp which was to celebrate their immolation. They lay sleepless, seeming to feel at every moment the sacrificial knife stuck in their breasts. It was not till morning dawned that a gleam of hope began to enter their minds. The Indians then entered with a plentiful breakfast; and the same kindness being continued from day to day, the alarms of the Spaniards were at length composed.\* They learned soon after, that there were other Spaniards at no great distance, who proved to be the crew of another bark that had been shipwrecked, though not in so disastrous a manner. These had preserved their clothes, though only the single set which they had on their persons; so that they could communicate nothing to mitigate the extreme want of this necessary under which the companions of Alvaro laboured.

Fate did not cease to persecute this unfortunate crew. There befel such a series of cold and tempest, that the Indians could neither find the roots on which they ordinarily subsisted, nor carry on their fishery

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\* Naufragios, 14. Ramusio, iii. 263-4.



with advantage. A severe scarcity ensued, which fell with peculiar weight on the strangers, who could expect nothing from the Indians, and had neither the same skill nor means to provide for themselves. Five of them, who were in a detached station on the coast, were reduced to such an extremity, that they betook themselves to the horrible remedy of devouring each other ; which they continued till there remained only one, who survived only because " there was nobody to eat him." The Indians were shocked beyond measure on learning this affair, and ever after viewed the whole body of the Europeans with quite an altered eye. Their condition became thus always worse and worse, so that, in the course of the season, famine and disease had reduced their number from eighty to fifteen. The Indians were at the same time attacked with a pestilential malady, which carried off half of them. Under the deep distress which this occasioned, a superstitious idea seized them, that all the calamities of this dreadful winter had originated in a magic and malignant influence exercised by the strangers. They took it therefore into deliberation, whether they should put them to death ; but an old Indian very reasonably argued, that if the Spaniards had possessed this supernatural power, they would surely have used it in protecting themselves ; whereas the fact was, that they had suffered still more severely than the Indians. So just a view of the subject carried conviction to the minds of the savages. The Spaniards had, however, entirely lost their former favour ; they were reduced to the station of slaves, and were obliged to perform the most labori-

ous offices, particularly that of digging the earth, and searching at the bottom of the marshes for the roots on which they subsisted. To this indeed was added the function of physicians, which they were called upon to exercise. In vain did they plead their profound ignorance of the healing art ; no credit was given to this averment ; and, after persuasion had been used in vain, notice was given to them, that all allowance of food was to cease till they should enter on their medical functions. Thus starved into doctors, they at length began their practice, which was exceedingly simple, being modelled on that of the Indians. They merely blew upon the patients, and uttered Spanish words, which were considered as magical ; when, to their utter astonishment, all the patients declared that from that moment they felt the greatest and most sensible relief. As the success of their practice, however, did not bring any improvement in their situation, Alvaro contrived to make his escape to the continent, where he set on foot a petty traffic, which succeeded wonderfully. It consisted in carrying into the interior shells, marine plants, and other productions of the sea, for which he brought in exchange, hides, red ochre for the savage toilet, flints for arrow-heads, and cane for arrows. The perpetual hostility of the natives among themselves caused them to stand much in need of a foreign and neutral hand to carry on these transactions. Alvaro, in his capacity of merchant, was therefore well and courteously treated, and enjoyed full personal liberty.

In this manner our narrator spent several years, during which his object, as may be supposed, was

not to remain in this miserable exile, but to obtain such information as might enable him to reach the distant points of the South Sea and Mexico, the only channel by which he could hope to revisit his native country. He was anxious also to make an arrangement with two or three companions, to share with him the toils and perils of this long expedition. At length he agreed with Andrea Dorante and Alonzo de Castiglio, two others of the principal officers, to join him in this grand and daring adventure. They fell in at first, however, with a nation more barbarous than any among whom they had sojourned. The country being desolate, and the people unacquainted with any species of agriculture, they devoured eagerly the most loathsome food, ants' eggs, worms, lizards, serpents, even fish-bones and wood; and our traveller verily believes if there had been stone in the country, they would have eaten it. They are said to have been in the truly barbarous habit of exposing all their female children; and when interrogated on the subject, they argued, that within their own tribe the ties of consanguinity were so close, that girls could not be married there without a breach of propriety; and that to marry them to their enemies would be affording to the latter the means of multiplying and increasing their power. When wives were wanted, they procured them, either by violence or purchase, from their neighbours, and devolved upon them the most laborious offices. Amid all their misery, they spent the greater part of their time in singing and dancing, especially during the only period of the year when they enjoyed plenty, which was

during the harvest of a fruit which they called Tune. These Indians converted the Spaniards into slaves, employing them in the most laborious offices, and often leaving them four days without food, for which they offered no plea but necessity, and no consolation, but that they would have plenty during the season of Tune. That season in fact brought to them a permanent deliverance; for, amid the tumultuous festivity to which it gave rise, they contrived to escape, and find refuge among a people farther to the westward. Here no European had hitherto been seen; and they were received with that pleased surprise which usually marks the first meeting between civilized and savage people. Their reverence was much increased when Alvaro began to carry into practice those medical principles which he had imbibed on the coast. His success was greater than ever; insomuch, that he assures us that he succeeded in raising a dead man to life.\* Such an achievement cannot but shake our confidence in the authenticity of the whole narrative;† however, we are will-

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\* *Nafragios*, 23-4. Herrera, Dec. IV. b. i. ch. 3-4. Ramusio, iii. 269.

† A warm controversy arose in Spain on the subject of these miracles. Padre Honorio Filippino, in his work, "*Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio Novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis*," admits indeed, that these may be very natural and probable events; but insists, that to render them so, they ought to be performed by a holy priest, and not by a wicked soldier, (*soldado escelerado*). An anonymous author, however, has undertaken the vindication of Alvaro, and written a long treatise on the subject. He only faintly repels, however, the last appellation, as applied to

ing to believe, that the person might have been in a swoon, or stunned by a blow, especially as the resurrection took place only upon a long application of the remedy, and even some time after it had ceased. Be this as it may, such worship did they obtain in the eyes of the Indians, that on the assertion being made, that they were the children of the Sun, it met with immediate belief; and they were not only at full liberty to proceed to the westward, but were furnished with an escort to conduct and recommend them. The escort accordingly introduced them to the next people, as children of the Sun, who had power to cure or kill every disease to which man could be subject. They added, it is said, "greater lies," which are not specified. All passed current, and these persons scrupled not, even under cover of this sacred character of their mysterious companions, to appropriate whatever appeared to them desirable,—a proceeding viewed with much alarm by the Spaniards, on account of the hostile feelings which seemingly it could not fail to kindle; but, on the contrary, they found their companions made welcome on their

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his hero. His argument is, that the power of working miracles, or at least marvels, had been granted to the most unworthy objects; not only to wicked men, (*malos y reprobos*,) but to devils, (*diabolicos admirables*,) and even to the lower animals, as he devotes a chapter to the "*portentos admirables de los Brutos*." After this, every argument derived from the unworthiness of Alvaro, which he insists is much exaggerated, must fall to the ground. The reader probably feels no inclination to pursue this controversy any farther.

account, to any thing they chose to take. This new people sent a similar escort, who reported the same absurdities, and made a similar use of the credit derived from them; and thus they were passed on, from nation to nation, guided, venerated, and protected. They had nothing to encounter, except the physical obstacles of the route. They passed first a large river coming from the north, which appears to be the Mississippi, then travelled thirty leagues over a populous plain, when they came to a rugged, arid, and dreary tract, fifty leagues in extent, being the desert which separates the United States from the Mexican territory. In this road they suffered severely from thirst and hunger; but it was still worse when, having crossed another broad river, the "Rio del Norte," they came to a range of desert, steep, and barren mountains, (the continuation of the Cordilleras, passing into the Rocky chain). Here the Indians at one time, overcome by fatigue and hunger, lay down, and declared it impossible to proceed; when Alvaro, impelled to resentment, used high words and threats, to which they at last yielded. Soon after a severe malady attacked and carried off eight of them, when the poor creatures, imagining that the anger of Alvaro had induced him to employ magical powers to produce this effect, implored on their knees that he would forgive, and cease to slay them in this terrible manner. To cause such a calamity was as little in the wish as the power of Alvaro, who was grieved on their account, and also from the dread of not being able to prosecute his journey. At length they came to a party of Indians who had a little maize, the

sight of which was like that of land to those who had been long on a tempestuous ocean. They followed them to their village ; but learned that the maize could not be raised in this high and arid tract, though in proceeding westward they would not be long of arriving at a fertile country and the seacoast. Alvaro began now to inquire about the Christians, when he was informed, that to the south-west there was a wicked people of that name, who plundered and murdered all who fell in their way, and never were known to do a good action. He was carefully warned to avoid all communication with them. He found too ample proofs of the correctness of this report, as he proceeded over a large plain, which the ravages of the Spaniards had reduced almost to a complete desert. Continuing to insist upon proceeding to meet the Christians, his guides reluctantly accompanied him ; but nothing could equal their astonishment when told that Alvaro himself was a Christian. This they declared to be utterly impossible, since every thing was contrary in the two parties. The one came from the east, the other from the west ;—the one was naked and on foot, the other clothed and on horseback ;—the one healed those who were sick, the other killed those who were well ;—the one showed no signs of avarice, while the other seemed to have no object in life but to steal whatever they could reach. Indeed they fully justified their character, Alvaro being only able, with great difficulty, to prevent them from making prisoners of the poor Indians who had served as his guides. This, and the opinion which he frankly expressed of their conduct, inspired such resentment, that, after

having traversed all America free and respected, he was made a prisoner by his own countrymen, and sent over a range of mountains so desolate and rugged, that two of the party perished on the road. On his arrival, however, at Compostella, the capital of New Galicia, he was very courteously received, and much displeasure was expressed by the governor at the conduct of the frontier Spaniards. At Mexico his reception was still more cordial, and he was liberally supplied with every thing he wanted. After spending the winter here, he set sail next spring; and, having escaped considerable danger both from the sea and the French, who were then at war with Spain, he arrived at Lisbon on the 9th August, 1537.\*

The disasters which had attended the expedition of Narvaez and its calamitous issue, did not, at that era of daring adventure, deter captains, even of high possessions and promise, from pressing eagerly on in the same career. FERNANDO DE SOTO, a native of Badajoz, originally possessing only courage and his sword, had been one of the most distinguished companions of Pizarro, and a main instrument in annexing to Spain the golden regions of Peru. He went along with Ferdinand Pizarro on the first embassy to the Inca of Caxamalca, and he commanded one of three companies of horse, who encountered and made captive that unfortunate prince. Afterwards, along with Barco, he advanced to Cuzco, and first entered that imperial city. He returned to Spain, laden with

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\* Herrera, Dec. vi. Naufragios, &c. 31. Ramusio, iii. 276.



wealth, and with that high, though somewhat dark fame, which attended these celebrated exploits. He appeared at the court of Charles V. in great pomp, with a brilliant retinue, who had in some degree shared his prosperity. By accommodating the emperor with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any thing he might choose to demand. Soto sued for a fatal gift. Not content with the ample wealth and honours at which he had arrived, he viewed them only as instruments towards the attainment of something more splendid. In the conquest of Peru his part had been secondary,—the first prize had been carried off by another. He sought a country, the glory of conquering and the pride of ruling which should be wholly his; and he was willing to embark all his ample treasures in an adventure which would open, it was hoped, new and more copious sources of wealth. His wishes were fulfilled. He was created Adelantado of Florida, combining the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. He was also allowed, in this future kingdom, thirty leagues of territory to be formed into a marquisate. Soon after the conclusion of this agreement, Alvaro made his appearance, soliciting the same appointment, to which his dear-bought experience seemed to give him a sort of right; but the prior and well-supported claim of Soto kept its ground, and Alvaro was obliged to content himself with the government of Buenos Ayres. Thus gifted to his utmost wishes, he immediately proceeded to embark his whole fortune in the grand adventure. As the report spread, that Soto was setting forth to conquer new kingdoms, and to open the

treasures of another Peru, crowds of spirited and enterprising youths flocked to join, and even, like him, to embark their fortunes in the cause. In the course of fifteen months he had equipped an expedition of ten sail and nine hundred adventurers, most of them trained to arms.\* He set sail with the Mexican fleet, of which he received the command as far as Cuba, and that island was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every resource which it could afford for the furtherance of his object. At Cuba he was re-enforced by a distinguished volunteer, Vasco Porcalho, who had long carried arms both in Europe and America, and, having accumulated an immense fortune, was living in splendid retirement; but, on seeing the fine equipment and bold spirit of this expedition, he felt his military ardour revive. In a few days he resolved to join them in person, bringing an ample supply of provisions and stores, eighty horses, and a considerable train of followers. In consideration of these important aids, and of his own experience, he was created by Soto his lieutenant-general.

On the 12th May, 1539, the Adelantado set sail from Cuba, and towards the end of the month disembarked on the coast of Florida. He immediately advanced upon the city of Hirriga or Hirrihigua, governed, like all the other Floridan states, by a cacique of the same name. Soto seems to have come with intentions more than usually wise and humane, and to

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\* Vega Garcilossa de Florida del Ynca, b. 1. ch. 3—4. Herrera, Dec. vi. b. 7. ch. 9. Purchas, iv. 1532.

have sought to redeem the character of his nation. He determined not only to abstain from every injury and outrage against the natives, but even not to resent their first hostility, and to make friends of them by every possible sacrifice. But the memory of the Indians furnished a dreadful catalogue of wrongs, which could not be wiped off by a few passing professions, or by even acts of kindness. The Adelantado was moreover obliged to open his communications by demanding, in virtue of the Papal grant, a regular act of submission to his sovereign, and to himself as viceroy,—a demand which was held in utter disdain by the free and proud Caciques of Florida. The sovereign of Hirriga, we are coolly told, had had his nose cut off and his mother cruelly murdered by the Spaniards, so that he could never view them but with the most unrelenting enmity. He had caught hold of four, three of whom he put to death amid the severest torments. With respect to Ortiz, the fourth, a controversy was raised by that humane disposition which the wife and daughters of the Cacique shared with the rest of their sex. By constant entreaty they succeeded in persuading him to do no more than variously torture his prisoner. Even when they found him one day laid over the fire on a gridiron, they rescued him, and by great care recovered him from his half-roasted state. At length Hirriga announced that he must and would, without further delay, kill Ortiz, and that in so peremptory a tone that the ladies durst say no more. Pity, however, still swayed their breasts; and the eldest daughter contrived to send him off at midnight, under charge of a trusty Indian,

to Mucoço, a neighbouring prince who was tenderly attached to her. Mucoço received in the kindest manner a fugitive who came with such a recommendation. As soon, therefore, as he learned the landing of the Spaniards he repaired to their camp along with Ortiz. The sight of this personage, and the hearing of his name, caused a pretty deep disappointment to the expedition. Some one, it seems, had intimated that there was something at the court of Mucoço which would be agreeable to them; but, pronouncing the word *Orotis*, the two first syllables caught the ear of the Spaniards, and suggested to them gold,—that object of their sole and perpetual longing. Instead of that precious metal, to see only a captive countryman, caused them to look somewhat blank; though the securing an interpreter and guide was perhaps an object of more real value. Mucoço seemed extremely pleased with his reception at the camp, and even agreed to hold himself as the vassal of the crown of Spain. His poor mother, however, arrived after him in a doleful plight. She immediately hastened to the general, and, falling on her knees, implored from him her son, declaring herself ready to die in his stead. Soto solemnly assured her that nothing could be farther from the wish of the Spaniards than either her death or his, and entreated her to compose herself, and take some refreshment. At length she was prevailed on to sit down to table; but, still cherishing the blackest ideas of the Spaniards, she would not allow a morsel to enter her lips till Ortiz had tasted it, and certified that it was not poisoned. Hereupon some of the gentlemen rallied her upon such extreme

love of life, which a little before she had declared herself so ready to sacrifice; but she replied, that she loved life much, but her dear son still more, and that this ought to be only an additional motive to them not to kill him, but to give him up to her. They told her that he was welcome to go if he chose; but Mucoço, laughing at her wild apprehensions, declared that he wished to stay a few days longer with his friends the Spaniards; and, after many solemn assurances of his safety and good treatment, she took her mournful departure.

Soto prevailed upon some friendly natives to proceed to Hirriga, make overtures of alliance, and tender a friendly visit. Hirriga, however, replied, that the heads of the Spaniards, severed from their bodies, would be most welcome, but that in no other shape would he admit them into his presence. He even ventured an attack upon them, but was repulsed with loss, by Porcalho; upon which he abandoned his capital, and retreated into the woods and marshes. Soto sent back the captured Indians with presents, and took every method in his power to mollify the cacique's resentment; but though he was thus induced to treat more mildly such Spaniards as fell into his hands, nothing could induce him to hold the shadow of friendly intercourse with that detested nation.

The Spaniards advanced now upon another city in the interior, known by the lengthy name of Urribaracuxi; but the approach was difficult, across the marshes occupied by the enemy, who seized every opportunity of harassing their march. Porcalho,

hearing that Hirriga was in a neighbouring wood, and elated with his former success, undertook to surprise him and bring him in prisoner. Every one assured him that he did not know what he was undertaking, or the obstacles he was to encounter; but nothing could divert him from the enterprise. He led on his men with youthful ardour, and, coming to a marshy spot, where every one else shrunk back, he alone pushed in, but soon sunk so deep, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be dragged out alive. Thus forced to retreat without seeing an enemy, the old man returned to the camp in the most dreadful ill humour. He would speak to no one, but was heard constantly muttering to himself, in stammering and broken accents,—Hirrihigna,—Urribaracuxi, and pouring imprecations upon a land of which the very first names were such as no human organs could utter. These symptoms fermented into a resolution to quit the enterprise in which he had so hastily embarked, and betake himself again to his comfortable quarters in Cuba. He left indeed his nephew; but this young man, intractable, and possessed of lofty ideas of his own importance, did not prove a very serviceable associate.

Urribaracuxi was found deserted, the Cacique, with all his people, having retreated into the woods. Soto made a desperate effort to reach him; but, after spending a day in penetrating a long defile, he came to a marsh so deep, that the army could proceed no farther, and were obliged, not without difficulty, to make their way back. They came next to Acuera, the chief of which equally repelled their advances, expressing his

utter astonishment at their once imagining that free-born men should spontaneously place themselves under a foreign yoke. His subjects and himself, he declared, would sooner die. He issued, therefore, his mandate, that two Spanish heads should be presented to him daily; and during the twenty days that the Spaniards spent there, the reckoning was not ill kept up. . So close was the watch, that a Spaniard could not stir three hundred yards from the camp without being cut down. They came next to the country of Acali, which was fertile, and free from the dangerous marshes which abounded in those already crossed; so that with pleasure they felt the ground firm beneath their feet. Here too the prince, after some delay, waited upon them with many professions of friendship, and acceded to all the terms propounded. Suspicion was soon excited by various observations made upon his conduct; but it was thought better to dissemble, and watch him closely, than to make him an open enemy. The cloven foot appeared at the crossing of a large stream, when, as the Spaniards were constructing a bridge, some hundred Indians started up from among the bushes, and poured in clouds of arrows, calling them base robbers, and other opprobrious epithets. They effected their passage, however, without any greater calamity than the loss of Brutus, a favourite dog, who was much lamented by the army. The prince remained, making solemn professions of innocence and grief, and lamenting that, in consequence of his attachment to the Spaniards, he had lost altogether the command of his own subjects. Soto, though he placed exceed-

ing little faith in these explanations, did not choose to make an open breach ; but, thinking that the absence of this young prince would be more eligible than his company, he gave him a friendly advice to satisfy his own subjects by going home to them.

The Spaniards marched next into the province of Vitachuco, which, contrary to the usual custom of Florida, was divided among three brothers. Ochile the youngest was surprised in his capital, and taken prisoner, upon which he either was or appeared to be gained over, and undertook to plead the cause of the Spaniards with his eldest brother, who was much the most powerful, and bore the name of Vitachuco. He wrote to acquaint him that these strangers were ascertained to be the children of the sun and of the moon, and rode on animals so swift that nothing could escape them. They behaved in the most friendly manner towards those who received them well, but committed the most dreadful havock where they experienced the contrary. He earnestly exhorted him, therefore, to take the more prudent part. Vitachuco answered in the most disdainful terms, that the solar and lunar descent of the Spaniards was a ridiculous tale ; that whatever outward appearance they might assume, doubtless they were, like all the rest of their countrymen, traitors, murderers, robbers, and children of the devil. That, if they were the honest men they pretended, they would stay at home and cultivate their own soil, instead of coming into distant climates to expose themselves by their robberies to the execration of mankind. He afterwards sent messages to the Spaniards themselves, filled with most



violent and indeed chimerical menaces. He told them that if they entered his country, he would command the earth to open and swallow them up, the mountains between which they marched to unite and crush them; he would poison the waters, the plants, and the very air. When, however, he saw the Spaniards continuing to advance, and learned from various quarters how very formidable they were, he assumed an entirely different tone. He went to meet Soto, made many apologies for the injurious ideas which he had at first imbibed, and the rude manner in which he had expressed them. His only anxiety now was how he could do him the greatest honour. He tendered to him his own submission and that of his subjects, and was only anxious to learn what quantity he would require of provisions, and of every thing useful to him that his territory afforded. Soto received his submission in the most gracious manner, professed his entire oblivion of the past, declared that his only object was to render him all the service in his power, and that he would study not to be burdensome to him. But the hatred of Vitachuco was still as deep and deadly as ever, and all this courteous seeming was only to cover a scheme by which he fondly hoped that not one of this detested race would ever pass out from the precincts of his territory.

The prince led the Spaniards to his town, and provided for them the best accommodation it could afford. At the same time, as if to do them honour, he summoned his warriors from every part of his territory, and appointed a day in which they were to be drawn up and exhibited in full array. He then dis-

closed to a number of his chiefs, that, on a signal given, they should fall suddenly on the hated race of the strangers, and exterminate them at one blow. They applauded and declared their eagerness to sacrifice themselves, if necessary, in so glorious an undertaking. One, however, of baser temper, communicated the fatal design to Ortiz, by whom it was immediately reported to the general. Soto resolved to dissemble, and to turn the plot of the Indian against himself. He expressed the pleasure with which he would see the Indian array exhibited, adding, that, in order to heighten the pomp of so great a day, he would also bring out his own Spaniards in full armour and in order of battle. It was easy to see that Vitachuco would have gladly dispensed with this honour; but he had no pretence for refusing, and, not aware that all was discovered, hoped still to effect his object by means of surprise.

On the appointed day the Indians appeared, drawn up on a large plain in front of the town, having a wood on one side and a range of marshes on the other. The Spanish troops came out from the town, Soto and Vitachuco marching together at their head. As they approached the spot where Soto was to have been seized, a musquet was fired, at which signal twelve Spanish soldiers, previously instructed, surrounded the Cacique, and made him prisoner. The Indian army, seeing this catastrophe of their chief, raised a loud shout and rushed on to battle. Soto mounted his favourite horse Azeituno, and with a too daring valour which was usual to him, rushed foremost upon the enemy. The Indians met him

with a shower of arrows, aimed particularly at Azeituno; and that gallant steed, which had so often borne its rider to victory, was pierced with eight barbs, and fell down dead. Soto fell with him, and was in imminent danger; but the Spanish cavalry instantly rushed on and charged the enemy. The loose infantry of the Indians was wholly unable to sustain the shock; they were broken, dispersed, and fled in every direction. Some hundreds, the flower of the army, who had been placed in the rear, could escape only by throwing themselves into a large pond, so deep, that at four feet from the bank it took them over head, and they could support themselves only by swimming. The Spaniards occupied all the sides of the pond, but the Indians continued floating in the water, and obstinately refused to surrender. They even locked themselves three or four together, on the backs of whom one stood, and discharged arrows as long as they had any remaining. They waited anxiously for night, hoping under its favour to effect a landing, and escape into the woods. The Spaniards, however, invested the pond six deep, and effectually prevented every attempt to land. In the morning the Indians were in a miserable state, half dead with cold and with the fatigue of keeping themselves on the surface of the water, yet they still turned a deaf ear to the urgent invitations of Ortiz, who assured them of safety and good treatment if they would only yield. At length a few, quite overcome, approached the shore; but the greater part, after touching it, again plunged into the water. When it was seen, however, that the few who landed were kindly received, others

insensibly followed. By mid-day, two hundred had yielded, and in the evening there remained floating only seven, who seemed determined to perish in the water rather than yield. Soto hereupon sent out half a dozen of his best swimmers, who took hold of them by the hair, and pulled them on shore. After, by proper remedies, they had been recovered from their almost lifeless state, they were asked what could lead them, after the hopeless and miserable state to which they had been reduced, to persevere in so obstinate a resistance. They replied, that, having been invested by their master with the highest commands, they considered themselves bound to answer such confidence by sacrificing themselves in his cause, and thus to set a noble example to their children and posterity. They felt themselves dishonoured and unfortunate in having been spared by the clemency of Soto, and it would be an additional kindness if he would take their lives. The high loyalty and courage breathed in these sentiments were congenial to the ideas of the Spaniards, who even shed tears of admiration; and the seven, with general consent, were left at liberty to go to their homes. Soto, at the same time, used every effort to gain over Vitachuco. He admitted him again to his table, and assured him, that however dreadful his conduct had been, the memory of it would be entirely effaced, provided he now acted up to those professions of fidelity which he had once made.

Soto had thus far followed the course most likely to effect his object of conciliating the Indians. This plan, however, having been adopted, it ought to have been thoroughly followed out, and not to have had any

harsh or tyrannical measures mixed up with it. Soto began to think, that some penalty was necessary to deter other Indians from imitating the example of those of Vitachuco; and the plan which he fell upon was the most injudicious that can well be conceived. He caused the *pond* Indians to be distributed among the Spaniards, whom they were to serve as slaves during their stay in the city. These proud chiefs and warriors were thus compelled to act as cooks and scullions, and to perform all the most menial offices. Soto, it is said, meant to set them at liberty at his departure, which was not intended to be very distant; but he did not communicate this intention to Vitachuco, to whom it appeared that his bravest subjects were thus doomed to hopeless and humiliating bondage. That fierce thirst for revenge, which had been lulled in the breast of this savage chieftain, was awakened anew in all its force. The Indians were disarmed, but they were at large, and in their domesticated state had the Spaniards very much within their reach. It appeared to Vitachuco, that if each Indian killed his master, the detested race would be at once extinct. The plan being communicated, was embraced with ardour, and the secret faithfully kept. Three o'clock, while he was sitting at dinner, was the time fixed by Vitachuco for executing his purpose. He threw back his shoulders, cracking his bones in a manner peculiar to the Indians, and uttering a shout so loud, that it could be heard at the distance of a quarter of a mile; he then sprung up, and, seizing the general by the arm, dealt such a blow, that Soto fell senseless to the ground, and the blood gushed from the mouth and

nose. The hand of the Indian was lifted to strike another, which, it was thought, would have closed the career of Soto; but the Spanish chiefs, starting from table, darted at once upon the Cacique, who fell pierced by twelve wounds. Mean time all the Indians had heard the loud cry of their chief, and, starting up, seized such weapons as their servile employment afforded,—spits, pots, platters, and chairs,—and struck them with fury against the Spaniards. Two or three of the latter were killed on the spot; almost all the rest received unseemly and dishonest wounds. They soon rallied, however, and took to their arms; but much embarrassment was felt by many, who held it beneath their dignity to kill their own slaves. All they would deign to do was to drag them to the great square, where they would be despatched by the arrows of auxiliary Indians; but these prisoners often shook themselves free, throwing down and trampling upon their masters. However, at last nearly all perished, with little deadly loss on the part of the invaders.\*

After this dismal and bloody catastrophe, the Spaniards could have little satisfaction in remaining at Vitachuco. They merely spent four days in getting their wounds cured, and then set forward for Apalachen, which still bore in their eyes somewhat of that brilliant name which had lured Narvaez to it. The way was through the province of Ossachile, where they found, as usual, the capital deserted, and the Indians watching every opportunity to harass and cut

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\* Vega Florida, lib. ii. ch. 18-25. Herrera, Dec. vi. lib. vii. ch. 11.

them off in detail. Nothing serious occurred, however, till they arrived at the marsh or lagoon in which the army of Narvaez had suffered so dreadfully. The Indians were equally prepared for them, and had occupied every post from which they could be conveniently annoyed. The Spaniards, like their predecessors, found the marsh deep, difficult, and encumbered; and it cost them two days to effect the passage; but, being continually on the watch, and by passing the most difficult parts in the night unperceived by the enemy, they worked their way across without any very serious loss. They had still to fight every step of their way to Apalachen, the Indians constantly hovering round them, and keeping up such a perpetual howling, that the Spaniards could scarcely obtain a moment's sleep. It was announced to them, that at Apalachen they would find a formidable force prepared to resist them; but on their arrival the city was abandoned, the Cacique Capafi having retreated into the mountains.

Soto sent parties in several directions to explore the country beyond Apalachen, when it was found only in one quarter to be of that rugged and mountainous character which had been reported to Narvaez. The other districts were very tolerably productive in millet, roots, and nuts; so that, finding no difficulty of subsistence, he determined to take up here his winter-quarters. The Indians, however, continuing their harassing warfare, Soto resolved upon a desperate effort to terminate it, by seizing their prince. Capafi had sought refuge in the heart of a thick forest, on a spot approachable only by a narrow defile, which

the Indians had fortified by successive palisades, and considered almost impregnable. The Spaniards, however, pulled up the stakes, cut the cords, and soon forced their way through the successive barriers to the retreat of Capafi. The chosen troops, and all the principal chiefs of the Indians, rallied round their chief in this utmost peril, but could not withstand the superior arms and discipline of the assailants. It was in vain to attempt removing the Cacique, who was so excessively corpulent, that his only mode of locomotion was by creeping upon all fours,—a process much too slow for the present exigency. His chiefs were therefore obliged to produce him to Soto, at the same time falling on their knees, and entreating that he would rather take their lives than do the smallest injury to their beloved monarch. The Spaniards were much edified by this loyalty ; so that Soto received the captive prince with courtesy, and his weighty carcass was respectfully conveyed to the capital. The general, however, was much disappointed to find that the hostilities of the Indians, instead of ceasing, became only more active and formidable. They were impelled to redoubled efforts, in hopes of effecting the deliverance of their chief ; while the large and chosen body, who had hitherto been employed in guarding him, became disposeable, and were in continual movement. Capafi, at the urgent request of Soto, sent repeated orders to them to desist, but without effect. As the general grumbled heavily upon this subject, and hinted his doubts of the Cacique's sincerity, the latter observed, that his chiefs, considering him in a state of captivity, regarded the orders sent by him as not emanat-



ing from his own free will, but dictated by the Spaniards. If, however, an arrangement were made, by which he might have an interview with his principal chiefs, he was confident of being able to persuade them of his sincere wish for peace, and to make them desist from their present courses. This was rather a delicate transaction ; however, Soto seeing no hope from any other course, at length agreed to make the trial. An appointment was made with the principal chiefs to assemble in a forest six miles distant from Apalachen ; and the prince was sent thither under a strong guard of cavalry and infantry, who were enjoined to keep the strictest watch over him. They arrived in the evening on the borders of the forest, and messengers were sent to the chiefs, by whom a meeting was arranged for the following day. During the night the Spaniards formed a close circle round the Cacique, and stationed sentinels at every point, so as to prevent every possibility of escape. They hailed, therefore, the dawn of morning, under the full confidence of a happy issue to their mission. To their utter dismay, the Cacique was not to be found, and tidings soon arrived that the Indians were carrying him off in triumph. The Spaniards returned very disconsolate to Apalachen, and reported to Soto that the watch had been so strictly kept as to leave no possibility whatever of Capafi having escaped by human means. It was, therefore, beyond a doubt, that the devil, or one of those mighty magicians with whom the Indians had such extensive traffic, must have wafted his ponderous body through the air, and placed it in the midst of his nobles. Soto, on strict

inquiry, saw much reason to conclude, that Morpheus, shedding his heavy dews on the wearied eyelids of the Spaniards, had been the power under favour of whom Capafi had crept out of the circle and rejoined his countrymen. However, the thing could not now be remedied ; and these being his chosen and trusty chiefs, he did not choose to quarrel with them, but was fain to acquiesce in the supernatural solution of the affair.

During the winter, Soto sent a detachment of thirty horse to Hirriga, to desire a body of troops, which he had left there under Calderon, to rejoin him at Apalachen. The mission was hazardous, as they had to experience the most inveterate hostility from the tribes by whom this long range of territory was occupied. They touched at Vitachuco, but found it completely deserted, being considered by the Indians as an unfortunate spot. In the course of the winter also Maldonado, a naval officer, was made to sail along the coast with two brigantines, in search of a good harbour, which he accordingly found considerably to the west of any of the points at which the Spaniards had yet touched. It was at a place called Achussi, at the mouth of a large river, and Soto determined to make it the basis of his future operations. Other objects for the present attracted his attention towards a different quarter.

Soto made the most anxious inquiries of the Indians who were brought in to him as prisoners, or could be allured into his service, as to the countries in the west and in the interior. At length two young men were found who had followed the mer-

chants into these countries. They described them as extensive and fertile, and offered to serve as guides to the Spaniards. The latter, ever mindful of their grand object, showed them gold, silver, and various species of jewels. The Indians said, that in the western country there was a yellow metal and a white metal, both in great plenty, and which really seemed to have a great resemblance to those now exhibited. They pointed also to the pearls, as an object which would be found there, and even showed one in their own possession. The Spaniards were now in the clouds ; another Peru, more brilliant than Pizarro had conquered, seemed to open before them ; and every day was an age, which intervened before their departure for the land of promise.\*

Towards the end of March, 1540, Soto sent Maldonado to the Havanna for supplies and stores, advising him that the army would meet him in due time at the newly-discovered port. The general then began his march to the coast from which such sanguine hopes were derived. The Apalachians continued their hostility, and a detachment of five guards and two officers, who had been sent to reconnoitre, were surprised and covered with wounds, of which all died except one. On entering into a new territory, Soto felt the necessity of adopting some plan of more decided conciliation. He determined, therefore, to withdraw the clause, by which it had been required that the first communication should consist in an act

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\* Vega Florida, Herrera, lib. 7.

of implicit submission to the king of Spain and the pope. The unvaried indignation with which this overture had been met convinced him that it could never cease to be a ground of hostility; and, in his unbounded anxiety to reach the country of the white and yellow metals, he was willing to suspend every other object.\* The first village reached by him had, however, been deserted, probably in consequence of some rumours from the east; but the inhabitants had not retired so rapidly as to prevent him from taking six of them, two of whom were chiefs. They proudly asked what he wanted? whether it were peace or war? The general replied, that all he wanted was peace, free passage through the country, and such a portion of provisions as his troops absolutely required. The chiefs replied, they had no doubt of all this being readily granted, and sent forward a message to the Cacique, asking a favourable reception for the strangers. The Cacique gave them a cordial invitation to his capital, called Attapaha, where Soto was entertained for three days, and, in return for his good treatment, presented several out of a hundred hogs, which he carried with him and reserved as a dainty. He was equally well received at Achalaque; and we pass over the report of his finding there only old men,—a phenomenon, it is admitted, which he had not leisure to examine. From Patofa, the next Cacique, the reception was more cordial than ever. The object was now to reach

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\* Lib. iii. Dec. vi. ch. 11, 12.

Cofaciqui, the next state, and which had all along been pointed to as the seat of that brilliant wealth which was to reward all their toils. Patofa gave him a most unnecessary and indeed cumbrous escort of three or four thousand men ; to which, it appears, he was prompted by hostile views against this neighbouring power, in which he erroneously hoped that the Spaniards would assist. Such zeal did he display in their service, that, on their complaining of an Indian who had neglected his duty, he condemned him to drink up the nearest rivulet. To fix him to this task, four of the stoutest Indians were provided with rods, and held themselves ready to join in beating him all at once whenever he should make a moment's pause in drinking. The unhappy man drank and drank, till his stomach could receive no more ; then, being compelled to pause, the blows began to descend without intermission, and he was forced to fly back to the pool, till some of the bystanders, moved with pity, ran to Soto, and entreated him to save the man's life by procuring the remission of this dreadful penalty. The Spaniards then set forth with their cumbrous escort, and proceeded for six days through a desert ; during which, however, they were copiously supplied with provisions. At the end of that period the Indians declared themselves unable to tell where they were, or whither the road led. Soto appealed to Patofa whether this was not a most suspicious circumstance, and whether he could expect him to believe, that of so great a crowd not one had ever been led by war or hunting into this quarter. The prince, however, solemnly asserted,

and seems to have satisfied Soto, that this was the territory of their enemies, the Cofaciquis, by whom they were generally worsted, and that, unless from the present favourable circumstances, no one would have ventured to penetrate so far. The two parties therefore continued to grope their way, till they came to a large and broad river, which they had no possible means of crossing. The difficulty was much aggravated by the almost total failure of their provisions, rendered much more severe by the numerous body of Indians whom it was necessary to feed. Parties were despatched both up and down the river in search of a passage, but for five days without success. During that time they suffered the severest extremities of hunger, which they were obliged to palliate by killing a number of their favourite hogs; and even these scarcely afforded a mouthful to each. At length they found some villages, where they obtained a supply of food; but the Indians, indulging their old enmity, and encouraged by the presence of their Spanish allies, began plundering and murdering on all sides. This was quite contrary to all the views of Soto; and the presence of these faithful allies being thus every way useless and burdensome, he was happy in being able to prevail on them in a friendly manner to go home.

After some farther travelling, the Spanish general was fortunate enough to discover, on the opposite side of the river, the city of which he was in quest. When they came to the place of passage, Ortiz and an Indian called across, that some peaceably-disposed strangers wished to treat of an alliance with their Cacique:

Hereupon six of the most respectable inhabitants, with their attendants, entered into a boat and passed the river. On being introduced to the general, they bowed first to the sun in the east, then to the moon in the west, and, lastly, to the general, to whom they put the usual question, Whether he wished peace or war? Soto replied, peace, with the addition of a passage over the river and through the country, and a needful supply of food. It was with regret that he sought to give them this trouble, but he hoped to be able to make some suitable return. The Indians replied, that there would be every disposition to grant his request; but, unfortunately, the country laboured under a severe scarcity, and was also suffering from a pestilential disease; but they served an amiable and generous princess, to whom the whole circumstances should be reported. The Indians returned to the city, and soon after an ornamented barge was seen putting off from the shore, with another attending it; and in the first an elegant female figure, who, it was soon perceived, must be the princess herself. She arrived, and quite enchanted the Spaniards by her beauty, her grace, and the courtesy of her demeanour. She assured Soto that, notwithstanding the reigning scarcity, she had provided two large houses for the accommodation of his people, and had lodged in them six hundred measures of millet; and she had still granaries, out of which, if necessary, a larger supply could be drawn. She then untied a string of large pearls, which formed a treble circle round her neck, reaching even to her girdle, and gave them to Ortiz to deliver to the general. Soto observed, how much greater

pleasure it would give him if she would present it with her own hand, which, as a sign of peace, could not be considered as offending against the nicest decorum. After some modest reluctance the princess advanced, and complied with this request. The Spaniards found themselves more at home here than in any even of the friendly countries through which they had lately passed. Though the latter had shown amity, it had been in a rough, constrained, half-reluctant manner; but there was something free and cordial among the Indians of Cofaciqui, which made them feel at once like old acquaintances. No time was lost in preparing boats and rafts, and the army was passed over in safety.

On inquiring into the state of the country, Soto learned that the princess had a mother, who held a sort of independent establishment at twelve leagues' distance. He expressed a wish to see the old lady, who was accordingly invited; but, instead of complying, she transmitted a sharp reprimand to her daughter for having admitted into her capital strangers of whom she knew nothing. The young princess was so little affected by this remonstrance, that she concurred in a plan of Soto to send a detachment and bring the mother by force. A young chief, with some servants attached to him, was sent with the Spaniards as their guide. This chief, who had hitherto been one of their most agreeable friends, was no sooner on the road than, to their surprise, he became buried in gloomy reverie, and heavy sighs every moment burst from him. At length, taking his quiver, he began drawing out all the arrows, which were so beautiful,



that the attention of the Spaniards was engrossed in admiring them, when he took out one of the sharpest, pierced his heart, and instantly expired. His attendants burst into tears, and said, that this chief, being equally attached to both princesses, the present necessity of failing to one or other of them had agitated his mind, and drawn him to this fatal deed. They proceeded, however, to search for the old lady, but found that she had deserted her home ; and the Indians represented, that in attempting to follow her they might be surrounded and cut to pieces ; and that really it was of no consequence, as the young lady's friendship would secure every thing they could need. The Spaniards then wisely returned ; but another report having reached them of her highness's retreat, a fresh party was sent, who were equally unsuccessful, and this idle chase was at last given up.

Mean time the Spaniards were making anxious inquiries about the productions of Cofaciqui, and particularly the white and yellow metals. The princess answered, that they were in abundance, and caused immediate specimens to be produced. That instant dispelled all the brilliant chimeras, under the influence of which they had undertaken this long and hazardous expedition. The yellow metal proved to be mere brass, with somewhat of a golden tint ; while the white metal was only quartz, which crumbled in the hand like dried clay. Under this deep disappointment, their only consolation was found in pearls, which existed in abundance, though they could not form any judgment as to their value. The princess told them, they might take as many as they pleased out of a large temple,

which served also as the cemetery of her ancestors, and which was lavishly adorned with them. This, which is positively asserted in both narratives, cannot but appear very singular, when contrasted with that reverence for ancestry which usually distinguishes nations in this stage of society. This and another temple were found in fact to contain pearls sufficient to have loaded the whole army,—an abundance which of itself afforded a pretty strong presumption of inferior character. The other temple was that of Tolomeco, the most spacious edifice which was seen in Florida. It was a hundred paces long by forty broad, the roof formed by six mats placed over each other, and brilliantly adorned with shells and pearls. The gate was adorned with twelve statues of giants in full armour, and all round the interior of the walls were ranged statues of men and women of the ordinary size, the former fully armed. The intendants of the emperor were proceeding to levy his fifth upon the pearls and other precious articles found in the temple,—a measure which was stopped by Soto, on the ground that they could not encumber themselves with such a burden, but doubtless considering that the advancement of such a claim would bid fair to dissolve all the happy understanding which now subsisted with the native rulers.\*

The Spaniards at length departed from Cofaciqui, amply supplied with every thing by their generous

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\* Vega, part i. b. 4. c. 15, 16. Purchas, iv. 1537-8.

friend. She even furnished them with guides, who were instructed to denounce war against any of the neighbouring states who should not receive them in the most cordial and hospitable manner. At Chouala, therefore, which was under her immediate dependence, their reception was every thing they could wish ; but as they had no longer any motive to penetrate farther into the country, and Soto wished to approach the port by which he communicated with the Havanna, he determined to move southwards, down the rivers Chacagua and Grande. The Spaniards experienced the same favourable reception at Guachoule, Xualla, and Tciahe. In the last place they found themselves on the scene of the pearl-fishery, and had the opportunity of observing how it was carried on by the natives. The pearls were found in great abundance, but were much injured by the use of fire in opening the shell, and afterwards by being pierced. In entering Acosta, the next province, they were met by a band of 1500 men, who presented themselves under a very rude and menacing aspect, and manifested a resolution to oppose their progress. Soto was very unwilling to interrupt the harmonious intercourse which he had so long held with the natives ; he therefore sent forward his Indian guides to make every possible explanation and assurance of friendly intent. A correspondence was immediately opened, and the Cacique received them cordially into his capital. After refreshing themselves here for ten days, they proceeded to the frontier, escorted by the Cacique. At Talisse, a frontier town, strongly terraced and palisaded, they met the son of Tascaluca, prince of the

country which they were about to enter. He was an extremely tall and fine-looking young man, and on the Spaniards being introduced to him, undertook to conduct them to his father. They were, however, warned to be on their guard, as he had the reputation of being fierce, proud, and turbulent.

After travelling three days, the Spaniards came to the village where Tascaluca waited their arrival. They discovered him seated on an eminence, attended by a hundred of his chiefs. He was a handsome man of about forty, with a proud and noble air, and so tall, that he rose two feet above any of his attendants. He did not deign the slightest notice to any of the inferior Spanish chiefs who preceded Soto; but when the general himself appeared, Tascaluca rose and advanced fifteen or twenty steps to meet him. His reception was courteous, though stately; and he even proposed to accompany the army as it passed through his territory. It was necessary, however, to place him on horseback, and there was great difficulty in finding a horse large enough. At length one huge animal was found, which he could bestride without his feet actually touching the ground. On the road they missed two of their comrades, who were indeed too much in the habit of straggling; but the Indians, on being questioned on the subject, rudely replied, that the men had not been put into their keeping, and they were not bound to give an account of them. This was a very suspicious affair; but Soto thought it best not to bring matters to an open quarrel.

The Spaniards did not stop at the capital, but proceeded on to Mauvila (Mobile), a frontier town strong-

ly palisaded, and containing only eighty houses indeed, but each of these divided into various apartments, and containing numerous families. Soto, it is said, was advised by one of his officers against entering the place ; but he thought his men stood in need of the refreshment of being for some time under a roof. On their arrival they were entertained with every show of rejoicing ; their horses were sent to a commodious place without the city, and they were entertained with the dances of some beautiful Indian females, who in Florida peculiarly excel in this exercise. Quedrado, however, who had been directed to reconnoitre the place, brought a very alarming report,—that the houses were filled with armed warriors, collected from different parts of the country,—that all the children had been removed, and also the women, except those who were young and “ fit for the battle.” Soto, however, determined to avoid any overt act which might excite or indicate hostility, and merely sent round a warning to all his countrymen to be on their guard. Dinner being ready, notice was sent to Tascaluca, who usually sat down with the Spaniards ; but, being deeply engaged in council with his chiefs, he sent for answer, that he would come presently. An interval elapsing, a second notice was sent, and received a similar answer ; but as he still did not appear, Ortiz was sent to say that the dinner was on the table, and that he might come or not as he chose. This message was received by a chief who came out of the council, and who replied,—“ Base robbers, is it thus you speak of the great Tascaluca ?” He followed up this speech by giving the signal for a general

attack. All the Indians rushed forth, and poured in one mass upon the Spanish station. Soto instantly determined to retreat without the city to the spot where the horses were stationed, both to give his men the advantage of fighting mounted, and to secure those valuable animals, which might otherwise have been seized and killed. The troops retreated with their faces turned towards the enemy, and yet hardly maintained their ground amid clouds of arrows, which killed several and wounded many. The Indians pursued beyond the walls, and succeeded in killing several horses, and taking a considerable booty. When the Spaniards, however, were mounted, and ranged in order of battle, the undisciplined natives could not withstand their shock, but were driven back, and sought refuge within the walls. There, however, being placed under cover, they poured such clouds of arrows and missiles, that it behoved the Spaniards to fall back in their turn. By a repetition of feigned flights, they drew the enemy out of their shelter, and gave them a succession of little defeats. When the Indians were thus considerably weakened, and a Spanish division, which was behind the rest, had come up, Soto mustered his strength, and determined to attempt storming the place. He caused the cavalry, as the best armed, to dismount, buckle their armour close round them, and, stooping their heads, to rush forward and force open the gate. They succeeded, and entered Mauvila; while the foot-soldiers, not to be behind, broke down part of the parapet, and rushed in along with them. The Spaniards were soon masters of all the streets and open

places ; but the enemy from the houses annoyed them to such a degree, that they at length resolved on the dreadful expedient of setting fire to the place. The effect was immediate in a town built wholly of reeds and timber ;—in a few minutes both armies were involved in vast volumes of flame and smoke. Many Indians, especially females, perished amid the flames, presenting a spectacle which, it is said, deeply affected the conquerors. A number of the Indians rushed out, and endeavoured to renew the combat in the fields, but without success. In the last extremity, they now called on their females to come forward. A number of these heroines had not waited the call, but had fought side by side with their husbands ; and now at the general summons they rushed forth in one body against the Spanish troops. The latter felt their Castilian gallantry revolt considerably against this species of combat ;—they merely, it is said, ward-off the blows of their fair assailants, whose fury soon evaporated, and by sunset the whole force of the Indians was in a state of final rout.

Thus closed the dreadful battle of Mauvila. The Indians who fell are stated by Vega at 11,000, but by the more probable estimate of a Portuguese narrator, at 2500. The number of the Spaniards killed on the spot was only eighteen ; but of the wounds upwards of seven hundred were dangerous, besides numberless slight injuries, which scarcely any one had escaped. The treatment of these, without medicines or bandages, and with only one slow and unexperienced surgeon, was very unfavourable. It was necessary that those slightly wounded should dress the wounds of

the rest, making bandages of their shirts. Of those who fell, two were deeply lamented. One was Don Carlos, who had married a niece of the general, and whose generous and amiable qualities had made him peculiarly beloved. His horse being wounded, he stooped to extract the arrow, and thus exposed a part of his neck, which another arrow instantly pierced, and he fell. His cousin, Diego de Soto, who was passionately attached to him, eager to revenge his death, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, when an arrow entered his eye, and came out at the back of the head. It could not be extracted, and he died next day.

It is difficult to discover what could have excited in the mind of Tascaluca so bloody an enmity, which, so far as can be judged from any of the narratives, the Spaniards had done nothing to merit. It seems probable that, being near the coast, he had been imbued with those terrible recollections of their former misdeeds, which elsewhere, as we have seen, rendered them the objects of such execration.

Besides men, the Spaniards lost in this battle their most precious effects. The pearls, and every thing else collected in the course of the expedition, were burned or destroyed in this catastrophe. But nothing was more lamented than the robes of the priests, and the portion of wheaten flour and wine which was carried about for the celebration of mass. A meeting of ecclesiastics was held, to consider whether millet-bread could be substituted ; but it was universally decided, that wheat only could constitute a real sacrament. They were obliged to be content with a leathern



robe and some prayers, which made what they called a dry mass, and afforded but slender consolation.\*

Soto here learned with joy, that his port of Achussi was not more than thirty leagues distant, and that Maldonado was there. His plan was to build a town on this spot, which he might make the basis of his operations, and, after obtaining supplies from the Havana, to proceed to the regular subjection of the interior countries. Amid these designs, he was roused by the alarming report of what was passing among his troops. It appeared, that, confidentially to each other, they were declaring themselves completely sick of an expedition, in which they had met with such dreadful hard fighting and scanty fare, without any of those golden treasures, in the fond hope of which they had abandoned their native land. They were constantly tantalized by hearing the relations of their companions, who had shared in the conquest of Peru, where they had found every thing so extremely opposite. Each, therefore, began to assure the other, that, as soon as they could reach the coast and find a vessel, they would sail for New Spain in search of a better fortune. It was but too probable that this purpose would be executed. Soto could not wholly conceal from himself the gloomy prospects and sinister aspect of the expedition, in which he had embarked all his hopes and fortunes. But he could not endure the thought of appearing again in Spain under a guise so different from that brilliant one in which he had formerly re-

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\* Vega, part ii. b. 1, ch. 5-9. Purchas, iv. 1542-3.

turned and last departed from it. In the poor and reduced state to which he was sunk, and with all the disgrace of a signal failure, he could not hope to escape the contempt of his countrymen. Any alternative seemed preferable to this, and he chose a most desperate one. He resolved, even in the weakened and exhausted state of his army, to push again into some other quarter of the interior, in the forlorn hope that, by some unexpected event, he might retrieve his fortunes. He seems still to have possessed such a command over his followers as to prevent them from openly mutinying against this purpose; and surrounded as they were by hostile nations, they could not attempt, in any single or scattered manner, to reach the coast.

Soto proceeded to the north-west, into countries which, being yet unexplored, seemed still to afford a gleam of hope. Depressed and irritated, however, he appears no longer to have employed the same means of conciliating the natives, and met nowhere with a friendly reception. On approaching the territory of Chicaça (the warlike nation of the Chickasaws), and sending an envoy to the nearest village with proposals of alliance, the answer was, that they wished for war. Their vanguard was soon repulsed; but it was not without great difficulty that, after constructing several large boats, he could pass the broad and rapid river which formed the boundary of their country. The Spaniards advanced directly upon the capital, which they found deserted, and made it their winter-quarters. The Indians hovered round, and made frequent attacks; but whenever the Spaniards approached, or

even appeared, they took to flight with every symptom of panic. All this, however, was merely intended to convey to the enemy the impression of being opposed only to cowards, and to lull them into a false security. When this plan appeared to have taken its full effect, the grand blow was struck. One night in the end of January, while a strong wind blew from the north, the Spaniards were awakened by the loud howling of many thousand barbarians, and, on looking out, saw the whole atmosphere in a blaze. This last effect was produced by numberless flambeaux, lighted by a peculiar vegetable substance, with which they had even the tips of their arrows pointed. By these means they easily succeeded in setting fire to the camp. Amid the surprise, the confusion, and the flames, they were able to rush in, and began to make dreadful havoc. Such an impression was made by their unexpected prowess, that fifty of the Spaniards betook themselves to flight,—the first example of this disgraceful kind that had happened in Florida; but they were rallied. As Soto himself rushed against the enemy, without having had his saddle properly fastened, it turned round; he fell among the enemy, and was with difficulty rescued by his chiefs. When the Spaniards had been rallied and regularly drawn up, the assailants were obliged to give way.\*

The troops spent the winter in Chicaça, though constantly harassed by hostile attacks. They suffered much also from an epidemical disorder, which they

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\* Part ii. b. 1, ch. 14-15. Purchas, iv. 154-5.

imputed to the want of salt, but which probably had other causes. The natives showed them a plant, which they found almost an infallible specific; but the pride of the Spaniards caused many of them to disdain using remedies which cured savages, and they died in consequence. In the spring, Soto marched along an extensive desert to Chisca, which he carried by surprise, all the inhabitants taking to flight. They were mustering their forces; but on his apprising them that he only asked lodging and provisions, with permission to pass on, and that he would restore the booty he had made, they agreed to make peace on these terms. Their next arrival was at Casquin, where they were received with every courtesy. The Cacique expressed the highest admiration of their valour, and even declared his belief of their God being more powerful than his. He caused his subjects to join in a grand procession in honour of the cross, after which Soto considered the nation as having become converts to the faith. The object of all this was, that they might obtain aid against their neighbours, the Capahas, with whom they carried on constant war, but generally with disadvantage. The Cacique levied a force of 5000 men, who formed the vanguard of a force which, with the Spaniards in the rear, marched upon Capaha. Soto made overtures to the Cacique of the latter; but, wholly dissatisfied with his companions, the prince abandoned the city, and retired to a strongly-fortified island in the large river Chucagua. The Casquins not only plundered the town, but gave full scope to the long-rooted enmity which had reigned between the two tribes. They proceeded to the great temple, broke

the chests in which their ancestors had been interred, collected the bones, and trampled them under foot. They might be forgiven for taking off the heads of their countrymen, which, stuck on lances, adorned the gates of the temple, and substituting those of the slain Capahas. Amid these proceedings, Soto hesitated not to send continued overtures of alliance and amity; but Capaha appealed to him whether, under the treatment which he experienced, he could think of any thing but war and vengeance. Soto at length, furnished with boats by his allies, embarked two hundred Spaniards and three thousand Indians to attack the island. They landed and carried the first palisade; but, in defending the second, the Capahas fought like lions; and the Casquins, accustomed to fly before them, were seized with a panic, and fled precipitately to the boats, where they would even have carried off those of the Spaniards to secure against pursuit, had there not been a guard to prevent them. The small Spanish detachment, thus abandoned to itself, might, it was supposed, have been entirely cut off; but the enemy, partly admiring their valour and partly conciliated by their former overtures, suspended hostilities, and allowed them to embark unmolested. The Cacique soon after came to visit Soto at his own capital, and concluded a treaty of amity: the Spanish general even succeeded in establishing a temporary peace between the two hostile potentates.\*

Soto, proceeding still north-west, and into the interior,

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\* Vega, part ii. b. 2, ch. 6-7. Purchas, iv. 1547.

passed without much molestation through the provinces of Colima and Quigante. But when he came to Tulla, a more fierce resistance was experienced than from any former nation. This arose chiefly from the female warriors, who fought side by side with their husbands, and rivalled them in valour. After a hard contest, they were driven into the town, where they still continued the contest. Reinoso, one of the Spanish officers, having in the *mélée* mounted into an upper chamber, five Indian ladies rushed upon him, seized him by the legs and arms, and began beating him with all their might. Reinoso, though his men were below, deemed it unbecoming a soldier to call out for aid against such assailants; yet he was wholly unable to resist, and the blows descended with such force and rapidity, that he could not have long survived. Luckily in the struggle his leg forced its way through the thin wicker partition which formed the floor, and appeared to a Spaniard who was in the room below, and who, thinking this an odd adventure, and that it had much the appearance of a Spanish leg, got two or three of his companions, and, running up, delivered Reinoso out of the hands of those fair furies. Juan Serrano having got hold of one of these heroines, endeavoured to use her as a domestic servant; but she was continually calling upon him either to kill her or set her at liberty, and throwing at him pots, pans, and other domestic implements, so that he was not sorry at last when she made her escape.\*

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\* Vega, part ii. b. 2, ch. 11-13.

At Utianque, the next stage, Soto took up his fourth winter-quarters, and experienced from the natives only a slight and harassing hostility. At Naguaytex, the next stage, after some skirmishing at first, a good understanding was established. But when they came to Guacani they found a numerous and fierce people under arms.

Soto began now seriously to consider the situation into which he had brought himself. He had plunged again deep into Florida, without any result more favourable than he had reason to expect. He was continuing to go onward, he knew not where or why, with an army gradually mouldering away, and which would soon be unequal to meet the formidable resistance to which it was always liable. He became sensible that the plan which he had rashly abandoned, of building and fortifying a town on the seacoast, and communicating by it with the Havanna and Mexico, was the only one which afforded a promise of any solid establishment. He was now, however, so distant from the coast, that he doubted being able, with his reduced force, to make his way thither through so many nations. He determined then to march direct to the Chucagua, to build there his town and construct two brigantines, which might sail down the stream into the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards then, retracing their steps, marched rapidly, viewing the intermediate countries only as a passage, and avoiding all discussion with the natives; so that they effected a march of nearly three hundred miles in a short time and with little hinderance. They were involved in some disputes between the states of Anilca and Guachoia; but

Soto was hoping to effect his objects in the course of the winter, when a disease, of which the foundation had probably been laid by disappointment, carried him off, after an illness of seven days. Soto seems to have merited a less dark close to his adventurous career. The Portuguese narrator calls him valorous, virtuous, and valiant. He was imbued, indeed, with the same unjust and tyrannical principles which actuated the other conquerors of America, and which were sanctioned in their eyes by false principles, both of loyalty and religion; but he tempered these principles with singular humanity, and combined daring valour with a good deal of prudence and discretion. Had the plan of settling Florida not been frustrated by the fierce valour of the natives, it might have been effected under better auspices than the other and more splendid conquests and establishments of the Spanish nation.\*

On the death of Soto, a deep and general despondency seized the expedition. After a short deliberation, it was resolved to follow out the design on which their hearts had long been fixed, of renouncing Florida for ever, and shaping their way by the most direct course to Mexico. Their first project was to follow in the footsteps of Nugnez, and proceed direct across the continent. This they hoped to effect by marching due west, turning neither to the right nor the left; and in this way they made a hundred leagues full speed, never inquiring what countries

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\* Vega, part ii. b. 3, ch. 8-9. Purchas, iv. 1552.



they were going through, or holding any communication with the inhabitants. By this blind advance, however, they found themselves entangled in wild and dreary forests, and saw before them a chain of rugged and trackless mountains. These were probably a branch of the Apalachians, which they might have avoided by a slight detour; but they were discouraged, and determined to hasten back to the Chucagua, and there to construct a flotilla, which might convey them to Mexico. They suffered much, however, on the road, both by the scarcity of provisions, the severe cold, and the incessant hostility of the natives. On reaching the river, they seized on Aminoia, a considerable place, composed of two contiguous towns. The natives did not willingly admit them, but were driven out after a short resistance.

As soon as the troops were refreshed from their fatigues, and the rigour of the winter was over, Moscoso, who had succeeded to the command, caused the Spaniards to apply with the utmost vigour to the building of seven brigantines, which were judged sufficient to embark the remaining troops. They now learned that a general confederacy had been formed among the neighbouring tribes, having in view their final destruction. An envoy from one of the Caciques privately assured the Indian female captives, that they would soon be delivered from the odious yoke of the strangers, whose heads, stuck on lances, would adorn the porches of the temples, while their bodies, suspended from the tops of trees, would become the prey of the birds. These fair prisoners, moved either by pity or a tenderer sentiment, gave notice of the

design. But a force which was estimated, though probably much too high, at thirty or forty thousand men, opposed to a number now less than five hundred, and with only a small remnant of the horses, which had chiefly inspired the natives with terror, could look forward only to a very doubtful issue of the contest. They thought themselves, therefore, fortunate in being delivered from it by a great inundation of the river, which converted all the surrounding plain into a sea, and made the streets of Aminoia itself passable only in canoes. They were thus enabled by the end of July to complete their brigantines; but the enemy now determined to attack them in the passage down the river. For this purpose they had provided nearly a thousand war-canoes, formed, indeed, only of a single tree, but larger than those in the rest of Florida. They were variously adorned with brilliant colours,—blue, yellow, red, and green; but each canoe, with the oars, and even the arrows and plumes of the boatmen, was all of one colour. It was learned from the interpreter that they spoke with contempt of the cowards who were flying before them in vain, but who had escaped being the prey of the dogs on land only to become that of the river-monsters. Accordingly, the voyage down for ten days was one continued battle, in which the Spaniards were obliged to remain strictly on the defensive, being not only few in number, but their ammunition nearly exhausted. Every one of them, notwithstanding his armour, was more or less wounded, and all their horses were killed except eight. Having got the start of the enemy by about a league, they landed at a village for a neces-

sary supply of provisions ; but were so closely followed, that they were obliged to abandon their horses, and saw miserably perish this remnant of the three hundred and fifty noble steeds which they had landed in Florida, and which had been a main instrument of their victories. Soon after, the Indians, by a feigned relaxation in the pursuit, induced three barks, with fifty-two men, rashly to separate from the rest, when they were suddenly surprised and enveloped, and the whole killed or drowned, with the exception of four. They continued to follow the Spaniards during that day and the following night ; but next morning, when they saw the sun rise, they raised loud shouts, and sounded all their instruments in thanksgiving to that great luminary for the victory he had granted ;—they then desisted from the pursuit, which had been continued without intermission for four hundred leagues. Moscoso, with all that remained of his troops, reached the ocean without farther difficulty.\*

The Portuguese narrator has given an estimate of the Spanish marches, which makes them amount in all to two thousand leagues, or above five thousand miles. This is certainly extravagant ; yet they were very extensive, including, in various directions, the whole of Florida and Georgia, and even touching Carolina. Nothing, however, can be more misplaced than the title of “ Conquest of Florida,” which Spanish pride has not scrupled to affix to the narrative. With the exception of the deep track of blood

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\* Vega, part ii. b. 4, ch. 4-5.

with which their steps were almost every where marked, the Spaniards left Florida as they had found it, in full possession of the native tribes.

The expedition proceeded along the Gulf without any vicissitudes but those to which such a voyage is incident, and arrived at the port of Panuco. Here their miserable state excited deep sympathy. Meagre, black, overwhelmed with fatigue, covered with skins, looking more like beasts than men, they received every charitable aid, were lodged and fed; and the benevolent confraternity of Mexico sent down shirts, shoes, medicines, and delicacies for the sick. By these applications, in the course of ten days they were revived and recruited; and they then began to look round for those treasures which, in failure of Florida, they had never doubted that Mexico would furnish. Mexico had sounded in their ears as a magic name,—a region where gold and silver would lie scattered in heaps, and could be collected without effort. Instead of this, they saw a dreary and barren country, without a particle of the precious metals, every repository of which, they learned, had been already occupied, and nothing left to glean. The Panucans, accordingly, were in very humble circumstances, having nothing but a few horses, and what they could wring from the ungrateful soil. To themselves there evidently remained nothing but hopeless beggary or daily labour. They were seized hereupon with a paroxysm of rage and regret at the idea of having left Florida, a fertile region, where they would have had a kingdom of their own, and might each have had a province to govern. Their fury vented itself chiefly against

those of their countrymen, and especially of the chiefs, through whose influence mainly the resolution to abandon Florida had been taken. They even fired at and wounded several, so that they durst not stir out of their houses. At last, the government was obliged to interfere, and send them to Mexico by tens and twenties, taking care that each party should be all on one side. At Mexico they were received with much interest, and there was even a talk of renewing the expedition to Florida; but the final issue was, that they all dispersed either to the mother-country, or to seek their fortune in different parts of the colonies.\*

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\* Vega, b. 4, ch. 14.

### CHAPTER III.

#### FRENCH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

*Expedition of Ribaut—Of Laudonniere—Of Menendez.—Capture of the French Fort.—Dreadful Catastrophe.—Expedition of De Gourgues.—His Success.—Return to France.*

IT must be obvious, from the narratives now given of the Spanish expeditions in Florida, that however gallant and adventurous their conduct had been, and however striking and eventful their career, Florida was left by them exactly as they had found it, and not a single permanent settlement formed. Yet, from the original discovery of Ponce de Leon, and these mis-named *conquests*, that proud nation claimed a right, under the name of Florida, to the whole North American continent. It was not likely that the other great nations, as they advanced in maritime skill and enterprise, would long acquiesce in so empty a claim. France, which had not hitherto taken any lead in this direction, was now the first to dispute it. The brave and generous Coligni, bred to naval affairs, first perceived all the advantages which his country might

derive from commerce and colonial possessions. In 1562, the great civil war was as yet only brooding, and Catherine, in the crafty balance which she sought to maintain between the parties, studied to conciliate the admiral. She therefore cordially concurred in his plan of sending a Huguenot expedition to occupy Florida; which, amid the fatal designs over which she was brooding, promised even to weaken a body of which she had sworn the destruction. Coligni had thus no difficulty in fitting out a party exclusively Huguenot, and including some persons of respectable birth. They embarked in two vessels, under the command of Ribaut, an officer of merit. He had a tolerably prosperous voyage, and arrived at the mouth of a river, which he called May, from its being discovered in that month of the year, 1562; but he sailed to the southward in search of a river which Ayllon, a previous navigator, had called the Jordan; but instead of it he lighted upon one which the English afterwards called Ediscon, and which is, in fact, on the borders of South Carolina. A fort was soon erected, and the settlement being thus founded under promising auspices, Ribaut set sail for France, with the view of bringing out a re-enforcement to the colony. This was an imprudent step. The settlement, in its most critical state, was left without the benefit of his prudence and judgment; and the command devolved upon Albert, an officer quite unequal to so delicate a task. Finding it difficult to maintain discipline in a society where all were more willing to command than to obey, he had recourse to the most tyrannical and brutal means of

enforcing it. He addressed the colonists only in the most opprobrious language ; he hanged one of them with his own hand, and held out to the others a continued menace of the same fate. At length, losing all patience, they rose upon him, and put him to death. Amid these dissensions, and amid some vain inquiries after silver and gold, they never bethought themselves of the more essential object of raising a supply of provisions, till famine, in the most alarming shape, stared them in the face. After exhausting all that they could either procure for themselves, or obtain from the natives, a council was called, and no resource was found but to construct a bark and return in it to Europe. They had thus the same task to perform as the followers of Narvaez, though not with means so wholly imperfect ; and hunger stimulating their exertions, enabled them in a short time to complete their vessel. A much heavier task awaited them in crossing the mighty Atlantic, and one which it seemed scarcely possible that they could achieve in safety. Other perils, however, threatened them, than those their fears had anticipated. Instead of shipwreck, they encountered so dead a calm, and the voyage thus reached to so unexpected a length, that their slender store of provisions was exhausted, and the famine from which they fled met them in all its horrors. After every other mode of sustaining life had been exhausted, their reluctance was overcome to that impious one which every civilized mind must view with the deepest horror. One of the crew had been already sacrificed, to afford a dreadful prolongation to the life of the rest, when an English vessel



appeared in sight, by which they were taken up and conveyed to their native country.\*

Coligni, mean time, involved in the violent civil war which followed the massacre of Vassy, had been unable to think of Florida; but as soon as the death of the Duke of Guise had led to a peace between the two religions, he appeared again at court, and succeeded in fitting out a fresh expedition, under an officer of merit, called René Laudonniere. This captain received three vessels, well manned and appointed, and with every thing which could minister to the wants of a new colony. On the 22d June, 1564, they arrived at the river of May. Laudonniere here learned the calamitous breaking up of the former colony, and, on proceeding to its site, judged it less inviting than that in which he had first landed. He proceeded thither, and founded the fort of La Carolina. He was extremely active, and sent parties who penetrated into the country as far as the Apalachians, continuing, notwithstanding all experience, to be cheated, as the Spaniards had been, by vain appearances of gold and silver. He was equally unable, also, as his predecessor, to maintain discipline among a band who came out with the expectation both of full license and boundless wealth. Some young men of rank, impatient of the restraint in which he held them, formed a plot against his life. It was discovered, and they were sent back to France.

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\* Benzo, *Novus Orbis*, 434-8. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, xiii. 416-19. De Bry, part ii.

But one plot instantly succeeded another, and at length a great body announced their determination to set out on a piratical expedition against the Spaniards. In vain did Laudonniere remonstrate, that such conduct was contrary to the most express instructions of his master, and would involve them in dangers beyond what they could now estimate. They equipped two vessels, seized his person, and, holding a dagger to his breast, compelled him to sign a commission to them to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico. They were wonderfully successful, and at last made a capture of a rich vessel, in which were the governor of Jamaica and his two sons. The governor, however, overreached them so far as to gain permission to transmit a letter to his wife, in which he was to instruct her to send a large sum as his ransom; instead of which he gave instructions, in consequence of which the pirates were enveloped by the armed force of the enemy, and only the smallest French brigantine, by cutting her cables, was able to escape. Being obliged, however, to approach the coast of Florida to obtain provisions, she fell into the hands of Laudonniere, who executed four of the chief mutineers. But famine, the perpetual foe of the settlement, again began to rage, and was the more severe, as the expeditions of Laudonniere had involved him in complete hostility with the surrounding natives. Sir John Hawkins having touched at the port, afforded them a temporary supply of bread and wine, which they had not tasted for some months; but Laudonniere, disgusted with his situation, purchased from him a vessel, for the purpose of conveying the whole re-

mains of the colony to Europe. Just as they had raised anchor, sails were descried in the distance, and seven armed barks were seen approaching, which proved to be a new expedition under Ribaut. That officer now superseded Laudonniere, of whose severity heavy complaints had been made. A few days after his arrival the vessels in the road were saluted by six Spanish ships, the causes of whose appearance must be now pointed out.

Don Pedro Menendez had received a commission from Philip II. to survey the coasts of Florida; in addition to which he had been allowed, at his own expense, to undertake the often abortive design of forming a settlement in that country. Amid the preparations, tidings arrived of the establishment formed in Florida by the French Huguenots; when Philip, sending for Menendez, told him, that, besides his former object, the holy and glorious task was now reserved for him of extirpating the heretics from the new world; for the due accomplishment of which high purpose there would be added to his armament, out of the royal revenue, a considerable force both of ships and men. Thus re-enforced, he sailed from San Lucar, with eleven vessels, a thousand men, and a large train of artillery. The fame of this "holy war" having spread throughout Spain, numerous volunteers, many of the best families, flocked to join it, and at leaving the Canaries, it had swelled to a force of 2600, among whom were twenty-six ecclesiastics. A severe tempest shattered and diminished the armament; so that at Porto Rico it became a question whether they should proceed or wait for succours;

but the ardent spirit of Menendez prompted him to advance and surprise the heretics before they could be re-enforced and established. In sailing along Florida he came upon three French vessels, which were lying out at sea, and on being asked his object, replied with more frankness than prudence, that he came to attack the Lutherans with fire and sword, and to extirpate them out of Florida. The French instantly cut their cables and made for the shore, nor could the Spaniards overtake them. Menendez reconnoitred the river and the position of the French, when it appeared to him that he could not, without rashness, attempt a landing. He determined, therefore, to retire, and form a settlement on the neighbouring river of St Augustine, where, by uniting with the natives, whom the French had made their enemies, he might organize the means of a successful attack.

Ribaut, finding himself exposed to so formidable and bitter an enemy, deliberated on the means of crushing him before he had time to strengthen himself in the country. He determined to embark on board the fleet nearly the whole of his effective force, and, sailing direct upon the Spanish position in the river St Augustine, endeavour to carry it before it could be put in any state of defence. He sailed on the 6th September, and on the 10th appeared at the entrance of the river. Menendez saw and made the best preparations he could to meet the imminent peril to which he was exposed. The enemy were retarded by the tide for two hours, and before the end of that period a tempest, or rather hurricane, arose, so dread-

ful, that the whole French fleet was driven out to sea, and exposed to the most imminent peril.

Menendez began to consider what advantage he could take of this state of affairs. It was easy to judge that Ribaut must have brought to this grand attack all the flower of his troops, leaving for the defence of the fort only a handful, probably quite off their guard, and free from any apprehension of attack on the land-side. It appeared to him, that by pushing across the country, favoured and guided as he would be by the natives, he would have every chance of reaching the fort before the storm would admit of Ribaut's return. He set forth immediately with five hundred of his best troops. Formidable obstacles were presented by the swamps, the thick forests, and the broad rivers which were to be crossed ; and the rain falling in torrents, greatly aggravated the distress. The soldiers were several times on the point of mutinying, and exclaimed, that it was a disgrace for brave men to suffer themselves to be led blindly by an Asturian mountaineer, who knew nothing of war. Menendez, with great address, took no notice of their murmurs, but cheered them on by every motive, both of religion and valour. On the evening of the fourth day they arrived within view of the fort, and spent the night behind a hill, exposed to a dreadful tempest, which rendered their own sufferings extreme, but at the same time lulled the vigilance of the French. At daybreak Menendez mounted the hill, and saw no appearance of any watch. A single Frenchman was seen straggling ; he was allured into the camp, and then killed. The Spanish

commander now caused his men to rush full speed upon the fort, calling out,—“Follow me, my friends,—God is for the Spaniards!” A soldier, who had accidentally mounted the rampart, gave the alarm; but before Laudonniere could muster his little garrison the Spaniards had rushed in by the three open gates, and began an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. Laudonniere’s own narrative reports some attempt at resistance, but there is no mention of it in any other account; and soon, it appears, he and the few who could escape by leaping over the ramparts thought themselves happy in finding a hiding-place among neighbouring woods and swamps. The Spaniards boast that Menendez, after a certain interval, gave orders to spare the women and the children under fifteen, and that about seventy were saved. Laudonniere, with the few other fugitives, wandered for some time among the woods, till at length they found means to unite and get on board a little ship at the mouth of the river. In this they undertook to reach their native country; on the way to which they encountered want, cold, hunger, thirst, and, worst of all, the danger of being thrown upon the coast of Spain; but at length they entered, in a miserable state, the port of Bristol, where they met a hospitable reception.

The most tragical part of the story yet remains to be told. Ribaut, after being tossed about for some days, had all his vessels dashed to pieces against the rocks in the canal of Bahama. The crews, however, with the exception of one man, succeeded in reaching the shore. In this distressful state, Ribaut saw no resource but to find his way back by whatever means

to the fort. They had, however, a hundred leagues to travel, through a most rugged and barren country, where they subsisted wholly on roots and herbs, and only occasionally found pools of bad water. They were quite exhausted, when, on the ninth day, they were cheered by the view of the river and of the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay when they saw on the ramparts Spanish colours! An awful pause was made, to consider the course which they were to hold, and some were of opinion that they should suffer any thing rather than put themselves in the power of men whose chief glory was in shedding the blood of the enemies of their faith. Ribaut, however, judging their situation otherwise almost wholly desperate, determined to open a treaty with Menendez. He sent two of the party to represent to him, that their sovereigns were in close amity; that the French had been sent out under the strictest injunctions to interfere in no shape with any settlements which had been formed by Spain, and they had rigidly acted up to this injunction. He hoped, therefore, that in this extremity they would be allowed all they asked,—a supply of food, and a vessel to convey them to Spain. Menendez received them in the most courteous manner,—assured them that nothing could be farther from his wish than to treat with inhumanity the soldiers of any nation, especially Frenchmen, with whom his sovereign was anxious to preserve amity. Since they were willing to quit Florida, he pledged himself, on the faith of a soldier and a gentleman, that they should be well treated and sent back to their country. Upon this pledge the French

delivered up their arms, and a boat was sent across, which brought them over in parties of thirty at a time. Ribaut was not a little dismayed to observe, that as his men were landed, they were bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs; but he was assured that this was only a temporary precaution. At length, when they were all assembled on a plain in front of the castle, Menendez, with his sword, drew a line round them on the sand, then ordered his troops to fall on and make an indiscriminate massacre. The Spaniards eagerly rushed on to fulfil this bloody mandate, and added every outrage which national and religious antipathy could prompt. The bodies were not only covered with repeated wounds, but cut in pieces, and treated with the most dreadful indignities. All the while the military band continued to play, to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribaut, while he vainly invoked the pledged faith of Menendez, was struck in the back, and having fallen down, was despatched by numerous wounds. His skin, or, according to others, the hair of his beard, was then taken off, and sent to Spain to greet the eyes of his Catholic majesty. A number of the mangled limbs of the victims were then suspended to a tree, to which was attached the following inscription:—"Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

It may be proper to mention, that the Spaniards published narratives in which they admitted and even justified the barbarity of Menendez, but denied his treachery. According to them, the answer which



Menendez gave to the first mission was, that he had come from Spain to make mortal war against the heretics, both by sea and land ; that he had slaughtered the whole of the French garrison with the exception of the women and children ; and that, if the French chose to surrender at discretion, he would do whatever God should put into his mind. Charlevoix even considers this as the most probable account of the affair. My own opinion is diametrically opposite, as the French must have been divested of every glimmering of common sense, if they had laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, merely upon this solemn pledge to kill them. The opposite pledge may not have been quite so solemn as was asserted ; but that reason was given to them to think their lives would be spared, appears a point morally certain.\*

The tidings of this dreadful tragedy, when they arrived in France, excited an universal and mingled sentiment of grief and rage as well as a loud cry for vengeance. Fifteen hundred widows and orphans of the sufferers presented a remonstrance to Charles IX. in which they laid before him all the atrocity of the deed, and called upon him to vindicate the honour of his kingdom in warm terms, which evidently implied a doubt whether he was much inclined to meet their wishes. Charles, in fact, deeply united with Philip in a purpose to exterminate the Protes-

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\* Benzo, 445-53. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, xiii. 419-47. Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, 12mo. i. 126-38. De Bry, part ii.

tant name, though he could not altogether resist the cry of his people, made only cold and formal remonstrances, and readily accepted the superficial apologies of the Spanish court. But there was in the nation itself a spirit and energy which provided an avenger, without and against the wish and will of their monarch.

Dominique de Gourgues, born at Mont de Marsan, in Gascony, passed in that enterprising age for one of the most distinguished leaders of partisan warfare. The Spaniards, who had often experienced his prowess, at length overpowered him while commanding a small party, took him prisoner, and very basely sent him to work in chains among the galley-slaves. After his deliverance, he made several naval expeditions, and had just arrived at home when the news of the Floridan catastrophe reached France. The memory of his own wrongs mingled in the mind of De Gourgues with those of his countrymen, and worked him up to the highest exaltation. He determined to devote himself, his fortune, and his whole being to the taking of some signal and terrible vengeance. His fortune was small, but he sold every thing he had ; he borrowed from his friends ; he prevailed on a few chosen associates to follow his example. Thus he found means to equip three small vessels, and to put on board of them eighty sailors and one hundred and fifty troops. Aware that his purpose would find no favour at court, he merely applied for and obtained a commission to bring negroes from the coast of Benin. Accordingly he proceeded, in the first instance, along the African coast ; but on reaching the Cape Verd islands, he sud-

denly turned and crossed the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he disclosed to his countrymen that their destination was Florida, and to avenge their slaughtered countrymen. There were not wanting those who shrunk from an adventure so perilous on that bloody and terrible shore. But those who were in the secret raised a loud cry of applause; the rest were mostly devoted adherents, accustomed to follow De Gourgues through every peril; so that an unanimous voice was soon raised in favour of the enterprise.

De Gourgues now sailed along the coast of Florida. As he passed seemingly too close to the river May, the Spaniards, imagining the ships to be Spanish, saluted him with three guns, which he returned, taking care quietly to stand farther out to sea, and landed at a river about fifteen leagues' distance. As soon as a communication had been opened with the Indians, it appeared that the Spaniards, as usual, had rendered that people their mortal enemies, ready to assist and to co-operate in every thing tending to their destruction. By their information, and by an exploratory excursion taken under their guidance, it appeared, that two forts had been added to the original one, and that the whole were in good condition, but carelessly guarded, the Spaniards not having the slightest suspicion that there was a French force in this quarter of the world. The allied force having exchanged mutual oaths and hostages, set forth, and, after a very hard march, arrived in sight of San Matheo. They were obliged to spend the night at two leagues' distance, being unable to cross a river that had been

swelled by the rains. Next morning, on taking a view of the fort, he was much alarmed by seeing the whole garrison in motion and on the ramparts; but they soon withdrew, and it proved to have been only to see some repairs made to a fountain. At ten o'clock the troops crossed the river, which still took them up to the middle. They were for some time concealed by a thick wood, emerging from which they were at last seen, and two guns fired. They rushed on, however, with eager fury; and Alokutora, an Indian, having singly scaled the ramparts and killed an artilleryman, the garrison were seized with a panic, and precipitately abandoning the fort, were most of them killed or taken. Almost immediately the garrison of the next fort followed their example, and met with the same fate. The main fort, however, still held out, and, having recovered from the first panic, was putting itself in a posture of defence. De Gourgues was happy to learn from a prisoner, that they considered him 2000 strong, and he was thence encouraged to attempt carrying the place by escalade. Before his preparations were completed, however, a party sallied out, and, being taken in the rear, were almost entirely cut off; upon which the garrison were seized with the same panic as the rest, and fled into the woods, where they almost all fell into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians. De Gourgues caused his men to spare as many of the Spaniards as they could, and even collected all those whom the Indians had taken and were preparing to torture. Having assembled them, he led them to the fatal tree, on which the skeleton remains of his slaugh-

tered countrymen were yet suspended. Here, after upbraiding them for their matchless treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all, and suspended them on the same tree, changing the inscription for another in the following terms :—" Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers."

De Gourgues did not intend, nor attempt, to make any settlement in Florida. He embarked all that was valuable in the forts, and set sail for La Rochelle. In that Protestant capital he was received with the loudest acclamations. At Bordeaux these were reiterated, and he was advised to proceed to Paris and claim the reward of such eminent services. There he met with a very different reception. Philip had already an embassy demanding his head, which Charles and Catherine were not disinclined to give. They disavowed his conduct, and had taken steps for bringing him to trial, but found the measure so excessively unpopular, that they were obliged to allow him to retire into Normandy. He received an invitation from Queen Elizabeth, which he once intended to accept; but having, in the change of events, regained royal favour, he found ample employment in his native country.\*

The conductors of these expeditions, amid their hurried and tumultuous career, had little leisure to observe more of the natives than was developed in the course of their troubled intercourse. The Floridans appear to have displayed none of those republican

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\* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiii. 448-58. De Bry, part ii.

forms, nor of that high spirit of personal independence which so strongly characterized the northern tribes. They had chiefs, or paraonstis, who were obeyed with enthusiastic loyalty and devotion. The veneration paid to them after death was also remarkable. We have seen the manner in which their remains were piled up in chests along the sides of the temples. These chests are said to have been of very neat workmanship, though without locks or keys. The mode of preserving the bodies, it is probable, might be similar to that which we shall afterwards find described by the historians of Virginia. The females appear to have been more on a level with the stronger sex. The labour of cultivation in this fine climate is not very severe, and, with other laborious tasks, is partly performed by slaves. The fair Floridans second their husbands in hunting, swimming rivers, and other athletic exercises ; and, as may have been observed, are not even slow in taking the field along with them. Polygamy is permitted to the chiefs, and the punishment of adultery is very severe. Their houses, though built only of wood, were very large, each capable of containing a number of families ; it is even asserted, that there were some in which fifteen hundred warriors might be posted. Their food was simple, consisting of bread made of millet, with various species of game and fish. The sassafras, which in Florida is of peculiar excellence, is used as a medicine in almost every disease.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

*Rise of Maritime Enterprise in England.—Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—His Arrival at Newfoundland.—Fate of his Expedition.—Sir Walter Raleigh—Sends an Expedition under Amadas and Barlow—Sir Richard Greenville—Lane—White—Gosnold.—Captain Thomas Smith—His Voyages and Adventures.—The Princess Pocahuntas.—Progress of the Settlements.—Conflicts with the Indians.—View of the Government, Religion, &c. of the Native Indians.*

THE spirited and successful effort made by the English under Cabot was not followed up. Henry VII., notwithstanding his love of money and his political sagacity, was yet unable to appreciate the vast and solid advantages which might arise to the nation from “ships, colonies, and commerce.” More might have been expected from the bustling temper of Henry VIII.; but, engrossed by the continual care of marrying and unmarried himself, of breaking with the church of Rome, dictating successive forms of worship, and persecuting all who did not change at the same moment with himself; lastly, engaged in hold-

ing the balance even, as he supposed, between the great continental rivals, he had neither leisure nor inclination to embark in distant enterprises. All that was done during his long reign was done by the nation itself. Sebastian Cabot was sent on an expedition to the coast of Brazil ; but, finding no farther encouragement, he left the English service, and took up his residence at Seville. Other expeditions, however, were sent towards Newfoundland, and two for the discovery of the north-west passage ; but the issue of these last being very disastrous, a pause ensued to all further exertion.

The reign of Edward VI. seemed likely to form a brilliant era in the annals of maritime discovery. That promising young prince, guided by able counsellors, applied himself with ardour to promote the commercial interests of the nation. Under his auspices were incorporated the company of merchant adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown. Sebastian Cabot was invited back to England, and, at the advanced age of upwards of seventy, was invested with the rank of governor of the company and grand pilot of England. He did not, however, undertake any voyage in person, but drew up a series of instructions for those employed, which justify his high reputation for nautical skill. It happened, rather unfortunately, that the English concentrated their hopes and enterprises almost exclusively in the discovery of a northern passage to India. This object, alike hopeless and perilous, they sought first to accomplish by an easterly course along the north of Asia,—a route which proved wholly



impracticable. Sir Hugh Willoughby, with his gallant crew, were arrested in a Norwegian port, and frozen to death. Although, therefore, Chancelor discovered and opened an intercourse with Russia by the way of Archangel, a gloomy impression was felt by the nation upon this subject. Soon after, the premature death of Edward, and the accession of Mary, forced the people of England into a different train of ideas. The persecutions to which their religion was exposed engrossed all their attention; and Mary, blindly devoted to the views of Philip, checked every thing which could interfere with those unbounded claims which Spain advanced to the dominion of the western world.

The accession of Elizabeth produced a grand and auspicious change. That prudent princess, though not lavish of her treasure, inspired and seconded the enterprising spirit of her people, which, combining with antipathy against Spain, impelled them specially to American adventure. The first efforts were again directed to an Indian passage, now sought by the north of America; but notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the most eminent naval characters,—Frobisher, Davis, Hudson,—they proved, as we shall hereafter see, entirely abortive. At length, Sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton, in Devonshire, distinguished by his rank and military reputation, formed first the design of leading a colony into America. If the queen did not furnish any funds, she gave, at least, a patent, conveying to Sir Humphrey the most ample gifts and powers. He, his heirs and assignees for ever, were to have, hold, and occupy all such heathen and barbarous

lands as he might discover. No one, without their permission, was to approach within two hundred miles of their settlement. The said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and successors, had full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, both in civil and criminal matters, both by sea and land, "according to their good discretions and policies." The queen reserved for herself only homage, and the fifth part of all the gold and silver which might be discovered and worked.\*

The first equipment of Sir Humphrey failed, even before it set out. Being composed in a great measure of "voluntary men of diverse dispositions," there was a great failure when it came to the push. Many lost courage and deserted the cause, others broke into quarrels, and Sir Humphrey was at last obliged to set out with only a few of his own tried friends. He encountered the most adverse weather, and was obliged to return with the loss of "a tall ship, and, more to his griefe, of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan." This was a severe blow, as Sir Humphrey had embarked a large mass of substance in this undertaking. However, his determination continued unshaken; and by the aid of Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction, he was enabled to equip another, with which, in the year 1583, he again put to sea.†

The equipment with which Sir Humphrey set forth to take possession of an empire greater than that

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 135-8.

† Ibid. iii. 146.

of Cæsar and Alexander, appeared very inadequate to such mighty projects. The largest vessel, furnished by Sir Walter Raleigh, was only of 200 tons. The *Delight*, in which the admiral mounted his own flag, was only 120; the *Golden Hind* and the *Swallow* were of 40 tons each; and the *Squirrel* of 10 tons. The crew consisted only of 260 men, "skilled in every faculty," masons, carpenters, and particularly those learned in working and refining metals. The zeal, however, of English seamen had been so faint, that it was necessary to eke out the crews from those of pirates captured in the narrow seas, and who, as will be seen, by no means dropt entirely their original vocation. They carried also musicians, toys, as "morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and many like conceits, to delight the savage people," as well as some petty haberdashery for traffic.

The expedition sailed from Concert Bay on the 11th May, 1538. On the 13th, the *Delight* intimated, that there was much sickness on board of her, and in the course of the following night she was found to have turned back. This loss of the most powerful vessel in the fleet was a severe blow; and gentle hints are given, that this sickness was partly of the heart. Raleigh surely could not be much edified with such a prompt retreat of the vessel which he had been at great pains to equip; but it does not appear that any proceedings were ever held on the subject. The expedition had its course retarded by westerly winds and heavy fogs, in the course of which the *Swallow* and *Squirrel* were separated from the rest. About the end of July, the English came to the famous bank,

which they knew without sounding, by the incredible number of sea-fowls which darkened the air. The English were variously affected by the first view of this unknown world, of which they were to become the denizens. Most of the narrators seek to present it under the most flattering colours. According to Hayes, "nothing appeared but nature itself without art; who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable." He also doubts not that there are and may be made "divers commodities both for support and traffic," though without specifying any. Sir George Peckham also reports it as somewhat warmer than England at this season, replenished with beasts and great store of fowls; and he promises hereafter to recount sundry other commodities. But Parmenius, a learned correspondent of Hackluyt, roundly writes,—"My good Hackluyt, what shall I say of the manner of this country, when I see nothing but a very wilderness?" He agrees, however, with others as to the abundance of goodly fish, both salt water and fresh, which, according to Sir George, might suffice to victual an army.

On this coast the ships met again their companion, the Swallow. Its deck presented a somewhat surprising sight. The crew, mostly gleaned from the rovers of the narrow seas, had been very scantily attired and equipped, but now they appeared all newly and handsomely clad; in joy of which they were dancing and waving their caps in the air. The general hastened to trace the origin of so sudden a transformation, for which this part of the world seemed to

afford so little materials. The explanation was most unsatisfactory. They had met a bark returning to Europe from the fishery, on which the men, "following still their kind," cast a longing eye. Knowing, however, the captain as a man who would not sanction any piratical conduct, they merely solicited and obtained permission to go on board for a short time, to borrow a few things of which they stood in need, solemnly promising not to commit the slightest outrage. In pursuance of this engagement, as soon as they got on board, they began stripping the men of clothes, food, sails, tackle, and every thing that could be found on board; they then had recourse to a peculiar process of winding cords around their heads, by which torture they compelled them to give up every thing of value in their possession. Having effected all this with singular expedition, "like men practised in such matters," they returned to the ship: "but God took vengeance of them not long after."

Sir Humphrey found thirty-six vessels, twenty of which were foreigners, busily employed in this great fishery. Over these he immediately began to exercise that authority, which he conceived to be vested in him by the royal patent. His first use of it was in remedying those deficiencies which could not but be felt at the end of so long a voyage. Each ship was desired to make out a list of its wants, which was delivered to the Portuguese and other fishing-vessels, that they might divide among themselves the task of supplying them. This task, it is said, they not only undertook with the utmost alacrity, but, over and above their assigned quota, presented wines, marma-

lades, fine biscuit, and sundry other delicacies. That the Portuguese, however, should feel such ardent gratitude for being stripped of their property, does not seem very consonant to the ordinary laws of human nature. I am apt to think that Hackluyt's correspondent again lets out the real state of the case, when he says, "They being *not able to match us*, suffer us not to be by hunger starved." However, be this as it may, Hayes tells us, "we were supplied as if we had been in a country, or some city, populous and plentiful of all things."

Sir Humphrey now proceeded to fulfil his mission, by establishing his own and the queen's authority over this portion of the western world. A general meeting was called of the masters and merchants in the different vessels, both English and foreign; the queen's commission was read and interpreted; and notice was given, that this harbour of St John's, with a space of two hundred miles in every direction, was to be considered as appertaining entire to her majesty. To himself earth and wood were then delivered, in token of possession, vested in him, his heirs, and assignees, for ever, of this extensive territory. This announcement, it is said, was listened to with an applauding assent on the part of all present, both English and foreign,—the motives of which we leave the reader to conjecture. This measure was followed up by several statutes, among which were the following,—That if any thing were attempted prejudicial to her majesty's right and possession of these territories, the parties offending should be "adjudged and executed;" and that if any person should utter

words "sounding to the dishonour of her majesty," he should lose his ears. Although this could not be considered a very mild sway, yet the Portuguese, from the motive, perhaps, above hinted at, do not appear to have vented any complaint.

These matters being settled, Sir Humphrey became sensible that this rocky and dreary coast, which presented only an impenetrable pine-forest, could never afford that golden harvest of which he was in quest. The crew had been sensibly diminished in consequence of a very eager anxiety to return home to England. Several plots had been discovered to seize one or other of the ships for that purpose. Many fled into the woods, hoping to smuggle themselves to Europe with one or other of the numerous vessels which were then on the coast. A considerable number also being sick, were sent home in the *Swallow*; and Sir Humphrey set out with the other three vessels to examine the American coast. He went in the smallest himself, for the sake of facility in approaching the land. He does not seem to have been duly aware of the dangers of ranging along this almost unknown and exposed coast, perpetually involved in gloomy fogs. He seems also to have formed an overweening estimate of his own skill in seamanship, which could scarcely be of the first magnitude, as he was not bred to naval affairs. Clarke, master of the *Delight*, says that he remonstrated with him in the strongest manner against the course he was steering, saying it would bring them before morning among the flats of Sable Island. Sir Humphrey told him he was quite out of his reckoning,

and on Clarke persisting, charged him "in her majesty's name, and as he would show himself in the country," to follow his direction. Clarke, "because he presented her majesty's person," saw no choice but to obey. Coxe, of the *Golden Hind*, though of the same opinion, was also obliged to follow. According to the report of Hayes, who was on board that vessel, there were no symptoms of alarm among the crew of the *Delight*, who spent the evening in mirth and jollity, playing drums, fifes, cornets, and all their instruments; but it was like the song of the swan, and was the prelude "to the ringing of doleful knells." A heavy gale sprung up, and hurried them forward in the fatal career they were pursuing. At seven in the morning, Coxe called out that he saw white cliffs, but they proved to be only broken waves, seen dimly through the mist. The soundings, however, being taken, were found alarming, and signals were immediately made to the other two vessels; but before they could be acted upon, the *Delight*, which drew more water than the others, had struck, and immediately her whole stern went to pieces. The other vessels could give no assistance, as they were able to save themselves only by standing instantly out to sea. The only means of escape was by a little boat which had been put out, and was attached by a rope to the vessel. Several with difficulty reached it by swimming, and brought it to the spot, where they hauled out of the water sixteen of their fellow-sailors, including the master, but not the captain. It was some time before they could recall their senses, and they still could not believe it possible that in this



little boat, amid a dark and stormy sea, they could reach on these strange shores any haven of safety. After some time, however, it was found that the boat still lived; but the danger was greatly increased by its over-crowded state. Edward Headly then proposed to choose four by lot, and throw them into the sea, so as to increase the chance of saving the rest; but Clarke refused, saying they would live or die together, and "advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all as well as a few." They remained six days out, without any food but the weeds which they found floating on the sea, or any drink but salt water. Two died; the rest were quite worn out, and wished to die, when they came in sight of the coast of Newfoundland. They were still able to assist each other on shore; those who had most strength left dragged the others to the nearest brook, where they quenched their thirst; and there were berries in abundance to satisfy their hunger. They then rowed five days along the coast, till they came to a Spanish vessel, which carried them to Europe.

Mean time the expedition were not a little dismayed at the loss of their largest vessel, with the bulk of their men. They beat about, however, for some time, in hopes of finding the shore; but, though tantalized by coming repeatedly to soundings of forty or fifty fathoms, they never could reach any part of the American coast. The weather was now very bad, and winter approaching, gave assurance of still worse, while their supply of provisions became more and more scanty. The crew of the frigate now represented to the general that there was nothing

left, but to return to England "before they all perished." They communicated these sentiments to the crew of the *Golden Hind*, who were too distant for speech, by pointing to their mouths and to their thin and ragged clothes; which signals were fully understood, and drew forth testimonies of cordial acquiescence. Sir Humphrey saw that he had no alternative; but, when he came to dine on board of the *Golden Hind*, made bitter lamentations over the loss of his vessel, his men, and, above all, it is said, his books and papers; and the crew chose to surmise, that something still more precious, gold itself, mingled in his regret. Though he had thus lost the best part of his fleet and his whole fortune embarked in it, his spirit did not fail. He desired the men "to be content, and he would set them forth royally the next spring." He would ask a penny of no man, but would make such representations to the queen as would induce her to lend him ten thousand pounds, with which he would set forth two voyages, one to the south and the other to the north.

It is now time, as Hayes expresses it, "to knit up this tragedy." It was observed to the general, that though the frigate, as it was called, but which was only a little boat of ten tons, might be well fitted for examining the coast, yet to attempt to cross the Atlantic with it, especially in its present overcharged and encumbered state, would be rash in the extreme. Sir Humphrey, however, obstinately replied, "I will not forsake my little company, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." It is suspected that he was swayed by some idle reports that had

gone abroad, as if he was a coward at sea, and that he foolishly preferred "the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life." They proceeded, however, in safety for three hundred leagues, till they came into the meridian of the Azores. They were then overtaken by a storm so violent, that "men, which all their lifetime had occupied the sea," never saw the like. The waves "broke short and high, pyramid-wise," which is supposed to have been occasioned by conflicting tides and currents. In the afternoon of 9th September the frigate was seen in evident danger, struggling with these terrible waves; but as the two vessels approached each other, Sir Humphrey appeared on deck, with a book in his hand, and called out to those on board the *Hind*, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Darkness soon fell, and the storm continuing, the two crews kept their eyes fixed on each other's lights as the signal of safety. A little after midnight, the lights of the frigate suddenly disappeared, and neither Sir Humphrey nor his crew were ever heard of more. The *Golden Hind*, reduced almost to a wreck, returned alone, of that gay and flourishing armament which had so lately set forth to occupy and rule the northern regions of the new world.\*

Notwithstanding the gloomy issue of this expedition, and its total failure in making any discovery of importance, the nation continued strongly bent upon enterprises of this nature. Sir George Peckham

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 147-163.

wrote a long discourse, in which, with a great and somewhat superfluous display of learning, he argues in their favour. He specially occupies himself with her majesty's right to the entire sovereignty of the new world, which he does not establish in a very satisfactory manner. He rests chiefly on the expedition of Madoc, and on some words in the American language, which he insists are Welsh. He quotes also with triumph the speech of Montezuma, in which that prince is reported to have reminded the Mexicans that their forefathers had come from a far country under a leader who returned, promising to send others to rule over them,—“all which sufficiently proves the undoubted title of her majesty.” He then recounts the various and rich commodities produced by this country, and endeavours to obviate the difficulties which were raised against his design.

The queen, though she liberally patronized every scheme for American discovery, and was ready to grant the most ample privileges to the adventurers, held her purse very close, and would not contribute the slightest aid of that nature. It was a doctrine, however, maintained by many, that without such princely aid success could not be hoped;—that “it was not for the merchant's purse to undertake the charges of transporting and planting.” Against such “malicious persons, who would neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afford a good word to the setting forward thereof,” Sir George strenuously argues. God, he says, had provided the means; for that, through his great mercy in preserving the people for so many years from slaughter,

plague, and pestilence, they were in such penury and want, that many would hazard their lives for a year's food and clothing, without wages; and this armament might be most cheaply equipped. He makes also a suggestion, which seems plausible enough, that the Newfoundland fishing-vessels going out empty might, along with the salt to be used in curing, take a number of emigrants.

Captain Christopher Carlile, in 1583, circulated proposals, which drew considerable attention. He proposed to transport and settle a hundred persons, who might form the foundation of a colony. The estimated cost was four thousand pounds, which he proposed to raise by subscription among the merchants. The land, and all its mines and productions, were to be divided among the subscribers, who were called adventurers, and the colonists, who were called enterprisers. The city of Bristol embraced this proposal with ardour, and subscribed a thousand pounds. Secretary Walsingham, whose nephew Carlile was, did every thing in his power to promote the enterprise; and the Moscovy merchants, the most active of the commercial bodies then in the kingdom, appointed a committee, who reported in its favour. But the queen did not produce a penny, and London and the other cities were found inadequate to contribute the other three thousand pounds.

Raleigh, the most remarkable perhaps of the great men who adorned this illustrious reign, undertook now, at his sole charge, this grand scheme of colonization. He had no difficulty in obtaining from the queen a patent as ample as that of Sir Humphrey.

He was allowed to take any two hundred miles in every direction of such "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands" as were not possessed by a Christian prince, nor inhabited by a Christian people. All who should migrate into this ample domain were to be ruled at the discretion of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, a single exception being made in favour of the Newfoundland fishery.\*

Raleigh did not proceed in person to his new kingdom, but fitted out two small exploratory vessels, which he placed under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two skilful naval officers. To avoid the disasters which Sir Humphrey had sustained from the northern mists and tempests, they chose the still more circuitous route by the Canaries and the West Indies. They passed through the Bahama channel, and stood for some time to the northward. At length the soundings indicated an approach to land, and they felt wafted over the sea a gale of the richest odours, such as might have been exhaled from the most delicious garden. They approached cautiously and attentively, and found themselves on a long line of coast, but without any appearance of a harbour. The shore was low and sandy, but green hills rose in the interior; and there grew such a profusion of grapes as those who had travelled in the finest wine-countries of Europe had never seen equalled. They sailed one hundred and twenty miles before they were able to find a landing-place. When they at length succeeded, and had mounted the nearest hill, they were not a little sur-

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 243-5.

prised to discover that the whole of this range of coast belonged, not to America, but to an island adjoining to it. It was the long narrow island of Okakoke, which, enclosing Pimlico Sound, runs parallel to the greater part of North Carolina.

The English spent two days without seeing any people of the country ; but on the third there appeared a boat with three men, one of whom began walking upon the beach opposite to them. They sent a boat on shore, which he awaited without any indication of fear, and began to speak fluently in his unknown language. He cheerfully accepted their invitation to go on board, ate their victuals, drank their wine, and, having received a shirt, a hat, and some other pieces of dress, departed with every symptom of the highest satisfaction. Other natives soon flocked in, and at length there appeared no less a person than Granganimeo, brother to the king, with a train of forty or fifty attendants. They were handsome men, very courteous in their demeanour, and viewed the chief with the most abject submission. They spread a mat for him to sit upon, and stood round him in a circle, none speaking a word, except four, marked as chiefs by red pieces of copper on their heads, who merely ventured to whisper in a low tone to each other. The English began to make presents,—first to Granganimeo, and then to his chiefs ; but he took those of the last and put them into his own basket, making signs, which were assented to by the rest, that all things ought to be delivered to him alone. Commerce was the next object, for which a quantity of valuable skins brought by the Virginians formed a

desirable object. The English now displayed their treasures, when the affections of the prince were instantly fixed upon a tin plate, which he applied to his breast, and, having made a hole in the rim, hung it round his neck, and declared that he was now invincible against all his enemies. He considered it therefore a great bargain to get this tin plate, worth about sixpence, for twenty skins, valued at a noble a piece. A brass kettle brought fifty skins ; so that the English *must* have found this a most profitable transaction. The copper-crowned chiefs, and no others, were permitted to trade.

The English made several excursions to different parts of the coast, particularly to Roanoke, where they found a queen, who loaded them with every mark of kindness. The two captains returned to England, bringing the most flattering accounts of their discovery. They say, “ the soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age.” These reports enchanted Raleigh, and filled the whole kingdom with the most pleasing expectations. The queen accepted the honour of giving name to this land of promise ; which, in allusion to her unmarried state, was called Virginia.\*

Sir Walter now strained every nerve, and expended almost his whole fortune, in preparing an expedi-

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 240-51.



tion suited to the grand objects presented to his view. He equipped a fleet of seven vessels, of a magnitude, however, very little fitted for crossing the Atlantic or conquering kingdoms. The largest was of one hundred and twenty tons, and three were mere boats. Other ambitious projects still detained himself at home; but the command of the expedition was taken by a most accomplished person, Sir Richard Greenville, accounted one of the chief ornaments of English chivalry, and, even in that age of gallantry, surnamed "the Brave." He still followed the circuitous route of the West Indies; and Robertson reproaches him with having wasted his time in sailing backwards and forwards amid these islands, and capturing Spanish prizes. This charge is not made with the usual accuracy of that great historian. Sir Richard sailed from Plymouth on the 19th of May, and was in Virginia on the 29th of June, so that he certainly lost no time. He did not take a single prize, and he merely touched at several of the islands for water and provisions, when the most studied courtesy passed between him and the Spaniards.

Sir Richard landed his colony; and, having done so, seems to have formed the erroneous idea that the most arduous part of his task was finished, instead of being only begun. The providing for the various unforeseen events of such an establishment, and the maintenance of the ties of fear and friendship over the savage natives, would have exercised the talents of the ablest statesman. They were intrusted to Mr Ralph Lane, who, though a person of some stir and activity, does not seem to have been at all equal to so

arduous a station. Considerable diligence was exerted, both in exploring the coast and penetrating into the country. The former was examined eighty miles to the south, and one hundred and thirty miles to the north, but without finding any commodious harbour. In this last direction, however, they came into the country of the Chesepians (on the Bay of Chesapeake), which appeared the finest they had ever yet seen. Lane, in a letter to Hackluyt, extols beyond all his predecessors this newly-discovered region. He says,—“ We have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven ;” adding afterwards,—“ It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world ; for the soil is of a huge unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savage-lie.”

The English penetrated also to the head of Roanoke Sound, which they found to be the estuary of the great river bearing now the same name. There they found Menatonon, the most powerful prince they had yet visited, being able to bring 700 men into the field. Here we suddenly find Lane holding Menatonon and his favourite son close prisoners. The father was set at liberty, but the son was still kept “ handlocked,” by which means Lane imagined that he could make Menatonon subservient to all his views. He did not consider that the king, though thus deterred from open hostility, had other means by which he could still more deeply injure the English. He immediately began giving reports of what was to be found up the country, which delighted Lane, who thought him “ a very grave and wise man, of singular good discourse,”

and obtained from him " more understanding and light than from all the searches and salvages that before he had conference with." Pearls were represented as so abounding in the upper country of the Moratiks and the Mangoaks, that not only the garments of skins, but their beds and the walls of their houses, were bedecked with them. Much was also said of a wonderful species of copper, which was found high up in the sands of the river. Every day seemed now an age, till they were among the Mangoaks and Moratiks. Lane was assured by Menatonon, that in ascending the river he would find relays with provisions at every point, and that the Indian nations, whom he was about to visit, would be prepared to give him the kindest reception. He therefore embarked forty men on board of two wherries, and sailed up with the most sanguine expectations. Great was his disappointment, when he passed three days without seeing a human being, or an article which could serve as human food. All the towns were deserted, and every thing was withdrawn that could minister in the slightest measure to the wants of the English. Lane called his company together, and observed, that they were manifestly betrayed, and, as they had with them only two days' provision, there seemed no time to be lost in making their way back. The men replied, that they longed exceedingly to have some doings with the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes ; that, in taking a further view of that most goodly river, " they hoped to meet with some better hap ;" and that in the last event they had two mastiffs, which, being made into soup with sassafras leaves, would keep them alive for two

days. Since they were willing, Lane gave his hearty consent; but, in sailing on for two days longer, they still saw neither man nor food; and human life was indicated only by lights moving to and fro in the interior. At length, about three in the afternoon, a voice from the woods called out *Manteo*. Manteo was one of their Indian guides, and a joyful hope arose that a friendly intercourse was at length to be opened. Manteo, however, on hearing the voice, and a song which followed it, bid them be on their guard;—presently a cloud of arrows fell among them. They escaped any injury, and immediately landed and attacked the savages, who had “wooded themselves they knew not where.” They kept watch through the night, and next day reflecting, that though they might meet the enemy, “they would meet none of their victual,” determined, with one consent, “to be going back again.” Lane now warned his crew, that they must come to their “dog’s porridge, which they had bespoken for themselves, if that befell them which did.” The crew could not possibly object; yet could not bring themselves to any relish for this diet, being of opinion, that “the like thereof for a meate was never used before.”

The English returned to the coast only in time to avert a general rising. Their enemies had assured the other tribes, that their God having no power, had not been able to prevent them from being partly murdered and partly starved; which last, it is admitted, was half true. Soon a general confederacy of the surrounding states was formed, headed by Pemisapan, under the mask of the most ardent friendship. The

captive prince, however, having become attached to the English, disclosed the design, and named the very day on which an attack was to be made by three thousand archers. Eight days before, Pemisapan's men began to make their assembly at Roanoke; but 1500 more were still expected. Lane, understanding "they meant to come with so good company," resolved to pay the first visit. The evening before, "to keep them from advertisements," he began to collect the canoes on his side of the river; but the enemy, "privy to their own villanous purposes," held good espial both day and night. The alarm was soon given, and both parties flew to arms; but, after the exchange of a few shots, the savages fled into the woods. Yet Lane afterwards obtained an interview with Pemisapan and his chiefs, and amply repaid any treachery which might have been intended for him. On a watchword given, all the Indian chiefs were attacked, and shot through the body. Pemisapan, pierced by a pistol-shot, lay on the ground apparently dead, but suddenly rose, and ran with incredible swiftness into the woods. Lane and his officers pursued, when they met his Irish servant coming out of the wood with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

Although present danger had been averted, the colonists began to turn a longing eye towards home. The enmity of the natives was now rooted, and, in hopes of starving the English, they had ceased to sow any of the lands round the settlement. The time appointed by Raleigh and Greenville for sending fresh supplies had passed. Amid these thoughts, the alarm was given, that twenty-three vessels were in view,

and no one could tell whether they were friends or foes. The interval of anxious suspense was most agreeably terminated, by finding this to be the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, returned from his victorious expedition against St Domingo, Carthagena, and other parts of the Spanish Main. Sir Francis sent a letter, with "a most bountiful and honourable offer" of supplies, provisions, and even of barks and vessels duly manned and equipped; and he was found, "indeed, most honourably to perform what he had most courteously offered." In the present temper of Lane and his colony, their primary object was to secure the means of returning to England; and they solicited, therefore, such a portion of shipping as might enable them to effect that object whenever the time might come which rendered it necessary. Drake assigned them a bark of seventy tons, and some smaller craft, with which they were quite satisfied. But just as this arrangement had been made, there arose a tempest of such extraordinary violence as would have driven the whole fleet on shore, "if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them." The barks destined for the colony were dashed to pieces, and Drake had no other small enough to enter the harbour. In this embarrassment, the officers and colony very readily made up their mind to get on board Drake's fleet, and make their way home to England. This purpose was fulfilled with the utmost precipitation. Hackluyt reproaches them as "having left all things so confusedly as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army." Their conclusion, however, that Raleigh had deserted them, was most erroneous. A few days after

this hasty departure, arrived a vessel of a hundred tons, amply appointed with every thing which could relieve and assist the colony ; but the crew, to their great amazement, found there was not a colony to relieve. They sailed along the coast, and made excursions into the country ; but all search being vain, they set sail for England. A fortnight after arrived Sir Richard in person, with three well-appointed vessels, bringing every thing requisite to place the settlement in the most flourishing state. Great was his dismay, when neither the colony, nor the ship sent for their relief, nor any thing English, was to be found within these vast and savage precincts. He saw no choice left but to sail for England, leaving a party of fifteen, according to Hackluyt, but, according to Smith, of fifty, (which is a more probable number,) to hold the place till he should arrive with more ample supplies.\*

Raleigh, amid all this complication of blunder, failure, and disaster, was not discouraged. He sent out a fresh and more ample colony of 150 persons, with three ships, under John White, as governor, and twelve assistants. They had a somewhat tedious voyage, setting sail from Plymouth on the 8th of May, and not arriving till the 22d July. On landing and looking for the fifty who had formed the colony, they saw only the bones of one,—a dreadful spectacle, which told too distinctly the fate of the rest. The fort was razed to the ground ; the houses remained open to the air, and overgrown with grass and plants, on which

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 251-64.

deer were browsing. White, however, sent notice to the neighbouring chiefs, that, if they would accept the offer, he would be happy to open a friendly intercourse, and that all would be utterly forgiven and forgotten. They returned a courteous answer, saying, that they would, within eight days, either wait upon him, or send a more particular answer. White, mean time, learned the particulars of the fate of the fifteen, or the fifty, left by Sir Richard Greenville. They had been surprised and attacked by three hundred Indians, and had retreated into the building which served for store-house and armouries; but the Indians having set fire to it, they were obliged to come out, and were partly killed, and partly obliged to fly into the interior, where they were never more heard of. White, inflamed by this relation, and by hearing nothing more of the chiefs to whom he had made the overtures, "thought to defer the revenging thereof no longer." He was guided, therefore, to a party of the natives, whom he attacked as they were sitting round a fire, and pursued them into a thicket of reeds, when it was discovered that they belonged to one of the few tribes friendly to the English. This ill-placed burst of resentment was the only exploit achieved by White. The colonists, who felt many hardships and privations, unwonted and unexpected, absolutely insisted on his returning to England to bring them such supplies as were necessary for their comfort; and so urgent were they, that they allowed him, he says, only half a day to prepare for his departure. Unfortunately, on his arrival, the nation was wholly engrossed by the expected invasion of the grand Spanish Armada;



and Sir Richard Greenville, who was preparing to sail for Virginia, received notice that his services were wanted at home. Raleigh, however, contrived to send out White with two more vessels ; but they were attacked by a Spanish ship of war, and so severely shattered, that they were obliged to return. It was not till 1590 that another expedition reached Virginia, when they beheld a similarly dreadful scene to that which had been presented on the former occasion. The houses were demolished, though still surrounded by a palisade ; and a great part of the stores was found buried in the earth. From this and other circumstances it was suspected, that the colonists might have followed out a design of removing into the interior ; but, as no trace was ever found of this unfortunate colony, there cannot be a hope, but that the whole must have miserably perished.\*

Robertson reproaches Raleigh with levity in now throwing up his scheme of a Virginian colony. But really, when we consider, that in the course of four years he had sent out seven successive expeditions, each more unfortunate than the other, and had spent £40,000, nearly his whole fortune, without the least prospect of a return, it cannot be viewed as a very unaccountable caprice, that he should get sick of the business, and be glad to transfer it into other hands. Sir Richard Greenville also, in 1591, was overpowered by a much superior Spanish force, and taken prisoner, when he died in two days of his wounds,

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\* Hackluyt, iii. 281-94.

saying to those around him,—“ Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour.” As for Raleigh, his attention was henceforth engrossed by expeditions against the Spaniards, by plans for improving the Irish wastes, and by vain searches after the golden city in the interior of South America.

Sir Thomas Smith, and some other merchants of London, took up the patent, and sent the first expedition above-mentioned ; but their exertions afterwards were greatly slackened ; and, indeed, they probably found it very difficult to invite emigrants into a region which had proved the grave of so many English. The colonization of America was therefore suspended till it received a new impulse.

In 1602, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, seemingly upon his own impulse, and perhaps with a view to the Newfoundland fishery, set sail from Dartmouth in a small vessel, with a crew of thirty-two men. The wind drove him at first as far south as the Azores, from whence he stood directly across the ocean, and found himself on that part of the coast of Connecticut which is diversified with the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and a larger one close to the shore, which they called Elizabeth's Island. They found the soil exceedingly fertile, so that wheat, barley, and oats, being sown in the middle of May, grew nine inches in fourteen days. On going over to the main, “ they stood a while, as ravished with the beauty and delicacy of the scene,” which presented large and fine meadows, adorned with clear and ex-

tensive streams. They caught in six hours more cod than they knew what to make of; and the coast appeared so rocky and broken as to afford every promise of good harbours.

The account which Gosnold spread of this first voyage to "the north parts of Virginia," roused the almost dormant attention of the English to this quarter of the world. It presented to their eyes a new country, and gave a much more extensive idea of that vast dominion which, under the above name, stood nominally attached to the British empire. In 1606, Thomas Arundel, Lord Wardour, an accomplished and spirited nobleman, fitted out a vessel, and sent it, under Captain Weymouth, to make further discoveries. Weymouth, following the same route as Gosnold, brought home a most favourable report; but it is very difficult, from the only narrative, which is that given by Rosier, to determine what part of the coast it was which he really did visit. He describes a noble river, preserving a breadth of a mile for forty miles upwards into the country, and adds, assuredly with some exaggeration, that "Orenoque, so famous in the world's ears," was not comparable to it. Stith supposes this river to be the Massachusetts, or Connecticut, but I should much rather suppose it the Hudson. He speaks of a bay, and mentions "all the isles, channels, and inlets about it,"—expressions which seem very applicable to the arm of the sea enclosed between Long Island and the continent. The soil is described as most rich, "verged with a green border of grass," and which, when cleared of the thick woods with which it was covered,

might be formed into the most beautiful meadow. Weymouth might have found opportunity for trade ; but he would not " hazard so hopeful a business," and regarded nothing but " a public good, and promulgating God's Holy Church."

The nation were now prepared to make an effort, on a much greater scale than ever, to possess and colonize the new world. Equal ardour was felt in London and in the western ports of Plymouth and Bristol,—the quarters which then nearly concentrated the maritime resources of the kingdom. To Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluyt, and other Londoners, was granted the patent for the south colony, which was supposed to afford the greatest scope for capital and commercial enterprise ; while the merchants of the west, which was supposed to contain the hardiest sailors and most skilful fishers, received the patent for northern Virginia. The limits were somewhat oddly adjusted ; those of the first colony being from  $34^{\circ}$  to  $41^{\circ}$  N. latitude, and those of the latter from  $38^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  ; so that three degrees were common to both ; however, it was ordained, that when one had taken his station, the other should take care to be a hundred miles distant from it. Wherever that station was, each company was to have fifty miles of coast on each side of it, or a hundred in all. They were also to have a hundred miles out to sea, and a hundred miles inland. They were not, however, invested with any of that high jurisdiction which had made Gilbert and Raleigh almost nominal kings of the new world. James I., faithful to his arbitrary principles, did not even al-

low any form of representative government, but vested the whole power in a council nominated by the crown.

The southern, or London company, whose steps we are first to follow, were those who first put forth an expedition on a considerable scale. The year 1606 was employed in collecting emigrants, and on the 19th December an expedition of three vessels sailed from London. Captain Newport had the naval command, and it comprised a number of persons of distinction, among whom was even George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. But the person who afterwards contributed most to the welfare of the settlement was Captain John Smith, who possessed all those qualities of firmness, intrepidity, and perseverance, which could fit him for the arduous task of founding a colonial establishment. He had been appointed one of the council; but, as he was taking that leading part to which his talents entitled him, a mean jealousy seized the rest, who asserted that he had it in view to take possession of the country, and make himself king of Virginia. Upon this vague charge he was arrested, and kept thirteen months in close confinement. Various accidents protracted their voyage till nearly the end of April. On approaching the coast of Virginia, they encountered a violent storm, which carried them out of their reckoning, and they sailed three days without any view of the expected land. So disconsolate were they, that several began to urge the necessity of steering their course direct towards England. At length they descried a hitherto unknown cape, forming the en-

trance into a spacious gulf. This was Cape Henry, opening into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake, the beauty and fertility of whose shores surpassed all that they had yet seen of the American continent. Mr Percy says, "I was almost ravished at the sight thereof." They were not long, however, of experiencing the enmity, which by this time seems to have been deeply rooted in the minds of the savages against every thing English. A party having gone on shore for recreation, "came the savages creeping upon all four, from the hills, like bears, with their bows in their mouths." These they discharged in the faces of the English, severely wounding Captain Archer and a sailor, till, "having felt the sharpness of our shot," they fled with loud cries into the woods.\* However, when the fleet came to Cape Comfort, they saw five savages, who were only "timersome," and on the captain laying his hand on his heart, they laid down their arrows, and made signs to come ashore to their town. The English reached it by rowing over a river, while the savages swam across, holding their bows and arrows in their mouths. The reception was singular. They made a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. "We did think they had been at their idolatry." However, they then spread mats on the ground, and covered them with such dainties as the country afforded, crowned with tobacco, smoked out of long ornamented pipes. They then entertained

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\* Percy in Purchas, iv. 1687.

the strangers with a dance, which consisted in beating their hands, shouting, howling, and stamping, "like so many wolves, or devils." After all this done for their entertainment, the English took leave.

As the expedition proceeded higher up the bay, among people who had probably never before seen Europeans, they were received *still* more cordially. The Werrowannee of Rappahana met them with all his train; "as goodly men," says Mr Percy, "as I have seen of savages or Christians. His body was painted all of crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought, his ears all behung with bracelets of pearle, and in either ear a bird's claw, beset with fine copper or gold: he entertained us in so modest a proud fashion as though he had been a prince of civil government." He invited them to his palace on the top of a hill, watered by some beautiful rivulets, and covered with the finest corn-fields, and entertained them "in good humanity." A gentleman having a very strong target, which could resist even small shot, set it up for an Indian to shoot at. The Indian took his arrow of cane, an ell long, headed with very sharp stones, and pierced the target through and through. They then set up a steel target, against which the arrow was broken in pieces, upon which the Indian took out another, bit it in rage and went away.

The English having found a fine river, which they called James's River, ascended it forty miles, and built James's Town, the most ancient inhabited place in the United States, though it has never risen to very great

importance. They were soon, however, involved in unexpected distress. Sir Thomas Smith, as one of the leading members of the company, having been intrusted with supplying provisions, had shamefully furnished them of very bad quality ; and the grain, " having funk'd for six and twenty weeks in the ship's hold," was ~~little~~ better than bran, and had as many worms as ~~grains~~. Want was soon followed by disease, which, before September, carried off fifty of the company. In this distressful condition, all eyes were turned towards Smith, as the only man who could provide a remedy for so many evils, and with one consent they vested in him the supreme command.

Smith having provided as well as he could for the interior comfort of the colony, set forth to collect provisions in the surrounding country. The Indians, however, received his party with derision, " as famished men," and, holding out morsels of bread, asked for them swords, muskets, and whatever was most valuable. Smith, seeing nothing could be done by " trade or courtesy," deemed it a matter of necessity to discharge his muskets, upon which they all fled into the woods. The English then entered a village, which was found well stocked with provisions, and they were anxious to have carried these off at once ; but he (we do not well know why) insisted upon remaining till the Indians returned, as he doubted not they would soon do. Soon, accordingly, was heard an hideous noise, and there issued forth from the woods sixty or seventy, painted black, white, and red, singing, dancing, and bearing in front their okee,



or idol, an image of skins stuffed with moss, painted, and hung with chains of copper. In this guise, they made a furious assault on the English, who, however, received them so *kindly* "that down fell their god," several lay stretched on the ground, and the rest fled screaming into the woods. Their spirit was now humbled, and there ~~soon~~ came out a venerable personage, a quionghkasouk, to make overtures of peace, and treat for their god. Smith assured them that they should have okee and every thing of theirs he had, with beads and hatchets besides, provided they would hold friendly intercourse, and assist in loading his boat with provisions. They closed with the offer, and an intercourse, of at least outward cordiality, succeeded to the deadly hostility of the two parties.

Smith, after having made some farther excursions, returned to James's Town only in time to arrest a plot which had arisen among what he oddly calls the "tuftaffety" part of the colony, to break up and return to England. Having managed matters as he best could among this turbulent race, he again set out to explore the Chickahominy, the chief tributary of James's River, and whose banks were singularly rich in corn. He sailed so high, that he could get forward his barge only by cutting the trees by which the stream was overhung, and at last was obliged to leave it, and proceed up in a canoe with four of the party, of whom two were Indians. His caution now forsook him. Twenty miles up, having reached the marshes at the head of the river, he left his men at the canoe, and began shooting in the desert. All this time the

Indians had been on the watch ; the two men were attacked and killed, and Smith suddenly found himself in the midst of two or three hundred infuriate savages. In this extremity, he made unheard-of efforts for his deliverance. He seized his Indian guide, whom he tied round himself with his garters, and, presenting him to the enemy, made him serve as a buckler. In this position he retreated upon the canoe ; but, just as there appeared a near prospect of regaining it, he suddenly sunk half-way up in a swamp, was overtaken and made prisoner.

Smith had now reason to consider his career as drawing to a close. In fact, he had been tied to a tree, and a circle formed for the purpose of shooting him, when, calling for their chief, Opechankanough, he exhibited to him an ivory compass-dial, and explaining to him its application to the movement of the heavenly bodies, entranced him and his attendants with astonishment and admiration. On a signal made by the chief with the compass, all the bows and arrows were laid down, and Smith was led, carefully guarded, to their capital. He was then led from town to town, and exhibited to the women and children, who crowded to see him, and received him with strange yells and dances. Every day there was set down to him as much bread and venison as would have dined twenty men ; but as no one sat down with him, and there was no corresponding mark of kindness, Smith began to dread that they were fattening for the purpose of eating him. This was not exactly the case ; yet it is true that such festal entertainment was often the prelude to the most fatal purpose. At length, when he

had been sufficiently led about, three days were employed in making a most dire conjuration over him. The chief performer was a grim figure, having his face painted black with coal and oil, and numerous stuffed skins of snakes and weasels fastened by the tail to the crown of the head, and hanging down frightfully over the face and shoulders. He was seconded by others, whom white eyes and red stripes mingled with the black rendered still more hideous. They intermingled circles of meal and corn with bundles of sticks, interpreting that the meal was the Indian country, the corn the sea, and the sticks England; and this was all to discover whether he intended them well or ill. The result does not appear to have been stated to Smith; but he was soon led before Powhatan, the greatest lord of all this part of Virginia. The English even call him Emperor. Powhatan arrayed himself in his utmost pomp on this solemn occasion. He had invested himself in a large robe of racoon skins, from which all the tails were hanging. Behind him stood two long rows of men, and behind them two of women, all with their faces and shoulders painted red, their heads bedecked with white down, and a chain of white beads round their necks. One of the queens presented Smith with a towel to wash his hands, another with a bundle of feathers to dry them. The fatal moment was now approaching. Two large stones were placed before Powhatan, to which Smith, by the united efforts of the attendants, was forcibly dragged, his head laid on one of them, and the mighty club raised,—a few blows from which was to terminate his life. But a very

unexpected interposition now took place. Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, forgetful of her barbarous birth and name, was seized with those emotions of tender pity which make the ornament of her sex. She ran up to her father, and pathetically pleaded for the life of the stranger. When all entreaties were lost on that stern and savage potentate, she hastened to Smith, snatched his head in her arms, and laid her own on his, declaring that the first blow must fall upon her. The heart even of a savage father was at last melted, and Powhatan granted to his favourite daughter the life of Smith. At first it was arranged that he should amuse the father and daughter by making bells, beads, and other curious European fabrics. A different course, however, was soon resolved upon. Smith was placed alone in a large house beside a fire; when presently he heard from without a most frightful and doleful noise, and Powhatan rushed in, with two hundred attendants, having their faces blacked, and disguised in every frightful form that their fancy could devise. Smith thought his last hour was again at hand; but Powhatan told him, that these were the signs of peace and friendship, and that he should be sent back to James's Town, on the sole condition of transmitting two culverines and a millstone.\*

Smith arrived at a critical moment. The colonists had again determined to return to their native country, and were busied in fitting out a pinnace for the

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\* Smith *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 51-5.

voyage. Smith took the strong hand, and announced that either the pinnace must stop or be sunk; and, under the influence of this alternative, they were frightened into remaining. Pocahontas, continuing her generous kindness, brought them every three or four days supplies of provisions, till a fresh vessel arrived from England.

Smith soon afterwards set out to complete his survey of the Bay of Chesapeake. He crossed first to its eastern shore, and coasted along that long narrow peninsula, which there forms its border. He was variously received,—the natives in general coming “in much surprise, asking what they were, and what they would.” Smith always used the means of conciliation; and generally some friendly explanations, and the presentation of a few beads, led to a friendly intercourse. In other cases, the natives remained fixed in their hostility, and Smith was then forced to discharge among them the terrors of his musketry. In one place he was so nearly killed by the poisoned sting of a pambar-fish, that, by his own desire, they had dug his grave; but either nature or a salutary oil administered by Dr Russell cured him before night. In the course of a fortnight, the men, being tired of plying the oar, and finding their bread spoiled by the wet, became clamorous to return home; and their call being seconded by two or three days of very bad weather, Smith could no longer make head against them. He turned most reluctantly, however, being anxious to see the great river Patowomek (Potowmack), and to visit the Massowomeks, who were represented as the most numerous and powerful of all

the nations on the bay. Suddenly, to his great satisfaction, in steering across, he came to the "seven miles broad" mouth of the Potowmack. This was so grand an object, that the men resumed their spirits and agreed to ascend it. They found the country populous but hostile ; and at one place an ambuscade of three or four thousand started up, grimed, disguised, shouting, yelling, crying, like spirits from hell. However, upon the mere grazing of musket-balls upon the water, "down fell their bows and arrows," and an amicable intercourse took place. Their enmity, it appeared, had been fomented by Powhatan, who had again resumed his hostile feelings towards Smith. A considerable way up they found a mine of antimony, which the natives extracted with shells and hatchets, and prized the mineral highly, as the means of painting their body black, yet glittering like silver.

Having returned to James's Town, Smith again set out, with the view of reaching the river of Susquehannah, at the farthest head of this great bay. His vessel, however, could not reach it on account of rocks ; but he sent up a message, requesting a visit from the Susquehannocks, who were represented as a mighty people. After an interval of three or four days there appeared sixty,—a giant-like race,—with presents of arms, venison, and tobacco-pipes three feet long. Five of their chief Werrowannees came on board, and sailed across the bay without the least apprehension. Smith now thoroughly explored all the creeks and outlets of the Chesapeake, particularly that of Rappahannock, where, however, a thousand arrows were at one place let fly at his party, though

happily without doing any injury. The narrators, on the whole, consider that this voyage of three thousand miles, by twelve men in a small barge, "with such watery diet in those great waters and barbarous countries," threw no little credit on its performers.\*

Pocahontas for several years kept up her acquaintance with the English, coming back and forward to James's Town with her wild train as familiarly as if it had been her father's house. Powhatan, however, dissatisfied with Smith's mode of trading, which does not seem to have been excessively liberal, formed the design of killing him in the woods. His life was again saved by the fair Indian princess, who ran through the forest in a dark night, and warned him of his danger. She was hereupon offered large presents of every thing she was known most to delight in; but she told them, with tears in her eyes, it was as much as her life was worth to be seen having such things, and ran back alone through the woods.

Open war now ensuing between Powhatan and the English, a stop was put to this amicable intercourse. Smith himself, through a wound received from an accidental explosion of gunpowder, was obliged to return to England; but we shall here follow out the story of his fair deliverer. One Captain Argall, having been sent up the Potowmack to trade for corn, heard that Pocahontas, whom he had often heard called the nonpareil of Virginia, was at a village on the river. Hereupon he induced a common friend, Japa-

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\* Smith *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 61-72.

zaws, by the irresistible bribe of a copper kettle, to inveigle her on board. Thus, through his means, was the poor innocent Pocahontas betrayed into the ship, when she was told that she must repair to James's Town, that her liberation might be the means of purchasing peace. This base transaction did not produce the desired effect. Powhatan was three months before he returned an answer to the terms on which the English offered to liberate his daughter. He then, indeed, sent seven English captives, with seven bad muskets, and an offer of five hundred bushels of maize ; but these were rejected, as inadequate to the value of their fair prize, who remained, therefore, two years in their custody. It can only be said in their defence, that she appears to have been perfectly well treated, insomuch that she became more and more attached to the English manners and character. At length to the chains of captivity were added those of love. Mr Thomas Rolfe, a very respectable and deserving young man, was smitten with the dignified demeanour and copper complexion of Pocahontas, and having paid his addresses, soon met a tender return. Sir Thomas Dale refers to a very judicious letter which he received from him, giving his reasons for forming this connexion, which has unluckily not been preserved. Through Sir Thomas and her lover she was instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, which she cordially embraced, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca. The communication was made with some apprehension to the proud and savage king ; but he was quite delighted, and concluded thereupon a treaty of amity, which



he never after violated. He did not choose to appear in person, but he sent his brother and one of his sons to act his part at the marriage. Soon after the Lady Rebecca, alias the Princess Pocahontas, alias Mrs Rolfe, set sail to visit England. As soon as Smith heard of her arrival he wrote a letter to the queen, recounting all her services to himself and to the nation, assuring her majesty that she had a great spirit, though a low stature, and earnestly soliciting her majesty's kindness and courtesy. Mrs Rolfe was accordingly introduced, and well received at court, and, as a novelty, was for some time the favourite object in the circles of fashion and nobility. On her introduction into these she deported herself with a grace and propriety which, it is said, many ladies, bred with every advantage of education and society, could not equal. Purchas mentions meeting her at the table of his patron, Dr King, bishop of London, where she was entertained with "festive state and pomp," beyond what at his hospitable board was shown to other ladies. She carried herself as the daughter of a king, and was respected as such. She was accompanied by Vitamotomakkin, an Indian chief and priest, who had married one of her sisters, and had been sent to attend her. Purchas saw him repeatedly "sing and dance his diabolical measures." He endeavoured to persuade this chief to follow the example of his sister-in-law, and embrace Christianity; but found him "a blasphemer of what he knew not, preferring his god to ours." He insisted that their okee having taught them to plant, sow, and wear a cork twisted round their left ear,

was entitled to their undivided homage. Powhatan had instructed him to bring back every information respecting England, and particularly to count the number of people, furnishing him for that purpose with a bundle of sticks, that he might make a notch for every man. Vitamotomakkin, the moment he landed at Plymouth, was appalled at the magnitude of the task before him ; however, he continued notching most indefatigably all the way to London ; but the instant that he entered Piccadilly, he threw away the sticks, and, on returning, desired Powhatan to count the leaves on the trees and the sands on the seashore. He also told Smith that he had special instructions to see the English God, their king, their queen, and their prince. Smith could do nothing for him as to the first particular ; but he was taken to the levee, and saw the other three, though he complained bitterly ~~that~~ none of them had made him any present.

As soon as Smith learned that Pocahontas was settled in a house at Brentford, which she had chosen, in order to be out of the smoke of London, he hastened to wait upon her. His reception was very painful. The princess turned from him, hid her face, and for two hours could by no effort be induced to utter a word. A certain degree of mystery appears to hang on the origin of this deadly offence. Her actual reproaches, when she found her speech, rested on having heard nothing of him since he left Virginia, and on having been assured there that he was dead. Prevost has taken upon him to say, that the breach of plighted love was the ground of this resent-

ment, and that it was only on believing that death had dissolved the engagement between them that she had been induced to marry another. I cannot in any of the original writers meet with the least trace of this alleged vow, and should be sorry to find in Smith the false lover of the fair Pocahontas. It would not also have been in much unison with her applauded discretion to have resented a wrong of this nature in such a time and manner. I am persuaded that this love was a creation of the romantic brain of Prevost, and that the real ground of her displeasure was, that, during the two years when she was so shamefully kept in durance, she heard nothing of any intercession made in her favour by one whom she had laid under such deep obligations; and really the thing seems to require some explanation. It appears, that when Smith at last was able to draw speech from the indignant fair one, he succeeded in satisfying her that there had been no such neglect as she apprehended, and she insisted on calling him by the name of father.

The only mortification which Pocahontas met with was from James, who took it into his head that Rolfe in marrying her might be advancing a claim to the crown of Virginia; however, by great pains, this idea was at last driven out of his brain. She departed, therefore, with the most favourable impressions, and with every honour, her husband being appointed secretary and recorder-general of Virginia. But Providence had not destined that she should ever revisit her native shore. As she went down to embark at Gravesend, she was seized with

illness, and died in a few days. Her end is described to have edified extremely all the spectators, and to have been full of Christian resignation and hope.\*

During this time a negotiation was opened with Powhatan for another of his daughters, who, it was promised, should be married in a manner equally respectable and satisfactory as her elder sister. Powhatan, after making some wry faces, replied, that he was altogether disposed to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the English; but his daughter he could not give, having sold her to a great chief for two bushels of tobacco. Mr Hamer urged upon him the unsatisfactory nature of this reason, and that the English were ready to give a consideration, either in tobacco or any other shape, much more adequate to the value of her highness. The truth then came out. It was too much, he said, to deprive him of both his darling children. He was ready to give them any other pledge of peace, but not this. There had been enough of blood and war, and he was determined to spend the rest of his days in tranquillity.

The colony, mean time, proceeded with various but on the whole troubled fortunes. The materials were by no means of a promising or desirable description. Smith describes them as "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin or maintain one." As they went out usually with extravagant hopes of sudden

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\* Smith, *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 120-23. Beverley. Prevost. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, xiv. 471. Purchas, iv. 1774.

and brilliant wealth, they paid little regard to any solid or substantial pursuit, and scorned even the slight labour which was necessary to draw subsistence from this fertile soil. Hence the repeated extremities to which they were reduced by famine, which so often impelled them to re-embark for England, had they not been relieved by the active succession of supplies which were transmitted to the colony. In 1619, James gave orders for "a hundred dissolute persons"\* to be delivered by the knight marshal for transportation to Virginia; and the same mode of recruiting was continued for several years. These dissolute persons were not unwelcome, to be employed as labourers, or rather as slaves; but the practice, by giving to Virginia the reputation of "a mere hell upon earth," only fit for the reception of the vilest malefactors, lowered the character of the voluntary emigrants; and in 1625, of nine thousand, transported at an expense of £150,000, there were alive only eighteen hundred,† and the exports did not exceed twenty thousand pounds. The first great evil was insubordination, to remedy which martial law, on the advice, it is said, of Lord Bacon, was introduced, and, though contrary to every British idea, and without an example even under Spanish tyranny, it seems to have been the first thing which brought these loose and turbulent spirits to any degree of order and industry. The administration of the exclusive company, however, mismanaged, as it

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\* Stith's Hist. Virginia, 167-8.

† Chalmers's Annals of

United Colonies, 69.

was alleged to have been by Sir Thomas Smith, was always complained of as contracted and tyrannical. The colonists imputed to it a large proportion of their evils, and even sent home a petition, that, rather than continue them under it, the king would send out a commission to hang them.\* James was not at all unwilling to listen to complaints which afforded an opening for the enlargement of his prerogative. He commenced a series of pretty arbitrary proceedings, by means of which he procured the forfeiture of the company's charter. Charles I., who immediately succeeded, sent out Sir John Hervey to rule with absolute sway, which he did in so arbitrary a manner, that the colonists found themselves worse than before, and in three years seized and sent him back a prisoner to Charles. Such a proceeding was foreign to all the ideas of that prince, who would not even see the deputies, and indignantly returned them their governor; but he took a second and better thought on the subject, and sent out Sir William Berkeley, a most wise and able person, who was even empowered to grant a representative government and the benefits of British law. Under his salutary administration, they contracted even a strong attachment to the house of Stuart, and could boast of being the last who submitted to the yoke of the Commonwealth and the first who shook it off. Under his management the colony continued in a steady state of prosperity, and in 1670 could number forty thousand inhabitants.

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\* Stith's History of Virginia, 307.

Among the commodities sought in Virginia, gold, as usual, was the primary object ; and whenever there appeared any mineral substance of a yellow colour, then, as Smith says,—“ Dig gold, wash gold, refine gold !” became all the cry. Several ships were loaded with this yellow trash, which, whenever it arrived in England, was pronounced to be utterly worthless. Tobacco next succeeded, and from the empire which it acquired over the tastes of Europe, became a stable source of wealth to Virginia. Raleigh, while his mind was bent on Virginia, introduced it at the court of Elizabeth, where it seems to have been the subject of considerable mirth. Raleigh offered to bet with the queen, that he would measure the smoke from it,—a challenge which the queen readily accepted, under the full assurance of gaining. Raleigh weighed first the tobacco, and having smoked it, weighed then the ashes ; arguing, that the difference of these two elements must have evaporated in smoke. The queen admitted his reasoning, and observed, that she had often seen gold turned into smoke, but never till now smoke turned into gold. The quantity, however, was too small to become an object of general consumption ; but when the colony was at last formed on a greater scale, tobacco was the only article which found a sure sale, and was accounted by the colonists their money. They cultivated it, therefore, to the neglect of every other object of industry, planting with it the very streets of James’s Town. Tobacco, however, had many trials to pass through before it reached its present established station. King James declared himself its open enemy, and drew against it

his royal pen. In the work which he entitled "Counterblast to Tobacco," he poured the most bitter reproaches on "this vile and nauseous weed." He followed it up by a proclamation to restrain "the disorderly trading in tobacco,"\* as tending to a general and new corruption of both men's bodies and minds. Parliament also took the fate of this weed into their most solemn deliberation. Various members inveighed against it, as a mania which infected the whole nation; that ploughmen took it at the plough; that it "hindered" the health of the whole nation, and that thousands had died of it. Its warmest friends ventured only to plead, that before the final anathema pronounced against it, a little pause might be granted to the inhabitants of Virginia and the Somer Isles to find some other means of existence and trade. James's enmity did not prevent him from endeavouring to fill his coffers by the most enormous imposts laid upon tobacco, insomuch that the colonists were obliged for some time to send the whole into the ports of Holland; but this too was soon after prohibited. The government of New England, more consistently, passed a complete interdict against tobacco, the smoke of which they compared to that of the bottomless pit. Yet tobacco, like other proscribed objects, thrived under persecution, and achieved a final triumph over all its enemies. Indeed, the enmity against it was in some respects beneficial to Virginia, as drawing forth the most strict prohibitions against "abusing and misem-

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\* Massaire, 210. Wives, 197.



loying the soil of this fruitful kingdom" to the production of so odious an article. After all, as the import for an average of seven years did not reach a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, it could not have that mighty influence, either for good or evil, which was ascribed to it by the fears and passions of the age.\*

Amid the various vicissitudes and disasters which befell the colony, one was dreadfully pre-eminent. Opechankanough, the successor of Powhatan, had adopted with ardour all the early enmity of that prince against the English. It was more and more imbibed, as he observed the manner in which these foreigners multiplied and spread themselves over the country. He formed one of those dreadful schemes, which are so frequent in the Indian annals, of exterminating the whole race at one blow. Such was the fidelity of his people, and so deep the power of savage dissimulation, that this dire scheme was matured and arranged during four years, without the slightest surmise reaching the ears of the English. Down to the last fatal moment every the most studied semblance of friendship and cordiality was maintained. The king sent a message "that the sky would sooner fall than the peace between them should be dissolved." Several English, who had wandered into the woods, and come completely under the power of the savages, were carefully and kindly guided back. On the fatal Friday morning the Indians came into the town in

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\* Chalmers, b. i. ch. 3, with Notes.

great numbers, with numerous presents, and many of them breakfasted in the English houses. Immediately after, they commenced a general and indiscriminate massacre, without distinction of sex or age. The weapons of the English themselves, or any instruments of destruction which lay nearest at hand, were used against them. Many of the murderers had received from their victims particular kindness and marks of favour. In an hour, and almost in a minute, there fell three hundred and forty-seven, most of them without knowing how or by what weapon. Only one disclosure was made by Chumo, an Indian convert, living with a Mr Pace, who treated him as his own son. One of his companions, the night before, acquainted him with the design, and urged him to kill his master, as he himself intended to kill his. Instead of following this horrid advice, Chumo discovered it to Pace, and Pace immediately to the commandant, who hastened to James's Town, and secured that settlement.\*

As soon as the English had recovered from the first dismay occasioned by this catastrophe they drew closer to James's Town. Thence they presently began against the Indians a most furious and exterminating warfare. They even copied the evil example which they had so deeply reprobated; and, having allured a number of Indians within their precincts, perpetrated against them a massacre as dreadful as that under which they themselves had suffered. The con-

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\* Purchas, v. 1788.

sequence was fatal to the slender population supported in this rude state of society. The Indians disappeared from the face of Virginia, and left not in that country a relic of their name or nation.

The historians of Virginia, however, have left some records respecting this unfortunate race once inhabiting that territory, which are not unworthy of being gleaned. A rude agriculture, devolved solely on the women ; hunting pursued with activity and skill, but rather as a pastime than as a toil ; strong attachment of the members of the little communities to each other, but deadly enmity against all their neighbours, and this manifesting itself in furious wars, conducted rather by stratagem and ambuscade than by conflict in the open field,—these features belong to the Virginians in common with almost every form of savage life. There are others which are more distinctive. Although a rude independence has been supposed to be, and in many cases is, the peculiar boast of the savage, yet, when a yoke of opinion and authority has once been established over his mind, he yields a submission more entire and more blind than is rendered to the most absolute of eastern despots. Such a sway had the King of Virginia. “ When he listeth,” says Smith, “ his will is a law, and must be obeyed ; not only as a king, but as half a god, they esteem him. What he commandeth, they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all this people do adore this Powhatan ; at the least frown of his brow their greatest spirits will tremble with fear.” Powhatan had under him a number of chiefs, who ruled as supreme within their own circle ; and

they were so numerous, and covered so large an extent of territory, that Powhatan is often dignified by Europeans with the title of emperor.

The priests and conjurors formed a separate order, and enjoyed that high influence which marks a certain advance in the social state. The priests arrayed themselves in long robes like petticoats, consisting of skins, with the hair outwards, hanging down in a shaggy and frightful manner, and of which they studiously heightened the deformity, in order to frighten the people into veneration. They shaved the whole hair, except a narrow tuft or ridge, extending from the centre of the brow to the back of the neck. Their utmost art was employed to paint their bodies in the most singular and hideous manner. They possessed, however, some knowledge of nature, and of the history and traditions of their country, superior, at least, to that of their ruder countrymen. Their temples were numerous, formed on a similar though inferior plan to those of Florida, and each served by one or more priests. They had a mode of preserving the bodies of their great men after death similar to that practised in Florida. They opened the skin, took out the whole interior, and separated the bones from the flesh. The bones being then dried, were replaced within the skin, which had been preserved entire, and the intestines being filled with white sand, the body looked as if entire, and was preserved on a shelf, under the continual guard of one of the priests.

Beverley was the man who made the most close inquiry into the Virginian mythology. He did not meet with all the success he wished, finding them ex-

cessively mysterious on the subject. Having got hold, however, of an intelligent Indian, and plied him heartily with strong cider, he at last got him to open his heart in some degree. As he declared his belief in a wise, perfect, and supremely beneficent being, who dwelt in the heavens, Beverley asked him, how, then, he could confine his worship to the devil, a wicked, ugly, earthly being? The Indian said, that they were secure as to the good being, who would shower down his benefits without asking any return; but that the evil spirit was perpetually busy and meddling, and would spoil all, if constant court was not paid to him. Beverley, however, pressed upon him, how he could think that an insensible log, "a helpless thing, equipt with a bundle of clouts," could ever be a proper object of worship? The visage of the Indian now assumed a very marked and embarrassed expression. After a long pause, he began to utter, in broken sentences, "It is the priests;"—then, after another pause, "It is the priests;"—but, "a qualm crossed his conscience," and he would say no more.

Beverley had been so well-informed upon this last point, in consequence of a favourable incident of which he had availed himself. While the whole town were assembled to deliberate on some great state affair, he was ranging the woods, and stumbled upon their quiocosan, or great temple. He resolved not to lose so favourable an occasion. After removing about fourteen logs, with which the door was barricadoed, he entered the mansion, which appeared at first to consist only of a large, empty, dark apartment, with a fire-place in the middle, and set round with posts,

crowned with carved and painted heads. On closer observation, he at length discovered a recess, with mats hung before it, and involved in the deepest darkness. With some hesitation he ventured into this wonderful sanctuary, where he found the materials, which, on being put together, made up Okee, Kiwasee, or Quioccos, the mighty Indian idol. The main body consisted of a large plank, to whose edges were nailed half-hoops, to represent the breast and belly. Long rolls of blue and red cotton cloth, variously twisted, made arms and legs, the latter of which were represented in a bent position. The reputation of the god was chiefly supported by the very dim religious light under which he was viewed, and which enabled also the conjuror to get behind him, and move his person in such a manner as might be favourable to the extension of his influence; while the priest in front, by the most awful menaces, deterred any from approaching so near, as might lead to any revelation of the interior mysteries.\*

Smith alleges against the Virginians, that they made a yearly sacrifice of a certain number of children; but it appears clear, from the statements of Beverley, that he misunderstood in this sense the practice of *husken-awing*, a species of severe probation through which those were required to pass who aspired either to be chiefs or priests. On this occasion, after various preparatory ceremonies, the children are led naked through two lines of men, all armed with bastinadoes,

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\* Beverley, 166-70-1.

which are employed with great rigour against the victims, who, after running through this gauntlet, are more dead than alive, and are covered with boughs and leaves of trees. If any expire under this trial, it is esteemed that the Okee has fixed his heart upon him, and carried him off. The rest are conveyed into the depth of a wood, and shut up in a species of cage or pen, where they are plied with intoxicating drugs, till they are said to become for several weeks absolutely deranged. By this process they are supposed completely to lose all memory of what they have seen and known in their former life, and to begin a new and brighter era. They must not, on their return home, recognize their nearest friends and comrades, the most common objects, nor even know a word of their own language; all must be to be learned afresh. If any indications of memory escape, the youth must pass afresh through the dreadful ordeal. Above all, he must be careful not to have retained the slightest recollection of any property he may have possessed, and which the neighbours usually judge this a favourable opportunity to appropriate.\*

The Indians had not the least tincture of science, nor, of course, used any form of writing. They made, however, paintings of animals and other natural objects, by the form and relative position of which information was transmitted; but it is to be regretted, that none of these Virginian paintings have been preserved to be compared with those of the Mexicans.

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\* Smith, *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 41. Beverley, 178.

The only diseases, independent of wounds and hurts, to which their natural and active mode of life was liable, were those arising from sudden vicissitudes of heat and cold, for which their sole cure was sweating. Every village had its sweating-house, a large oven, or vapour-bath, filled with the steam raised by water poured over hot stones. After eight or ten persons had been thus stewed together, they ran out, and, after the Russian and Finnish fashion, plunged into the nearest brook of cold water; and this system, which, according to every English idea, ought to have killed them on the spot, was found refreshing in the extreme. In case of wounds, sucking and scarifying were the chief remedies.



## CHAPTER V.

## DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

*First Discovery by Gosnold.—Voyage of Challons.—Captain John Smith.—Unsuccessful Attempts.—Religious Persecution in England.—The Brownists.—Their Colony at New Plymouth.—Persecution of the Puritans.—Numerous Emigrations.—Settlement of Salem and Boston.—First Arrangements of the Colony.—Schism occasioned by Williams.—The Red Cross.—Rise of the Antinomian Sect.—Mrs Hutchinson.—Violent Ferment in the Colony.—Proceedings against the Antinomians.—The Anabaptists.—The Quakers.—Accounts of their Conduct.—Violent Proceedings against them.—Invasion of the Colonial Charter.—Andros Governor.—Revolution of 1688.—Alarm about Witchcraft.—Trials.—Singular Confessions.—Dreadful State of the Colony.—Close of the Proceedings.—The Native Indians.—Dreadful Wars with them.—Measures taken for their Conversion.*

GOSNOLD, as we have already seen, in his prosperous voyage to Virginia, touched first upon a part of the coast of what has since been termed New England, and sailed thence southward to the Chesapeake. In this course he discovered that the continent, which was still called Virginia, took a much wider range

than the English government had yet been aware of. It appeared now too great to be the object of one grant, or the adventure of one company. While Southern Virginia, therefore, was assigned to a London association, the northern part was bestowed upon the Plymouth Company, formed by merchants of Bristol, and of other towns in the West of England. Although that part of the kingdom could not boast the wealth and extensive resources which have so long centered in the British metropolis, there were not wanting capital and enterprise sufficient to fit out expeditions on a considerable scale.

The first colony was sent by Sir John Popham, chief justice, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth, and "diverse other worshipful knights and merchants of the west." These great personages, however, produced nothing but a little bark of 55 tons, on board of which they put twenty-nine Englishmen, and two savages who had been brought from that quarter. Challons, it does not appear why, took the old route by the Canaries and the West Indies. While near the coast of Hispaniola they were overtaken by thick and tempestuous fogs, on the clearing up of which they found themselves in the midst of a fleet of eight Spanish vessels. The Spaniards immediately fired and called on them to stop; then rushed on board with drawn swords. "We in peace stood ready to entertain them in peace," but they instantly began beating the whole crew, and wounding several, among whom was one of the poor Indians, who vainly cried out, "It is King James's ship, it is King James's ship!" The vessel

was immediately taken possession of, and the crew divided among the different ships, which separated in various directions. The captain and pilot were brought to Seville and thrown into prison ; but they gained access to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who took a great interest in their case, and strongly condemned the conduct of his countrymen. While in prison, however, Robert Cooke, one of their number, died, when his body was dragged naked by the heels through the prison, with cries of " See the Lutheran !" and, after suffering other indignities, it was carried off they never knew whither. Soon after, Nathaniel Humfries, the boatswain, was stabbed with a knife by a Spaniard. The English carried the latter to the president for justice, demanding, " that he having slain an honest and worthy man, should die for it." The president said, they might get him sent a year or two to the galleys ; " but the King of Spain will not give the life of the worst slave that he hath for the best subject the King of England hath." They applied, however, to an ecclesiastical judge, who put them on a method, by which, after spending two hundred rials on lawyers and scribes, " at length we had him hanged." They effected their return to England with considerable difficulty.\*

The issue of this voyage cast a gloom on the spirit of adventure ; yet, as it did not really decide any thing as to the merits of the undertaking, the adventurers soon resumed their courage. Captain

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\* Purchas, iv. 1832-6.

Popham, son to the chief justice, and Captain Gilbert, brother to Sir John Gilbert, set sail on a new adventure, with a hundred men, copiously supplied with every necessary. They settled on the river Sagahadock, and built a fort, which they called St George. The first apprenticeship of a colony, however, is always hard, and they suffered additionally through the winter by part of their stores being accidentally burnt. Next summer a vessel arrived with additional supplies, but brought tidings of the death of their great patron, the chief justice, and also of the brother of Captain Gilbert, who then determined immediately to go home and take possession of his estate. The whole colony, discouraged and sick of the enterprise, set sail together.

The next adventurer in New England settlement was Captain John Smith, who acted so conspicuous a part in Virginia, and whom Purchas describes "as a man which hath many irons in the fire." He went about the principal seaports in the west of England, visiting all the gentlemen who were likely to favour the scheme; and complains that this negotiation cost him more toil and torment than any that he endured on the coasts of the new world. The merchants of London were best able to furnish the funds, but the western sailors were the best fishers; and the voyage from London to Plymouth was almost as hard as from Plymouth to New England. At length he effected the equipment of two vessels, whose destination was threefold; first, the whale-fishery; next, a mine of gold; and, in default of both, fish and furs, "to make themselves savers." All the three failed.

The whale-fishery proved a "costly conclusion," since, though they saw and chased a great number, they could not kill any ; the gold was found a mere device of the projector ; and when they came to save themselves with the fish and fins, they found that they had lost the prime season of both, and returned to England with only a sorry cargo. Smith had surveyed, however, and made a map of the coast, which he presented to Charles I. who took always a great interest in maritime affairs, and who amused himself with changing the uncouth Indian names into others derived from English places and persons.\* Notwithstanding this sunshine of royal favour, Smith had difficulty next year in equipping a small bark, with sixteen colonists, whom he would have wished to be several thousands, and who seemed indeed very inadequate to provide for their own security on this barbarous shore ; but he trusted in the friendship of Dohoday, " one of the greatest lords of the savages." However, this vessel was captured by the French, and Smith with difficulty effected his return to England. His ardent and persevering temper led him still to dwell on the scheme, and in his general history of New England he copiously laid forth all its advantages. The shore, he admits, is in many places " rocky and affrightable ;" but, in penetrating into the interior, it greatly improved, and might yield plentifully, though not quite to the same perfection as in Virginia, the best grains, fruits, and

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\* Smith, *ap.* Pink. xiii. 208.

vegetables. It might produce all the commodities of northern Europe, pitch, tar, masts, iron; and he even names, though with some hesitation, the wine, oil, and silk of the south.\* Still it is admitted, the grand staple must be fish, "reputed by some a base and mean commodity; yet the poor Hollanders, by fishing in all weathers, and selling this mean commodity for as mean, being wood, flax, pitch, &c. have become mighty, strong, and rich." He denies it to be his wish to persuade children from their parents, husbands from their wives, or servants from their masters; but young married people, who had small wealth, might there live exceedingly well.

Meantime the first voyage of Smith had been followed up by a most untoward issue. One Hunt, who had been left in charge of one of the ships, inveigled thirty of the natives on board, and sold them at Malaga for rials of eight. The consequence was, that Captain Hobson, who came after him, without knowing any thing of this affair, was suddenly set upon, several of his crew killed, and himself wounded. The company, much grieved at this mishap, sent Captain Dormer, a prudent and conciliatory person, with one of the betrayed natives, to protest that the former outrage was merely the individual crime of Hunt, with which the nation had no concern. Dormer executed his commission faithfully and successfully, and in the course of the next two years made several voyages, to the great

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\* Smith, *ap.* Pink. p. 215.

satisfaction of his employers; but being attacked by a new body of savages, he received fourteen wounds, and died in Virginia.\*

Amid all these discouraging events, the company continued to make such liberal grants of land, that successive adventurers endeavoured, even at considerable cost, to found settlements upon them. A number of great families, who had relations that were burdensome to them, sent them to shift for themselves in a foreign land; but the bread thus thrown upon the waters was scarcely ever found. These large and loose grants bred another dreadful inconvenience, as due care was not taken to keep them clear of each other, and sometimes the same spot was bestowed on two or three different persons. Hubbard calculates, that the disputed points hence arising would have afforded employment to more lawyers than there were inhabitants in the colony. As there were neither funds nor lawyers, the costs came to be levied on the person instead of the purse. This was marked in the very names of places on the coast, called Bloody Point, Black and Blue Point, and others, bearing allusion to the uncourteous methods by which these controversies were settled.

From these causes, it happened that England, a hundred and twenty years after her discovery of northern America, had on its shores only a few scattered huts, erected for the convenience of those who came to their summer fishing on the coast. But

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\* Purchas, iv. 1830.

the time was come, when events, unforeseen and undesigned by their authors, were to produce a mighty tide of emigration, which rendered this the most flourishing and prosperous of all the colonies in the new world.

The Protestant reformation in England had never been accompanied by any acknowledgment of those rights of toleration and of individual judgment upon which it appeared to be founded. However congenial to the wishes of the people, it was introduced not by them, but by the most absolute of their monarchs, consulting only his own judgment, or rather passion and caprice; and he exacted from his subjects the same implicit spiritual submission which they had formerly rendered to the head of the Catholic church. Queen Elizabeth adopted the same principle; and both, with the inclination natural to princes, favoured that high power of the hierarchy, and that pomp of ceremony, which made the church diverge as little as might be from the Romish standard. But the body of the nation, disgusted with the superstitious character of that ritual, shocked by the persecutions of Mary, and the crimes committed on the continent in its support, were inclined to go eagerly into every extreme that was most opposite to that bigoted system. The connexions formed with Geneva, with the German churches, and with Scotland, inspired a strong attachment to the Calvinistic doctrines and discipline, as well as the strict and simple manners which were usually combined with it. To these Elizabeth was irreconcilably adverse, and claimed the ill-founded right of putting them



down by main force. When policy, or the love of popularity, inclined her to relax, Archbishop Whitgift fell on his knees, and implored her not to sacrifice her authority, or suffer the unity of the church to be broken. Lord Treasurer Burleigh felt differently, and sharply remonstrated with Whitgift on the discontents to which he unnecessarily gave rise. On seeing twenty-four questions which the archbishop had drawn up, on which to examine the unhappy Puritans, Cecil declared, "he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys," and afterwards told him, he would not call his proceedings rigorous or captious, but "he had cause to pity the poor men that fell into his hands." The lords of the privy-council seconded the application, but the archbishop begged them to leave the matter in his hands, as his only apprehension was the being found too lenient. However, the spirit continuing to grow under the severities exercised against it, more and more violent measures were adopted, till at last a most iniquitous statute was passed, by which secession from the church was punished with banishment, and with death in case of refusal or return.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, notwithstanding this violent collision with the great body of the nation, Elizabeth never forfeited their favour. Her popular deportment, and her being viewed as the bulwark of the Protestant cause, made them still rally round her. They were also yet strongly attached to the national religion, and most anxious to adhere to it, if they could do so with any safety to their con-

science. At length these continued severities drove some to extremity. The Brownists, or followers of Brown, denied altogether the right of the church of England to be considered as a church, and her ministers as lawfully ordained. They formed the first example of an independent system, in which each congregation made a church by itself, and the whole power was vested in the brethren, or lay members. The archbishop poured all the vials of his wrath on this unhappy sect. Brown could boast that he had been shut up in thirty-two prisons, and several of his followers suffered death. These violences drove a number of the more decided votaries of the party to take refuge in Holland, where they long formed a separate church under their pastor, Mr Robinson, who seems to have been a respectable and intelligent man, and by no means very illiberal. Dissatisfied, however, with their situation and prospects in this foreign land, they cast their eyes upon New England as a place where, amid the present difficulty of finding settlers, they might be allowed an asylum. They sent over agents to the Plymouth Company, and stated themselves to be "weaned from the delicate milk of their native country, knit together in a strict and sacred band, whom small things could not discourage, nor small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." After some negotiation they obtained their object; and though James told them that there could be no formal stipulation as to the free exercise of their religion, yet, if they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry would be made. They set sail on the 12th July, 1619, in two

vessels, having on board one hundred and twenty persons, with goods and provisions which had cost £2400. After a rough voyage, and being obliged to send back one of the vessels, they arrived, on the 9th November, off Cape Cod. The lateness of the season, and the ignorance or evil design of the pilot, baffled their attempts to reach a more favourable station, and they were obliged to fix their settlement on a spot in Cape Cod Bay, which they called New Plymouth. They suffered most severely during the first four or five months from the inclemency of an American winter, the want of necessaries, and various diseases; so that in spring there was not above fifty remaining. Even after they had seriously begun to improve the settlement, their progress was retarded by the community of goods, which, by an injudicious imitation of the primitive Christians, they made the basis of their system. This rendered labour exceedingly slack, and produced even the necessity for whipping in order to stimulate to its exercise. In religious matters their partiality for "the preaching of the gifted brethren" prevented the formation of any learned or regular ministry. However, these faults were gradually corrected; in the course of ten years they had increased to three hundred, and become a flourishing little colony.\*

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\* Neale's History of New England, i. 81-96. Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New England, book i. ch. 2 and 3. Hutchison's History of Massachusetts, p. 45. Chalmers's Annals, p. 85-99.

The colonization of New England had not yet taken place on any scale commensurate with the wishes of the government, or which could ever make it a flourishing or important colony. James, however, being anxious to promote this object, formed a new society, under the title of the Grand Council of Plymouth, at the head of which he placed the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and other persons of distinction. But neither this pompous title, nor the rank of the members, did much for New England till Charles succeeded, and entered into arrangements with Laud, which secured an ample body of recruits. The laws against religious dissent, however rigorous, had yet been executed in their utmost severity only in a few prominent cases, and had not prevented a tolerable freedom of private worship. But Laud introduced a number of new ceremonies, which nearly assimilated the form of worship to the pompous ritual of Rome, and an inquisitorial system of the utmost violence against those who refused to conform. It extended even to those who showed any peculiar degree of that zeal and strictness which was held to savour of the Calvinistic system. To omit reading the book of sports which might be played on the Sabbath,—to preach on a week-day or Sunday afternoon,—to rebuke any of the congregation for drunkenness or other open sin, made a sufficient ground for the ejection of the most respectable ministers. They were also strictly prohibited from any private ministrations; so that the great body of the nation were absolutely excluded from any worship which they could consider as scriptural or edifying. The reluc-

tance so deeply felt to quit their native country, and cross the ocean to the shore of the great western wilderness, was thus overcome. An association, composed of several gentlemen of rank and property, with a number of substantial farmers and tradesmen, and accompanied by several eminent ministers, applied for a grant of land in the new world. In their proposals they intimate other motives as at least of secondary influence. "The land," they say, "grows weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth he treads upon;" that "no mean estate almost will suffice a man to keep sail with his equals, and it is almost impossible for a good upright man to maintain his constant charge."\*

The council and the court united in forwarding the design. The adventurers received a grant of land extending from the Charles to the Merrimack river, and across from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea,—a dimension of the extent of which the donors were little aware. Robertson is astonished at Neale asserting that freedom of religious worship was granted, when the charter expressly asserts the king's supremacy. But this, in fact, was never the article on which they demurred,† for the spirit of loyalty was then very strong. It seems quite clear, from the confidence with which they went, and the manner in which they acted when there, that, though there was no formal or written stipulation, the most full under-

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\* Mather, book i. 17.    † See Neale, p. 56.

standing existed, that very ample latitude was to be allowed in this respect. We have seen on every occasion the vast sacrifices which kings were willing to make, in order to people their distant possessions; and the necessity was increased by the great backwardness hitherto visible. It was probably also calculated, that a few of the most discontented spirits being thus ejected and allowed "*illa se jactare in aula*," the nation in general might fall into a more contented and submissive state.

The expedition consisted of six vessels, on board of which were 350 passengers and 115 head of cattle. The sailors were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented; prayer and exposition of the word two or three times a-day,—the Sabbath spent in preaching and catechizing,—repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage.\* They arrived in the end of June, 1629, and selected a settlement, to which they gave the name of Salem.

The colony suffered much during the first winter, and even lost a considerable part of its numbers. Yet the spirit of emigration continued as strong as ever. In the following year a new expedition was planned, led by persons of still higher distinction. Among those were Winthrop and Dudley, the future governors of the colony. They succeeded without difficulty in purchasing and carrying out with them the patent of the grand Plymouth company, who had found it a very unprofitable concern. Mr Chalmers admits,

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\* Mather, i. 7.

that every chartered body may buy and sell, but questions if they have a right to sell themselves ; however, no party concerned made any objection.\* The fleet consisted of ten sail, one of which was of 350 tons, and from Lady Arabella Johnson, who sailed in her, was called the Arabella. The passengers were estimated at 1500, among whom were a number of eminent nonconformist ministers. The most highly-esteemed was Mr Wilson, who had been the son of a dignitary of the church, and, by his connexions and talents, might have aspired to its highest honours, but chose to renounce all, in order to suffer with those whom he accounted the people of God. His wife, a lady of rank, was very reluctant to leave England, but was at length persuaded to accompany her husband.†

But the circumstance which threw a greater lustre on the colony than any other, was the arrival of Mr John Cotton, the most esteemed of all the Puritan ministers in England. He had distinguished himself at the university by his learning, and by a brilliant and figurative eloquence ; but, on becoming impressed with more serious views of religion, he adopted, in preference, a plain and earnest address, which threw him out of the circle of his former admirers. Being settled, however, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, he obtained the unbounded esteem of his congregation by his learning, his persuasive preaching, and especially the mildness of his demeanour. Several of his meek re-

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\* Annals, 151.

† Mather, book i. ch. 4. b. iii. ch. 3.

plies are on particular record. A dissolute young fellow, having undertaken to amuse his companions at the parson's expense, went up to him, and said, "You are an old fool;" to which he answered, "I confess I am so. The Lord make both thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation." A rude fellow having followed him from church, calling out, that "his ministry was become dark and flat," he said, "Both, brother, it may be both. Let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise." He was so generally beloved, that his sins against the liturgy were for some time covered. At length Laud was informed, that some of the little forms on which he set so much importance were omitted in the church-service at Boston, and Mr Cotton was called before the ecclesiastical commission. The Earls of Dorset and Lindsay, while residing in the neighbourhood, had attended his ministry with so much gratification, that they assured him, if ever he wanted a friend at court, he might depend upon them. He had never used this promise with any view to promotion; but he now entreated them to save him from ruin. Lord Dorset wrote in reply, that he was as anxious as ever to serve him, and had it been a case of drunkenness, fornication, or any such common offence, he would easily have secured him against any annoyance; but since it was the omission of any part of Laud's liturgy, all he could do for him was to advise him instantly to fly the country. Mr Cotton, therefore, left Boston in disguise, and spent some time in London, seeking a proper opportunity to emigrate. Here "some reverend and renowned ministers of our Lord" craved a con-



ference, and endeavoured to persuade him that the grounds on which he left the church were "sufferable trifles," and did not actually amount to a breach of the second commandment. Mr Cotton, however, argued so forcibly on the opposite side, that several of the most eminent, among whom were Dr Goodwin and Mr Davenport, "became all that he was," and afterwards followed his example. There went out with him Mr Hooker and Mr Stone, who were esteemed to make "a glorious triumvirate," and were received in New England with the utmost exultation. Mr Cotton was appointed to preach at Boston, now the principal town, and was mainly employed in drawing up the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony.\*

The accounts now constantly transmitted to England of the progress of the settlement, and the many famous ministers who were freely dispensing the bread of life, while those at home were starving, produced a powerful influence. The numerous expatriated clergy had left in England flocks, who, destitute of any pastors in whom they could place confidence, resolved to follow them to the uttermost ends of the earth. A general impulse was felt among the most respectable of the commercial and industrious classes. Every port was crowded with vessels proceeding to the western continent; England seemed to be moving in one mass across the Atlantic. Neale does not doubt, that in a few years one-fourth of the substance of the kingdom would have been conveyed to America. The court

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\* Mather, book iii. ch. 1. Neale, i. 154-5.

took the alarm. Its anxious wish to find persons who would migrate to New England had been much more than fulfilled. The fear was now, that England would be stripped of her wealth and her people. This crowding also of the most respectable of the English people into a quarter which they had recently viewed with such aversion, exposed in an extraordinary degree the deep unpopularity of the present system. But Charles and his counsellors, instead of taking any warning from this ominous fact, were only impelled by it into a fresh act of violence. A proclamation was issued "to restrain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects, because of the many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live beyond the reach of authority." An order was next day issued "for the stay of eight ships now in the river of Thames, prepared to go for New England;" and the passengers were obliged to reland. Of all the fatal steps into which Charles was hurried, this was the one of which he had the bitterest reason to repent. Among these passengers were no less personages than John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the men who were destined to subvert his throne and bring his head to the block. The Puritans now complained of the extraordinary hardship of their situation, neither allowed to live in the kingdom nor out of it; and their discontents fermented deeper and deeper, till the storm which Charles and Laud had been so busily brewing for themselves burst at length on their heads.

Notwithstanding every prohibition, emigrants in large numbers continued to find their way over the

Atlantic. It was not till the recovery of the national liberty, and the cessation of that "spiritual famine of God's word," of which Pym so bitterly complained, that, though full liberty was given of proceeding to New England, it was no longer prized, and from that time a greater number returned than went out. During the twelve years of continued migration, it is calculated that in 298 ships there sailed 21,200 persons; and it would not perhaps be extravagant to average the property carried out by each at £50, which would make somewhat more than a million sterling.\* Iniquitous as the cause had been which drove them from their native country, it was yet overruled, to produce a great good to the world in general. England could spare them; and they formed an excellent basis for a new and hereafter great community. One of their governors said: "God sifted three kingdoms, that he might bring choice grain into this wilderness." In fact, though not, as will be seen, without their due share of human infirmity, they were men, beyond the usual average, sober, laborious, of high principle, and vigorous character. Deeply impressed with the importance of that religion for which they had made so great a sacrifice, they rendered it the centre of their whole social and political system. In doing so, they

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\* Mather and Neale reckon only 4000 passengers, and £192,000; but it would be easy to controvert this by their own data. I shall only observe, that Mather, in less than fifty years after, formed upwards of a hundred thousand, produced without any sensible recruit from abroad, out of his original four thousand.

do not seem to have always distinguished between the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and those local forms and habits to which the inspired writers wisely conformed, without intending to bind them on future ages. Discarding the common English proper names, they introduced the Hebrew ones,—Deborah, Rebecca, Abigail, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and even the abstract spiritual terms of Patience, Experience, Mercy, Deliverance. The cutting the hair very close, which seemed supported by St Paul's authority, was the chief outward symbol of a Puritan. In the case of a minister, it was considered essential that the ear should be thoroughly uncovered. Vane, a young man of birth and fashion, continued for some time a recusant against this uncouth test of his principles; but at last we find a letter congratulating him on having "glorified God by cutting his hair." Even after the example of Dr Owen and other eminent divines had given a sanction to letting the hair grow, and even to periwigs, a numerous association was formed at Boston, with Mr Endicot the governor at their head, the members of which bound themselves to stand by each other in resisting long hair to the last extremity.\*

The ministers, who formed so prominent a feature in this establishment, were naturally an object of peculiar veneration, and they have been accused of seeking to establish a power as absolute as that of the Romish hierarchy.† This was founded upon the law

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\* Hutchison's *Massachussetts*.

† Robertson, book x. p. 209. Chalmers, 153.

which confined the rights of citizenship, and admission to all public and legal functions, to those who were in full communion with the church. To attain this state, it was not enough that they should profess its doctrines, attend its ordinances, and be free from public scandal. It was necessary that the candidate for admission should lay open to the ministers and session the whole train of his spiritual experiences, whence it might be judged whether a work of grace had taken place in his soul, and he was in a state of acceptance. This judgment was perhaps only competent to a higher tribunal; but I do not find any actual charge of its having been exercised in a manner other than conscientious, or made a political engine. Indeed an innovation, whether salutary or otherwise, which was soon introduced, must have defeated any views of that nature. A great curiosity being felt respecting these spiritual disclosures, some of the most respectable of the congregation obtained permission to be present. This circle gradually widened, till at last the whole body, urging the edification which might be derived from these narratives, and the equal right which all had to the benefit, succeeded in obtaining a general admission. This change, however, was not generally relished by the candidates. That young persons should be required to lay open before a crowded congregation the most secret dealings of God with their souls, and the various temptations of Satan by which they had been assailed, was placing them at least in a very trying and difficult situation. The ministers, therefore, seem to have had good grounds for endeavouring to negotiate that the examination should take

place in private, and that the elders should then report to the congregation such particulars as might appear most interesting and edifying.\* This, however, was effected reluctantly and very slowly.

But the deepest blot upon the church of New England consisted in its intolerance. The world had expected, with seeming reason, that men newly escaped from an unjust persecution, and who had fled to a distant corner of the world to worship God as they deemed most acceptable, would have made liberty of conscience the basis of their system. No such idea was ever contemplated. Every dissent from the established form of belief and worship was considered an offence which was to be remedied by the arm of the civil magistrate. Imprisonment, banishment, and, in some few instances, death itself, were awarded to the dissenter. Mr Dudley, one of the most respectable of the governors, was found, at his death, with a copy of verses in his pocket, which included the following couplet :

Let men of God, in court and churches, watch  
O'er such as do a toleration hatch ;

of which, we cannot but agree with Mr Chalmers, that the sentiment and the poetry are equally deserving of censure. Yet, that we may not be intolerant even against intolerance, it may be fair to mention some palliating circumstances. The zealous votaries of any religious system can with difficulty refrain

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\* See Mather, book xi.

from viewing with horror, as the enemies of God, those who oppose any part of that which is associated with all their own most venerated ideas. The Reformation in England had never been combined with any general doctrine of religious liberty. The sovereign, after setting aside the authority of the pope, had assumed and exercised the entire regulation of the church as well as the state. Yet it was impossible, when the movement was once made, to prevent the rise of new opinions, inspired by the love of novelty, the variety of individual views, and the propensity of mankind to divide into sects. The new and unwonted exercise of the liberty of thought, employed by learned and unlearned, upon subjects the most abstruse and mysterious, generated opinions often of a very wild and singular aspect. Several of the sects, which now maintain the most sober and respectable character, were, in their outset, extravagant and enthusiastic in the extreme. To the ministers of New England, sober, learned, and diligent men, it was a severe trial to see the multitude successively carried away by those various winds of doctrine. They could not be justified, however, in the remedy which they applied ; and which had this additional evil, that the tenets of each successive sect which rose into popularity, being made a state affair, not only shook the church, but threatened the very existence of the colony.

Of the dire series of schisms which rent Massachusetts, the first was that raised at Salem by Roger Williams. He held it unlawful to join in any religious service with those of whose regenerate state he

entertained any doubts. He could not, therefore, attend church, but ministered at his own house to a chosen body of the elect. Not being fully satisfied as to the spiritual state of his wife, he would even not say grace at his own table. These singular and dissocial views were redeemed by much genuine worth and sincerity, and by some very valuable tenets, which unfortunately appeared strange in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. He maintained, that the magistrate had no concern with the duties of the first table, and that no man ought to be punished for worshipping according to his conscience. He started a very conscientious, but very inconvenient question, what right the King of England had to bestow on his subjects the lands of the Indians; which, even to the most devout planters, appeared a pestilent heresy. His most unlucky antipathy was that to the red cross in the banner, against which he inveighed with such vehemence, that one of his disciples who held some command cut the cross out, and trampled it under foot. This red cross had nearly subverted the colony. One part of the trained bands would not march with, another would not march without it. A series of violent pamphlets were written on both sides, till at length a compromise was effected. It was agreed, that the cross should be retained on the castles and forts, but omitted in the colours of the trained bands. The distinction does not seem founded on any very rational principle; but any arrangement might be considered good, which put an end to so furious and futile a controversy. At length the magistrates resolved to banish Williams as a disturber of the order



of church and state. Mr Cotton, always studious of peace, obtained permission to deal with him privately, and endeavour to bring him round by gentle means; but, as he remained inflexible, the sentence was put in execution. The town, however, was in an uproar, and the greater part of the inhabitants were with difficulty prevented from following him. He retired to Providence, in Rhode Island, where a little colony collected round him, and he spent the rest of his life with general esteem, as a worthy and Christian minister.\*

Mr Williams being thus removed, the memory of himself and his doctrines gradually died away; and the ministers hoped that they were to be left to the tranquil discharge of their duties, and the enjoyment of the respect and influence with which these had originally been attended. Suddenly, however, a much more terrible storm burst upon them, from a very unexpected quarter.

The female part of the society of Boston had for some time shown a profound conviction, that they were qualified to treat the most abstruse mysteries of theology with the same depth and success as the most learned of the other sex. An opportunity of displaying their powers seemed afforded by an assembly of devout citizens, held with the view of recapitulating, and sometimes commenting upon the sermons which they had weekly heard. The observations, however, hazarded on these occasions by the female divines were by no means well received; and measures were even

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\* Mather, vii. ch. 2. Neale, i. 158-61. Hutchinson, 37-9.

taken for inducing them to return to a state of silence ; and as this was found more desirable than practicable, the severe expedient was adopted of ejecting them altogether, and of admitting men only to these devout conferences.

The ladies could not fail to consider this as a somewhat severe proceeding, and they at least conceived that they had a full right to form an assemblage among themselves for a similar purpose. Mrs Hutchinson, a *Lincolnshire* lady of good birth, and of a vigorous and determined character, collected at her house, on the Sabbath evenings, a numerous party of her own sex, who might there exercise, at full liberty, those powers of speech which had been elsewhere so severely checked. The discussions were accordingly opened, and carried on with the utmost fluency ; nor was it long before they ascertained, not only that they were qualified to treat of these arduous and important subjects, but they were alone qualified, and that the ministers and male members of the colony were involved in the thickest darkness. It was found that the religious system of New England must undergo a radical change, otherwise that country could never hope to attain the favour of God.

The system which Mrs Hutchinson so zealously inculcated in her disciples, and which was destined to convulse both church and state, was that called by divines Antinomian ; according to which, salvation depended upon faith, or rather upon grace and election alone, and in no degree upon good works, or a good life. This system, in some shape and degree, has very generally prevailed among the more zealous

of the Protestant sects. The strange and pernicious doctrines of the Catholics, respecting the merit of works, which were made even an object of transfer and sale, and became the foundation of the system of indulgences, led both Luther and Calvin to make a decided stand against allowing good works of themselves to establish any right to salvation. When any opinion becomes characteristic of a sect, the zealots of that sect seek to distinguish themselves by pushing it always farther and farther. After passing through various stages, it was maintained by some German divine, that good works were an impediment to salvation; but luckily this tenet never spread very wide.\* The ministers of the colony were on this subject decidedly Calvinistic, and nearly what is now termed evangelical. They held, that to ascribe any merit to human works, or found on them any claim to salvation, was an erroneous and even fatal opinion. But they earnestly pressed the reformation of heart and conduct, as the only sure test of being in a sound spiritual state, and solemnly called upon their auditors to examine strictly if they possessed this evidence of their eternal safety. The school to which our female divines had attached themselves took a much loftier flight. According to them, a certain sensible impression made by the Spirit upon the mind conveyed to it a triumphant assurance of present favour and future salvation, without there being room for the slightest reference to so trivial a

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\* See Mosheim.

consideration as that of their own temper and conduct. Not only was such reference unnecessary, but he who was so far misled, as in any shape to make it, placed himself thereby under a covenant of works, and exposed himself to that awful doom which awaits those who place their trust on so broken a reed.

It has been a standing charge against the votaries of this class of opinions, that they have contrived them with the view of releasing their conduct from the restraints of religion, and leaving them at full liberty to pursue their irregular propensities. Against this charge they have appealed with confidence to the whole tenor of their life and conversation. Not only can they produce examples of the purest virtue and philanthropy of which human nature is capable, but the general tone of manners has been strict and austere, marked by abstinence from pleasures and pursuits which are freely indulged in by other circles esteemed respectable. Their enemies may attack their theory as tending to licentiousness; but the charge against their practice is, on the contrary, that they lead a gloomy and monotonous life, denying to themselves and censuring in others even innocent pleasures. These remarks, which may be verified by daily observation of the more sober and rational forms of this creed, do not fail, even in regard to the high Antinomian pitch to which the ladies of Boston had risen. Our information comes almost solely from the report of their most embittered enemies, who assuredly would not have passed over any thing in their deportment that might have been found amiss. There is even a disposition to grasp at the wildest

and most improbable rumours tending to their prejudice. Thus considerable acceptation is given to the story of poor Mrs Hutchinson having produced thirty monsters at a birth; which, according to Mather, were of various forms and sizes, corresponding to the variety of her theological errors; though Neale candidly declines laying much stress upon this circumstance,\* the evidence of which even appears to him not perfectly conclusive. But neither against her, nor against any of the female conclave whom she initiated into the covenant of grace, is there any specification of licentious or irregular conduct. On the contrary, it is given as one of the chief causes of their success, that "they appeared so wondrous holy, humble, self-denied, and spiritual."† They appeared such in a Puritan community, where these were the prevailing qualities. I do not even find it proved that the elect ladies exercised their tongues with such extreme violence, as Mr Graham seems to suppose, against all whom they considered as under a covenant of works. There seems to have been little courtesy on either side; and, doubtless, in this high theological career, they might drop somewhat of the softness of their sex. Every dogma, however

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\* Neale, i. 194. Mather, vii. p. 19-20. It is certainly impossible to refuse our assent to Gorton's conclusion in his "Glass for the People of New England," that this was "a notorious lie." He says, "They banished this tenderly-bred woman in or towards winter, and what with fears and tossings to and fro she miscarried, upon which they founded their abominable untruth."—*Hutchinson*, 72-3. † Mather, vii. p. 14.

fantastic, or however trivial, must assume a fearful importance to those who have brought themselves to believe that all the destinies of man are suspended upon it. The ladies are accused of defaming the ministers ; but we do not find that they defamed any thing except their doctrine ; and when they believed that doctrine to be not only false, but fatal, it might become a matter of the strictest conscience to lay open all its deformity.\*

The ministers were not long of being advised, that, instead of the respectful and docile attachment with which they had hitherto been viewed, they were denounced in the female coterie as the blind leaders of the blind ; but they hoped for some time that this would be only a partial and temporary effervescence. Those, however, who were best acquainted with human nature easily foresaw that opinions adopted with such zeal by this class of the community would not long be confined to them. " A poison," says Mather, " does never insinuate so quickly, nor operate so strongly, as when woman's milk is the vehicle." The wives assured their husbands, and the young ladies their suitors, that those who taught them had never been taught of God ; that they could never be saved under the instructions to which they at present listened ; and that it was only by imbibing their own " fine-spun speculations," that they could attain to a sound spiritual state.† These

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\* Neale, 182-3. Mather, b. vii. ch. 3. Hutchinson, 55-7.

† Mather, vii. 14-15.

doctrines made a most rapid progress ; the whole colony was divided between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace ; and though many, it is alleged, never to their dying day could understand the difference, they were, as usual, only the more zealous on that account. The clergy soon felt that the great body of the people had embraced the new opinions, and were alienated from themselves. Many who had crossed three thousand miles of ocean, and braved death itself, in order to sit under their favourite minister, would not now listen to a word that he uttered.\* The churches were generally thinned, and some almost deserted ; while that of Mr Wheelwright, who had mounted the pulpit under the auspices of the female school of theology, could not contain the crowds with which it was thronged.

The ministers and their adherents were in a situation the more embarrassing from an error into which they had been betrayed. Vane, afterwards so noted under the name of Sir Harry Vane, had come out to the colony, and, though a very young man, his rank and the gravity of his demeanour had induced them to elect him governor. His enthusiastic spirit made him embrace with ardour the new tenets, and use all his influence in their support. It is even stated, that he delayed, on a most urgent occasion, the march of the militia against the Indians, on account of the dark state in which their minds appeared to be respecting the covenant of grace. The magistrates,

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\* Mather, vii. p. 15.

who still adhered to the old system, could scarcely obtain submission, or escape insult, on account of their legal spirit. The elections, however, were approaching, and by them it was foreseen, that the fate of the two covenants would be ultimately decided. The Antinomians strained every nerve to obtain what they termed " Gospel magistrates ;" while the main object of the other party was the ejection of Vane from the office of governor. In Boston, Mrs Hutchinson and her ladies were paramount ; but the country districts adhered to their old ministers ; and they formed a majority. It was only apprehended that if the deputies met in the capital, influence, clamour, and even more violent means, might induce them to vote with the reigning party ; it was therefore overtured, that the election should take place at Newtown (now Cambridge,) and this proposition was carried in the council, notwithstanding the utmost opposition of Vane, who refused even to put the vote upon it. The elections, notwithstanding various attempts to defeat or delay them, were carried entirely in favour of the sober party. Vane was thrown out, and returned in disgust to England, where he was destined to act so conspicuous a part ; and Mr Winthrop, whom Mather calls the American Nehemiah, was elected in his place. Discontent, however, was still strong at Boston ; even the sergeants refused to carry the halberts before a governor whom they considered to be under a covenant of works.\*

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\* Hutchinson, 61. Neale, i. 184-5.



The ministers, now backed by the civil power, determined to take decisive steps for the suppression of the Antinomian heresy. It seems fair to admit that they were willing to try, in the first instance, conciliatory and persuasive means. Mr Cotton, who enjoyed the highest reputation for learning and character of any minister in the colony, was the person especially pointed to by both parties. It was in his name, and in commenting upon his sermons, that Mrs Hutchinson had first broached her peculiar tenets; and his brother ministers now called upon him to say, whether and how far he was prepared to own them as his. Mr Cotton, a fervent lover of peace, seems to have been sorely affected to find the colony rent by such dire dissensions, and himself unwittingly placed in the centre of them; nor could he, perhaps, be insensible to the sacrifice of that profound and idolizing veneration with which female devotees regard their spiritual guides. However, he applied himself to the examination of the case, and, having heard the charges of one party and the admissions of the other, declared with tears in his eyes, that while he slept the devil had been sowing tares; that, though he might differ from the rest upon some intricate questions respecting the union with Christ, and the order of justification, the system by which sanctity of life was excluded from being any test of a sound spiritual state never could be his: he earnestly exhorted his pretended disciples to renounce such obnoxious opinions, and reconcile themselves to the church.

Had the ladies met with this check at an earlier

period of their theological career, it might, perhaps, have deterred them from taking quite so lofty a flight. But they had advanced too far and taken too decided an attitude to be now shaken. They exclaimed, that Mr Cotton, overawed by the number and clamour of his brethren, had swerved from the truth and his own private judgment ; that he taught one thing in public and another in private ; and that, at the very best, he had lost all that insight into Gospel mysteries for which he was once so eminent. One of the ladies, not very wittily, sent him a present of a pound of candles, to intimate his need of more spiritual light. The good man, much troubled by the scene of dissension in which he was involved, had formed the design of removing to New-haven ; but, at the earnest request of the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, he was persuaded to remain.\*

The mediation of Mr Cotton having thus failed, the governor and ministers determined upon a measure of greater magnitude. A general synod of the ministers of the colony was summoned to meet at Cambridge. It was the first assembly of this nature in New England, where, without any actual profession of independence, or even any full separation from the English church, each congregation had hitherto acted almost as a separate body. The ministers drew up a list of eighty-two propositions, said to be maintained by the Antinomians, and upon which that assem-

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\* Neale, i. 184-5. Mather, iii. p. 22-3.

bly was to be called upon to pronounce. Preparation was made by a solemn fast, which, it was hoped, might bring men's minds into a calm and deliberate frame, fitted for the consideration of such important concerns. It had, however, as might perhaps have been foreseen, quite the opposite effect. Mr Cotton alone preached a "healing discourse;" all the others sought only to inflame farther the animosity of their respective partizans. Mr Wheelwright, above all, is reported to have preached a sermon of the most inflammatory tenor. He denounced the magistrates and ministers of the colony as generally under a covenant of works, and consequently in a state of perdition; and, in their present course of enmity to the truth, they could only be considered as a form of Antichrist. He compared the pending spiritual contest in the colony to that of Michael with the apostate angel, and of the pure and mystical church with the whore of Babylon.\*

All hopes of an amicable accommodation being thus terminated, the synod assembled on the 30th August, 1637. The meeting was crowded and turbulent. It consisted not only of the ministers and the deputies from the different congregations, but of the magistrates, who deemed their presence necessary to preserve order, and held it competent also to give their opinion on the theological questions. The Antinomian partizans had also a particular place assigned to them, and were allowed the liberty of speech, which

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\* Mather, vii. 15. Neale, i. 186.

they are alleged to have used beyond all bounds of moderation. As many more of the people as the apartment would contain were admitted as auditors or spectators. The eighty-two propositions were then laid before the synod. They were stated merely in an abstract form, without any specification of the persons by whom they were held, leaving it to the congregation, or, if necessary, to the tribunals, to make the personal application. Many on the opposite side, however, complained, that this was a covert and unfair mode of proceeding. They called upon the ministers to specify who the persons were who had maintained these obnoxious tenets. Their whole demeanour is represented as clamorous in the extreme, insomuch that the civil magistrate was repeatedly obliged to exert his authority to impose silence. Apparently there was no excess of meekness on either side. The only speech of the opposite party on record is that of Mr Wilson, who, on some one asking what they were to make of the eighty-two propositions, cried out,—“ Send them to the devil, from whom they came !” Three weeks were spent in this stormy discussion ; and the eighty-two propositions, one after another, were painfully debated ; when, at length, the whole underwent a decided and unanimous sentence of condemnation.\*

After this great and public synodical triumph, the ministers fondly hoped that their cause was gained, and that the heretical party would no longer attempt

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\* Hutchinson, 67-9. Neale, i. 188-9.

to raise their heads. They were therefore not a little dismayed to find that all things, after the synod, went on exactly as before. Mrs Hutchinson's disciples resorted to her house in as great crowds, and listened to her doctrines with unabated veneration. Mr Wheelwright's chapel was still as thronged as ever; while Mr Wilson, formerly the most popular and beloved minister in the colony, no sooner entered a pulpit; than half the congregation rose and went out.\*

The governor and ministers having thus exhausted in vain every legitimate means of influence, formed the unjust resolution of having recourse to the civil arm. Mr Wheelwright was the first who felt the weight of their indignation. He had already been cited before the council on account of his famous fast sermon; but, as the synod was approaching, proceedings were stayed till its effect should appear. He was now again summoned, called upon to acknowledge his offence, and come under an engagement not to repeat it. He replied, that he had been guilty neither of sedition nor contempt; he had done nothing but declared the truth of Christ; and, if it went against them, the application was of their own making. Upon this answer he was allowed a fortnight to quit the colony. The next persons dealt with were those who, to the number of sixty, had, at the last proceedings against Wheelwright, signed a remonstrance, in which they declared, that his sermon appeared to them to be strictly according to Scripture, and to have no ten-

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\* Neale, i. 190.

dency to disturb the public peace, which, accordingly, it had not done. They warned, therefore, the court to take care "how they meddled with the prophets of God." Two ringleaders in this transaction were banished, two others were fined and disfranchised, several were deprived of the places which they held under government.

All these steps were only preliminary to the attack of Antinomianism in its main hold, in the person of Mrs Hutchinson. That lady was summoned before the court, and called upon to renounce and apologize for those heretical opinions which she had been the instrument of spreading so widely. Mrs Hutchinson replied in the most lofty terms. She considered herself in the situation of Daniel, against whom, when his wicked enemies could find no other matter of accusation, they sought it in the law of his God. She assured them that an express revelation had been vouchsafed to her, according to which she would be saved miraculously out of their hands, while destruction would fall upon themselves and their posterity, if they continued to persecute the saints. Neither her sex, nor her prophetic threats, nor her respectable place in society, moved the stern judges before whom she was placed. She was declared guilty of twenty-six out of the eighty-two errors condemned at the synod, and ordered to depart the colony within six months.

Some time now elapsed, and poor Mrs Hutchinson, when she saw all human aid fail, and that the celestial interposition, on which she had so fondly calculated, was not like to appear, felt her courage begin to sink. She gave in an explanatory

statement of her sentiments, from which even the ministers were obliged to own that the heretical taint was in a great measure expunged. Her pride, however, still deterred her from owning this as a recantation. She represented it only as a statement of the doctrines she had all along held. The ministers, we really think, might have accepted this virtual submission, provided her future behaviour had corresponded; but their minds were in too inflamed a state. Witnesses were called to prove that she had formerly promulgated doctrines altogether opposite. She was then pronounced to have added the sin of lying to that of heresy, and to be more than ever deserving of banishment. She removed to the newly-formed settlement in Rhode Island, where her husband, through her influence, was elected governor, and many of her adherents followed her; insomuch, that this persecution, like that of the mother country, had the effect of spreading wider the colonial system. We are sorry to conclude with stating, that having, after her husband's death, removed to a neighbouring Dutch plantation, she was surprised by the Indians, and murdered, with all her family. This tragical catastrophe variously affected men's minds,—some being willing to receive it as an additional judgment against heresy, while others represented it as involving the government in the guilt of actual murder.\*

It was not without difficulty and peril that the go-

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\* Hutchinson, 69-75. Neale, i. 191-4.

vernor had effected the execution of this sentence. It was necessary to disarm a considerable portion of the citizens, and a great body of the Boston congregation presented an address to the elders, calling upon them to exclude the governor from church privileges on account of his persecution of the saints,—a measure which would have deprived him of his rights as a citizen, and consequently amounted to a sentence of deposition; but the elders declined to interfere.\*

Although by these violent measures the Antinomian spirit was for the time put down, yet that unity which the ministers so vehemently laboured to effect was not thus secured. The love of novelty, and the pride of belonging to a select and chosen circle in the midst of a profane world, caused new sects continually to spring up. It was doubtless a pretty severe trial on the ministers, who appear really to have been, as they say, “faithful, watchful, and painful, serving their flocks daily with prayers and tears, with their most studied sermons and writings,” who possessed such a reputation at home and over Europe, that the churches of New England were envied the possession of them,—to find, that no sooner did a half-learned, half-crazed enthusiast spring up or arrive in the colony, than the people could be prevented only by the most odious compulsion from deserting their churches and flocking to him in a mass. Mr Parker’s homely remark, that “the people love to tap a new barrel,” received daily illustration. Several even of common

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\* Mather, ii. p. 11.



profligates and rogues, when all other modes of swindling had failed, put on the character of ministers, and, repairing to Boston, enjoyed a day of popularity. But the Anabaptists were now the sect who attracted for some time almost alone the favour of the people and the enmity of the rulers.

The Anabaptists did not, like the Antinomians, profess any tenets which, even in a theoretical view, could have an immoral tendency ; nor did they now profess or practise any of those extravagancies, which, under John of Munster and King Mathias, had rendered them odious in the eyes of mankind. Many of them are admitted by their greatest opponents to have been genuine and worthy Christians. Like other sectaries, they were too apt to consider their own peculiarities as forming the grand essentials of religion. "They unchurched," it is said, "all the faithful on earth, themselves alone excepted." When asked in court, whether there was a church in Boston ? they professed that, in their apprehension, there was not. They assured those who had been baptized only as infants, that they had never been baptized at all ; that they thus belonged in no shape to Christ's visible church, nor had any part or portion in him. They are also said to have encouraged shoemakers, tailors, and all sorts of unlearned persons to enter, without preparation, on the work of the ministry ; so that a church wholly illiterate must have been the result of their prevalence. Obadiah Holmes was prosecuted on the charge, that the ladies, before being baptized by him, were made entirely to lay aside their clothes ; but, after the strictest investigation, this averment could never be

made good. Indeed very extraordinary and unwarrantable means appear to have been resorted to in order to throw odium upon this sect. A pamphlet was circulated through London, under the sanction of Archbishop Parker, entitled, "A sad History of the unparalleled Cruelty of the Anabaptists of New England; faithfully relating the cruel, barbarous, and bloody Murther of Mr Josiah Baxter, an Orthodox Minister, who was killed by the Anabaptists, and his Skin most cruelly flea'd off from his Body. Published by his mournful Brother, Benjamin Baxter, living in Fenchurch Street, London." After this work had circulated for some weeks, the Anabaptists investigated the matter, and found that there never was a Josiah Baxter nor a Benjamin Baxter in existence, and that the whole was a pure and absolute fabrication.\*

This heresy first showed itself by almost imperceptible symptoms, as persons slipping out of church when the rite of baptism was to be performed, while dark rumours of secret re-baptism began to arise. At length private meetings for worship were established, whose crowded numbers, exceeding those of the thinned church congregations, disclosed the extent of the schism. The magistrates and ministers immediately proceeded to severities which nothing can justify. The denying the lawfulness of infant baptism, the holding a separate meeting from that of the general church, which was called "setting up an altar of their own against God's altar;" and the being concerned

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\* Mather, vii. 26-7. Neale, i. 298-305, 374-5.

in re-baptizing any who had been already baptized, involved first the alternative of fine or whipping, and, finally, banishment. Obadiah Holmes, John Clarke, and John Crandall, were presented with the two first alternatives, and determined rather to abide corporal punishment, than, by paying the fine, to recognise the right of imposing it. Holmes received thirty lashes, and as he came down from the whipping-post, two of his friends shook him by the hand, and thanked God for his courage and constancy ; upon which they were called before the court, and fined forty shillings. It is somewhat remarkable, that Clarke having summoned the ministers to a disputation, his proposal was agreed to under certain conditions ; but he shrunk from the undertaking when it came to the point.

The Anabaptist schism was broken in upon by another of a much deeper and direr cast. The singular sect of Quakers had just arisen in the north of England, whence, holding themselves commissioned to convert the whole world, they soon found their way across the Atlantic. They were received there with even more than that imbittered hostility shown to every dissenting body ; and the New England clergy and magistrates were at length hurried into dreadful extremities, which involved them in deeper reproach than any other part of their history. That it may not, however, be painted in colours darker than the truth, it may be fair to enumerate the leading grounds alleged by them in defence of those violent proceedings which struck mankind with astonishment and horror.

The Quakers, who have since commanded the re-

spect of mankind by their industry, philanthropic exertion, and orderly deportment, presented in their origin a very different aspect. It was their belief, that the divine government was still administered on the same system of special communication as in Gospel ages, and especially during the mission of the Old Testament prophets. They transferred thus the peculiarities of a temporary and special dispensation to the ordinary course of human affairs. The want of actual revelation was supplied by a warm fancy. The favoured of Heaven felt an inward light, and heard celestial sounds, which guided them in every step of their earthly path. All their actions being directed by special instructions from the fountain of wisdom, the exercise of common sense and experience was of course superseded. Still less could they pay regard to any human authority, however constituted. The question which arose in every such case being, whether they were to obey God or man, was one which admitted of no hesitation. When actual force indeed was employed, they forbore any resistance; they would suffer every thing, but would do nothing. Mather has given an account of their tenets, which, he affirms, is all taken from their own printed books, and which we cannot undertake to expound; but it appears that they considered the divine natures revealed in Scripture in so different a light from other Christians, that they could no longer be recognised as the same beings. Accordingly, he says, but really we can scarcely believe him, that they used to go about saying, "We deny thy Christ; we deny thy God, whom thou callest Father, Son, and Spirit; thy Bible

is the word of the devil." They used to rise up suddenly in the midst of a sermon, and call upon the preacher to cease his abomination. Any of the ministers who waited on, and endeavoured to reason with them, were saluted as hirelings, the brood of Ishmael, and the seed of the serpent. One writer says, "for hellish reviling of the painful ministers of Christ I know no people can match them." The following epithets, bestowed by Fisher on Dr Owen, are said to be fair specimens of their usual addresses:—"Thou green-headed trumpeter! thou hedgehog and grinning dog! thou tinker! thou lizard! thou whirligig! thou fire-brand! thou louse! thou moon-calf! thou ragged tatterdemalion! thou livest in philosophy and logic, which are of the devil." Even Penn is said to have addressed the same respected divine as, "Thou bane of reason and beast of the earth."\* The civil rulers did not meet with any more courteous salutation. When the governor or any of the council came in sight, they would call out, "Wo to thee, thou oppressor!" and, in the language of Scripture prophecy, would announce the judgments which were about to fall upon his head.†

The ladies, in this as in similar instances, acted the most conspicuous part. The first who, under a command from above, came out to Boston, were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. Mary had been formerly sent out to the Grand Signior, whom she found in his camp at Adrianople. It is said she obtained an audi-

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\* Mather, vii. p. 26.

† Neale, i. 341-5. Mather, b. vii. ch. 4. Hutchinson, 196-205.

ence, the particulars of which I have not been able to learn, except that her reception was much more favourable than from the Christian society of New England.\* There she and her companion were immediately committed to close custody, the books found on them burnt, and their persons examined, though without success, for tokens of witchcraft. Soon after, Mary, wife of John Clarke, tailor in London, left her husband and six children, to bring out a message from the Lord to the people of Boston. She had scarcely opened her lips when she was seized, whipped, and sent out of the jurisdiction. The ladies having in vain tried various modes of opening the eyes of the New Englanders, at last bethought themselves of a most injudicious method, which was that of appearing in public without any clothes. They admitted that, when a pious damsel felt herself stirred up to show forth in this manner the spiritual nakedness of the land, it was a heavy cross; but it was one, they thought, from which she could not escape. Accordingly, Deborah Wilson undertook to walk in this state from one end of Salem to the other. She had not made much progress, when the alarm was sounded, and notice being conveyed to the magistrates, they hastened with a *posse* of police, and carried her off to prison, where, in recompense of her course, they inflicted numerous and severe stripes. Bishop, however, considers it a most grievous case, that this sober

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\* Hutchinson, 169.

and worthy woman, who, being heavily burdened with the iniquities of Salem, had deemed it incumbent on her to march through the place in this manner "as a sign," should not only have been stopped in her career, but laid hold of and whipped by "the wicked rulers." Her lot did not deter others from bearing similar testimony to national defection. Lydia Wardwell made her entry into church during divine service exactly in the same state. The minister stopped, and the congregation, unable to comprehend this high mystery, were in the utmost confusion, till some by-standers having collected a few clothes, threw them round the pious damsel, and conveyed her to the house of correction. Margaret Brewster came in during divine service, with her face painted as black as a coal, in sign of a dreadful plague with which she threatened the colony. Another brought in two large glass bottles, and dashed them against each other, saying, "Thus shall the Lord break you in pieces." Elizabeth Horton, and several of both sexes, at different times ran through the streets, calling out, that "the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with Boston,"—and these, which at present would be considered only as insane fooleries, at that time overawed and terrified the people out of their senses. Their madness proceeded sometimes to a still more violent pitch. Mary Ross pretended to be the Saviour himself, named twelve apostles, and foretold her own resurrection. Loud cries being heard from the house of one Faubord, the neighbours broke in, and found that, like Abraham, he had received a com-

mand to sacrifice his first-born, which he was busily employed in executing.\* Thomas Case more laudably undertook to raise a friend from the dead; but he is said to have found this a more difficult task.†

Upon these grounds the ministers and rulers complained, that this sect were not only "open capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the blessed Gospel, and from the holy Scriptures as the rule of life," but that the colony could never enjoy peace or comfort while they were in it. It is said to have been impossible to deal with them, on the most common subjects, as with other rational creatures. If they were asked where they lived, they would only answer, that they lived in God, since in him only they had their being.‡ When any of their number was called before a court, five or six inspired females attended, clothed in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, and in deep and hollow tones announced the judgments that would befall the judges, if they should dare to touch the prophets of the Lord. They would neither pay fines, nor work in prison, nor, when liberated, promise to make any change in their conduct. It is impossible, however, to sympathize in the heavy complaints of their non-payment of jail-fees,—an iniquitous exaction, which it would have been more meritorious to remit; nor to avoid reprobating the order to sell Provided Southick and her husband to the plantations in liquidation of this charge, though it was never put in execution.

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\* Hutchinson, 204.

† Mather, vii. Hutchinson, 20-25.

‡ Neale, i. 345.



Indeed, the government proceeded always to enact more and more violent laws, not merely against the above excesses, but against the simple profession of Quakerism. It was enacted, that if any commander of a ship, &c. should bring within the jurisdiction any Quaker or Quakers, he should pay £100,—that what Quaker soever should arrive in the country be forthwith committed to the house of correction,—that if any one saw a Quaker, he must, under a heavy penalty, run and give notice to the nearest constable. To say any thing in their defence was 40s. for the first offence, and £4 for the second. It was 40s. to entertain a Quaker for an hour, raised afterwards to £5 for a quarter of an hour. The Quaker who should refuse to pay his fines, or to work in prison (which, it is said, “none will ever do,”) was to lose first the one ear and then the other.\*

The sect, under all these violent measures, continuing still to increase, the rulers began to meditate the last and most fatal extremities. They proclaimed, however, that it was their earnest endeavour to limit the sentence to banishment, and that they would much rather have had them “absent and alive than present and dead ;” but that no such choice was left. They sent a number, indeed, out of the colony, giving them solemn warning, that if they returned death would be the penalty. But the Quakers declared, in the most candid manner, that it rested in no shape with them whether they should or should not return to Boston ;

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\* Neale, 315-23-35.

they were in the hand of the Lord ; wherever he sent them they must go. Accordingly, they were scarcely beyond the border when the word of the Lord came to them, saying, that they should arise and go unto Boston. The dreadful denunciations still rung in their ears ; but whether were they to obey God or man ?—or, thus guided, whom should they fear ? They arose and went ; and scarcely did they seem to have departed when their voice was again heard, denouncing the approaching judgments of Heaven on the guilty city.

It must be stated, that the law inflicting capital punishment on the Quakers met with very strong opposition. It was even with difficulty that a majority of thirteen to twelve was obtained in the court of deputies. In fact, it was absolutely without any foundation in the law of England ; for nothing could be more absurd than the attempt to rest it on the clause, itself iniquitous, for hanging Jesuits ; between whom and the poor Quakers there was assuredly not the slightest analogy. Even two of the judges, Captain Cudworth and Mr Heatherly, represented to the magistrates, “ that these were carnal and antichristian ways, not appointed by God ; that the proper mode of convincing gainsayers was by the word and spirit of the Lord, and that the sufferings of the Quakers were grievous to and saddened the hearts of many precious saints.” In fact, Captain C. complains, in a letter, “ that he that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth,” and adds,—“ Our civil powers

are so exercised in matters of religion and conscience, that we have no time to do any thing that tends to promote the civil prosperity of the place." For these sentiments, and for having had some communing with the Quakers, he was deprived of his command and seat on the bench,\* and the court proceeded, with unanimous purpose, to the execution of their design.

The first who made themselves obnoxious to the law were Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyar, and William Leddra, who returned from their respective quarters of banishment. Being called before the court, and interrogated as to the reason of their contumacy, they gave none, but that they acted "in obedience to the call of the Lord." They were told that the court did not wish their death, and would hear any thing farther they had to say for themselves. Stevenson gave in a paper, in which he said, that, "while following his plough in the eastern part of Yorkshire, he was in a sort of rapture, and heard a secret voice in his conscience saying, '*I have ordained thee a prophet to the nations*;' and now, for yielding obedience to this command of the everlasting God, and not obeying the commands of men, did he suffer these bonds near unto death." He signed "Marmaduke Stevenson," adding, "But have a new name given to me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life." Robinson made a similar statement; declaring, that the motion of God within him was his only motive for returning. Here-

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\* Neale, i. 336-40.

upon sentence was passed upon all the three, and executed against Stevenson and Robinson. Mary received a pardon on the ladder, and was sent back to Rhode Island ; but afterwards returned, and suffered the sentence of the law. Some time after, William Leddra suffered, for bearing, as he asserted, his testimony for the Lord against deceivers and the deceived. Wenlock Christison had been also condemned ; but argued with such force against the injustice of the proceeding, that, on the day appointed for his execution, he was merely seized, and thrust out of the jurisdiction.\*

The report of these executions filled England with horror, and raised a general outcry against the colonial government. Charles II. sent out a warrant, dated September 9, 1661, absolutely prohibiting the putting the Quakers to death, but directing that they should be sent home to be tried in Britain.† They were thenceforth secure against capital punishment, but suffered sundry and great severities of a minor description. Some years after they addressed a humble and doleful petition for farther redress. Neale inveighs against their complaints, as now wholly unreasonable, when the worst they could state was the being tied to a cart's tail, and whipped out of the colony ; but really this was not such a delightful recreation as to make us wonder that the poor Quakers should be anxious to dispense with it. They com-

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\* Neale, i. 325-9, 332-4. Hutchinson, 200-2.

† Neale, i. 334.

plain of "whipping of young and old at posts, at the wheels of great guns, and at carts' tails; of dragging through divers long towns, of having the clothes taken off their backs, and the bed from under them." They do not indulge in any extravagant prophecy, but merely make a solemn appeal to the future tribunal, calling upon the king to deliver them, "that so the blood of the innocent may not be laid to your charge in the terrible day of the Lord, in which day the Lord will make known, in the sight of all his enemies, his mighty power for the saving of his beloved ones, and for the delivering and helping of them who had no helper on the earth."\* That prince, however, amid his gay round of dissipation, paid no attention to these less tragical sufferings of the poor Quakers. The New Englanders themselves, in compliance with general opinion, had begun to relax, when, happening, unfortunately, to encounter some disasters in the war with the Indians, they unhappily took up the idea that this was a judgment on them for their toleration of the Quakers, and renewed all their severe edicts.† The Anabaptists having again reared their heads, were exposed to fresh severities, which were the more ill-timed, as the nonconformists in England were suffering under a fresh persecution, raised by the government of Charles II., which was justified, and themselves bitterly reproached, on account of similar conduct in their brethren in New England. Several letters were written to the ministers there by

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\* Neale i. 375-8.      † Hutchinson, 320.

Dr Owen, Dr Goodwin, and other eminent dissenting ministers in England, in which they entreat them "to trust God with his truths and ways," observing, that "truth is not to be propagated or maintained by external force or violence, but by the gentle methods of argument and persuasion; that it is an encroachment on the Divine prerogative, and the undoubted rights of mankind, to punish any for their conscientious and peaceable dissent from the established way of religion; and that truth can never be injured by securing it the liberty to speak for itself."\* These judicious letters did not produce all the effect that might have been desired.

The colony derived a considerable accession from the fresh persecution commenced by Charles II. against the nonconformist party, by which two thousand ministers were ejected in one day. Dr Owen even had made arrangements for coming out to take the presidency of Harvard College, but was stopped by special order of the king. The resort to New England, however, was the less frequent, as the royal party at home had viewed it for some time with a very evil eye; and when Charles began his attempt to establish absolute power by wresting the charters from all the corporations, that of New England did not escape his notice. Overtures were therefore made to the legislature of that country for a voluntary surrender of their charter, with the intimation, that, in case of refusal, a writ of *quo warranto* would be issued, the result of

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\* Neale, i. 372-3.

which would not be doubtful. The governor and council, after serious and doleful consideration, conceived this step as so imperative, that they drew up an humble address, acquiescing in the demand, and only soliciting a new charter, as little different from the former as might be consistent with the king's service and the good of the colony. The assembly of deputies, however, on being summoned, though sensible of their inability to resist, formed the spirited resolution, "that, since they were to die, it should be by the hands of others, and not by their own." They declined, therefore, to found any proceedings upon the royal intimation, but waited such as his majesty might be pleased to take. The *quo warranto* was therefore issued, and the colony, not appearing for itself, was condemned, and its charter forfeited.

The colony, in general, submitted to its fate, as to an inevitable necessity. Sir Edmund Andros, who came out as governor, made such high professions of regard for the public good, and so few innovations in the general train of administration, that the change was scarcely felt. Only a short time, however, was required to manifest the tyrannical propensities of the new governor. A remonstrance being presented against some illegal proceedings, he told them that "they must not expect the laws of England were to follow them to the end of the world." This speech rung through the colony, and inspired the most dismal forebodings. Next an English church was established, whose pompous ritual struck consternation into the settlers, almost all of whom were too young to have ever before witnessed it. The governor then be-

gan to intimate, that he considered all the present clergy as mere laymen ; and the most gloomy anticipations arose that the churches would be shut, and that they would be exposed to the same persecution from which their ancestors had fled. At this moment, however, James's proclamation came out in favour of a general toleration ; and though some were aware of this as only a prelude to popery, the majority hailed it as a great present relief. The governor, however, soon called their attention to their temporal concerns by announcing, that all the grants of land, having been made under the forfeited charter, conveyed no real right to their present holders ; but it was intimated, that if they would acknowledge this, and allow that the lands were in no respect theirs, the king might be graciously pleased to make a new grant, emanating from his free will. Several accordingly followed this course, and obtained the new grant, but burdened with fees so exorbitant, that it was calculated there was not money in the colony to pay them for all its lands. The body of the proprietors therefore kept back ; upon which writs of intrusion began to be raised. New and arbitrary taxes were also imposed ; and, when the colony earnestly applied for a house of representatives, the answer was, that they would fare as well as old England ; but to those who knew what was going on there, this answer was the reverse of encouraging.\* As matters, however, were drawing towards the worst, rumours began to arrive of the

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\* Hutchinson, 322-61. Neale, ii. 42-57-9.



movements of the Prince of Orange. These were studiously stifled by the executive ; but, in the spring of 1689, one Winslow brought from Virginia a copy of the prince's proclamation. Winslow was imprisoned as the bearer of a treasonable libel ; but it told upon the people, who rose tumultuously, imprisoned the governor and his principal officers, and re-established their old magistrates. The New Englanders were now in a very critical situation. They had committed themselves against James beyond hope of forgiveness ; yet, should the event upon which they had proceeded deceive their expectations, they would be wholly unable to withstand the effects of his resentment. There could not, therefore, be a greater jubilee than when, on the 26th May, a vessel arrived from England with advice of the proclamation of William and Mary. All their proceedings were approved and sanctioned, and they were allowed to act upon their former charter till a new one should be issued. They seemed well entitled to expect that this should contain a reinstatement in all their former privileges ; but William, though established by circumstances as the champion of liberty, cherished the same love of power that is usual with monarchs. The former government, singular as it may seem, was neither more nor less than a pure republic,—the governor and his principal officers being chosen by the people, all laws enacted, and all taxes imposed by their representatives. William evaded all the demands made by the American deputies for the re-establishment of this system, and would grant only a new charter, upon a materially different basis. The king had now the appointment of the governor and

principal officers. The governor had a negative on the laws passed by the assembly, and the king had an ulterior negative, provided he exercised it before the end of three years. With the exception of this last feature, the constitution was similar to that of the old country, and the New Englanders were therefore fain, since nothing better could be done, to be tolerably content.\*

The colony seemed now to have a fair prospect of enjoying a respite, not only from external dangers, but from its long train of interior agitations. The inhabitants were fully secured in the possession of their property, and the toleration introduced by the Prince of Orange became henceforth a law, which nothing could disturb. Instead, however, of enjoying the immunity which these circumstances appeared to promise, it was suddenly shaken, and its very existence almost compromised, by a wild and frantic delusion, from which the progress of knowledge appeared by this time to have delivered all the sane and civilized portion of mankind.

A belief in the direct and sensible agency of supernatural beings has universally prevailed in ages of ignorance and superstition. It formed the life of the Pagan mythology ; and it has not been wholly effaced among the less enlightened professors of Christianity, especially amid those superstitious forms which defaced it during the dark ages. Even the first reformers, who displayed such vigour and independence

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\* Hutchinson, 372-92. Neale, i. 101-8.

of mind, and brought to light so many important truths, could not wholly shake off the delusions of the age. Luther's enemies are able to produce from his writings some comments of this nature, which appear almost incredible. The New Englanders brought with them this belief, still in a very prevailing state; and all the circumstances of their situation tended to stamp on their minds solemn and supernatural impressions. "They had an ocean, a thousand leagues in extent, between them and all the delights of life they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderness without limits. As soon as it was dark, their ears were filled with the roaring of wolves and other savage beasts, or, which was worse, the yells of savage men. Where there was any gloom upon the mind, such a scene must tend to increase it." Modern superstition had a character peculiarly gloomy. It rested upon the supposition, that the powers of evil had a certain range, within which they might act and become visible. The prince of darkness had a species of outward empire, of which many of the human race, tempted by various lures, were so infatuated as to become the subjects. These persons were invested with a portion of the powers of their infernal master, which they employed to torment, in an extraordinary manner, all whom they regarded with enmity, or who did not become members of their impious community. Mather, after Hale, defines a witch to be "a person who, having the free use of reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the devil, or of any other besides the true God, an ability to do or know strange things, or

things which he cannot by his own human abilities arrive unto. This person is a witch."

Mr Paris, the minister of Salem, had a daughter and niece, children of nine and eleven years of age, who were afflicted in a singular manner. The symptoms—choaking in the throat, suppression of speech, twisting of the limbs, sensation as if pins were stuck into them,—seem to point at hysterical affections, communicated perhaps by sympathy from one to the other. All the physicians in the neighbourhood were called, but without effect, till one of them, after much consideration, gave it as his judgment, "that they were under an evil hand." From this time spiritual remedies were alone resorted to. Mr Paris held several days of fasting and prayer, in which he was joined by his brother ministers; and at last the whole town of Salem joined in one general day of humiliation. No progress, however, was thus made, either in discovering the nature of the disease, or finding any remedy. At length, an Indian domestic and his wife baked a cake of some strange materials, the result of which was, the denouncing of Tituba, another Indian female servant, as the author of the mischief. Thenceforth the eyes of the children were wonderfully cleared, and even in Tituba's absence they saw her image or spectre, pinching, sticking pins into them, or otherwise tormenting their bodies. Hereupon Mr Paris fell upon Tituba, whom he beat and tortured, till she confessed that she alone was the author of all the mischief. She did not stop here, but soon professed to have become herself a sufferer, being tormented by the spectres or shapes of

several of her accomplices, enraged at her having betrayed the secrets of the kingdom of darkness.\* From this moment the evil spread daily wider and wider. Mercy Lewis, Sarah Vibber, and three other females, charged Mr Burroughs, a clergyman, with using against them the arts of necromancy. An indictment was speedily drawn up, in which it was charged, that these damsels were by him "tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and tormented, against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen, and the form of the statute in that case made and provided." Mr Burroughs being brought to trial, argued, "that there neither are nor ever were witches that, having made a compact with the devil, can send a devil to torment other people at a distance." This was a flight far beyond the place or age; his defence was pronounced altogether frivolous, and sentence of death was at once pronounced.† The evil, however, instead of being checked, spread more and more. New charges were daily preferred, till the prisons of Salem being full, the accused were sent to those of other towns, where they seemed to carry with them the infection. The whole colony was seized with alarm. They seemed to have come altogether under the power of Satan, and knew not how they were to resist this mighty "descent of wicked spirits from their high places." A solemn and general fast was appointed, that the Lord might be besought "to rebuke Satan, and

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\* Neale, ii. 124-8. Mather, ii. 60, vi. 79.      † Neale, 130-4.

show light to his people in this day of darkness." An association was formed of some of the principal people, "to meet this dreadful assault from hell," and fearlessly to prosecute all who had entered into this dire compact with the prince of darkness.

In the series of trials which succeeded, nothing appears so singular as the frank and ample confessions of a crime which not only involved the deepest infamy, but was followed by immediate death. The accused related at full length the diabolical meetings at which they had been present, the long consultations held as to the means of overthrowing the kingdom of heaven, and establishing that of Satan. They showed the poles on which they rode through the air, the wounds made in their bodies for the purpose of drawing the blood to be used in the signature of the fatal bond, by which their souls were made over to Satan. Some even showed the little images, by pricking and pinching of which with pins they excited corresponding affections in the objects of their enmity. Doubtless, in some cases, these declarations might be the mere result of a distempered brain. But the narrative lays open a much deeper and more general cause, by which they are too amply accounted for. The sentence of death was only executed against those supposed hardened and impenitent sorcerers who refused to own their guilt; the confessions all obtained a respite, and none were ultimately brought to the scaffold. It is dreadful to add, that they were called upon to bear witness against, and be instruments in taking away the lives of their unfortunate fellow-sufferers. Thus only the honest

and conscientious suffered ; while those destitute of truth and principle escaped. It must, however, be owned, that the statement afterwards given in by Deliverance Dane, Abigail Baker, and four other women, gives a very natural and affecting picture of the impulses by which they were driven to this criminal course. They say, “ Joseph Ballard of Andover’s wife being sick, he either from himself, or the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons from Salem village to Andover, which was the cause of that dreadful calamity which befel us at Andover. We were blindfolded, and our hands were laid on the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, and then they said that we were guilty of afflicting them ; whereupon we were all seized as prisoners by a warrant from the justice of peace, and forthwith carried to Salem ; and by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished, and amazed, and consternated, and affrighted out of our reason ; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, they, out of tender love and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess ; and, indeed, that confession was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it ; which made us think that we were so, and our understanding, and our reason, and our faculties being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our

condition ; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making any defence, but we said any thing and every thing they desired, and most of what we said was in fact but a consenting to what they said.”\*

There soon appeared among a number of these unhappy confessors a disposition to retract. Samuel Wardmell was the first who solemnly renounced his former declaration, upon which he was immediately tried, condemned, and executed ; and the name of Wardmell was ever after sounded in the ears of those who showed any tendency to swerve from the first confession which had been extorted from them. This did not deter a few from following the example, in particular a poor girl, Mary Jacobs, who gives the following account of the matter in a letter to her mother :—“ I having, through the threats of the magistrates, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my own conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul, the Lord pardon me for it ; but, oh ! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear ! But, blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but, in mercy I hope to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it in any longer ; but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let

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\* Neale, ii. 160-2.



me beg your prayers to the Lord in my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven.”\*

Of all who suffered during this dreadful period, there was not one who did not to the very last make the most solemn protestations of innocence. One of the most affecting was that of Mary Easty, who, on the day before her death, presented a petition, not for herself, but for those whom she saw about to meet the same fate upon the same unjust and delusive charges. She writes, “ I was confined before a whole month on the same account I am now condemned for. The Lord above knew my innocence then, and likewise does now, as will be known at the great day to men and angels. I petition your honours, not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is come, but if it be possible that no more innocent blood may be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go on. By my own innocency I know you are in the wrong way ; the Lord in his infinite mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his blessed will that innocent blood be not shed. They say myself and others have made a league with the devil ; we cannot confess ; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that, as I shall answer it at the tribunal seat, I know not the least thing of witchcraft ; therefore I cannot, I durst not, belie my own soul.”†

The advocates of witchcraft being afterwards call-

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\* Neale, ii. 146-7.

† Ib. ii. 148-50.

ed upon to produce some one confession, which was free from the above deep grounds of suspicion, laid their main stress on that of a personage called W. B., a man about forty, who, after public confession, wrote a spontaneous letter to the magistrates, more fully confirming his former acknowledgment. But he had still before his eyes both the fear of death and the hope of liberation to induce him to court the reigning frenzy. Besides, on considering the measure which this letter contains of common sense and intelligible English, the adherents of the opposite side seem to think that they may make their adversaries welcome to any benefit it can afford them. The following extract may give some idea both of this and perhaps of other similar confessions :—

“ God having called me to confess my sin and apostacy in that fall, in giving the devil advantage over me, appearing in the shape of a black man, in the evening, to set my name to his book, as I have owned to my shame, he told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem village, there being, a little off the meeting-house, about a hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, which was called, and might be for ought I know, by B. and Bu, and the trumpet sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the Sacrament ; but I had none, being carried over all on a stick, and never was present at any other meeting. I being at cart last Saturday all the day of hay and English corn, the devil brought my shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand. And on Sabbath-day my shape afflicted A. M., &c. The design was to destroy

Salem village, and to begin at the minister's house, and to destroy the churches of God, and to set up Satan's kingdom, and then all will be well," &c.

A regular trial, according to English law, was given to all the accused ; but, in the present temper both of judges and jury, it was always easy to foresee the result. The panels were made answerable, not merely for any thing which they themselves were even alleged to have committed in person, but for what their shapes or spectres, called up by the crazed imagination of their accusers, had done in their stead. The following is a specimen of the testimony which was accepted :—

" John Lauder.—As he was sitting in his room, a black hobgoblin jumped into the room, which spake to him these words :—' I understand you are troubled in mind ; be ruled by me, and you shall want nothing in this world.' But when he endeavoured to strike it, there was nothing. Upon this he ran out of the house, and saw the prisoner in her orchard ; but had not power to speak to her, but concluded his trouble was all owing to her."\* The slightest circumstances in the deportment of the prisoner were laid hold of. Thus, when Rebecca Nurse saw Deliverance Hobbes brought in as a witness, she exclaimed,—“ Why do you bring her, she is one of us ?” upon which sentence was immediately pronounced, it being interpreted as meaning that they were joint witches ; and it was in vain that she declared herself only to mean that they were

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\* Neale, 143-6.

fellow-prisoners. The following may be given as a specimen of their mode of interrogation. The afflicted being once for a long time prevented by fits from speaking, the chief judge asked the prisoner, "Who he thought hindered these witnesses from giving in their testimonies? and he answered, he supposed it was the devil. The judge replied, How comes the devil so loth to have any testimony given against you?" which is said to have covered the prisoner with confusion.\* There appear, indeed, some occasional symptoms of an equitable and even liberal spirit. Thus, though the children of Martha Carryer bore testimony that she had initiated them into the most profound mysteries of witchcraft, and that the devil even lay under promise to make her the queen of hell, yet, on account of their tender age, this evidence was not made use of.† It appears, indeed, that before giving it, the poor little Carryers had been tied by the feet, and hung with the head downwards till the blood began to burst from their nose and mouth.‡

It is lamentable to think that there appears to have been as much of guilt as of madness in these dreadful proceedings. As soon as a confession had been extorted from any of the unhappy accused persons, they were immediately called upon to bear witness against, and be the means of taking away the lives of others; and though this was done under the fear of, and as the only means of escape from impending death, still their conduct was not the less marked by entire want

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\* Neale, i. 132.    † Ib. ii. 147.    ‡ Ib. 163.

of principle. But there seem clear evidences of a still deeper guilt on the part of the afflicted. Many doubtless acted under the mere influence of a crazed imagination; but there are admitted proofs in others of the most deliberate and diabolical falsehood. Thus, the following was considered as affording the most satisfactory evidence of witchcraft :—When the afflicted reported himself tormented by a spectre, he was made to point out the place where it stood, which place was then struck with a rapier. A shriek was usually heard, and the afflicted named the part of the body which had received the wound. A warrant was immediately taken out against the person whose spectre it was, and that part of his or her body searched, when, if there appeared marks of a wound, the certainty was supposed to rise as high as the nature of the case admitted. But, in several instances, the persons were able to establish, that these hurts had arisen from accidents long prior to the alleged injury sustained by their spectre, and of which the accusers were aware. Even Mather mentions a man who, being tormented by a number of cats, chose to imagine that one of them was a poor widow in his neighbourhood. He provided, therefore, a sword, with which he struck the cat on the back. He immediately called for an inquest on the poor woman's person, and found a severe corresponding hurt. The widow, however, saved her life by establishing that this wound, caused by the gore of a cow, had been under treatment during some months by a respectable surgeon. Another who, when appearing in spectre, received a large rent in her green gown, which was found actually sewed up

at the very place, proved that both the damage and the repair had taken place long prior to the pretended blow with the rapier.\* Mather and Hale, indeed, are willing to conclude, that these were deep stratagems of Satan, who, knowing of these previous hurts by a secret agency, guided the rapier to the place, with the view of raising an unjust suspicion against the innocent. But much faith was required to accept of this solution, and there appeared the most reasonable ground of doubt, that both the stratagem and its satanic purpose lay at the door of the afflicted themselves. In other cases this was still clearer. At the trial of Sarah Good, an afflicted girl showed a knife, which she said the spectre of the panel had stuck into her, and broke it in her body; but an honest young fellow stepped forward, and, at the risk of his life, showed the handle and the corresponding part of the blade, which he had broken lately in the afflicted's presence. Another girl showed part of a white sheet, said to be torn off a spectre in the act of tormenting her; but Calef reports it as proved, that she had herself provided the bit of sheet on the day preceding. Others showed the marks on themselves of a full set of teeth, inflicted by the shapes of persons, who, when examined, were found not to have a tooth in their heads.† It seems difficult to discover any adequate motive for such diabolical proceedings. All accounts, indeed, notice the singular alacrity with which the sheriff's officers confiscated the goods of

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\* Mather, vi. 83.

\* Neale, i. 128-9.

those who were believed to be in covenant with Satan, and which, even when restored, were found to have undergone a lamentable diminution ; but I cannot find that any part of these goods went to the afflicted. They appear to have had no visible motive except enmity to the accused, the pleasure of exciting a strong sensation in the public, and the notice and favour of some of the leading persons during their present state of frenzied excitation.

The colony was now in a dreadful condition. The evil had reached a magnitude which appalled the firmest believers in its reality. In the course of two months, nineteen had been executed ; eight more were under sentence of death. The prisons held one hundred and fifty ready for trial, and could no longer receive the additional crowds daily thrust into them. No man's property, character, or life, were for a moment secure ; all lay at the mercy of this band of crazed and malignant beings. The afflicted flew continually at higher game, and began to accuse the most eminent persons in the colony, till it became evident that all must be soon involved in one common destruction. Even those whose faith had been firmest, and who had taken the most active part in drawing forth informations, felt a sudden revulsion, when they learned that their own spectres were beginning to walk abroad, and to commit deeds which would bring them to the gallows.\* Mr Bradstreet, a near relation of the governor, and who had hitherto been among the most

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\* Mather, ii. 63.

active prosecutors of witchcraft, became disgusted with the task, and threw it up. Hereupon the afflicted accused him of riding through the air on a dog. Bradstreet did not venture to face the accusation, but instantly fled the colony ; and the judges were obliged to content themselves with putting to death the dog as a species of accomplice. There arose, however, gradually among all reflecting persons a conviction that they had gone too far, and that they were labouring under some deep and dreadful delusion. It appeared incredible, as Mather expresses it, " that, in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a compass of land should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once." Yet the ministers and judges were alike bewildered, not knowing where to stop, or where they had gone too far. The trials had been conducted strictly according to English law, and the most approved code of demonology ; and the question was how to discover the error, without giving up the belief in witchcraft, and thereby, it was said, belying the experience of all ages and all nations.

The first gleam of common sense which broke in upon this scene of madness was that relating to what was called spectre-evidence. The governor called a meeting of the ministers, and submitted to them how far a man ought to be punished upon mere testimony borne against his spectre. The ministers, after serious deliberation, pronounced, not that these were the reveries of a half-crazed brain, but that Satan could assume any shape he pleased, and in that shape do mischief, without any concurrence of the person to whom the shape really belonged. Those, therefore,



who had attained a good name by a good life should not be condemned merely for actions in which their shapes only appeared to have been concerned. In other respects they exhorted the governor to persevere in the vigorous prosecution of witchcraft, "according to the wholesome statutes of the English nation."\*

Notwithstanding this important and salutary decision, considerable latitude was still left for these deplorable proceedings; but the tide of public opinion had now set in strongly against them. Of fifty-six bills which were presented at the next sessions, the grand jury brought in thirty *ignoramus*, rejecting, in some instances, even the confessions of the accused, though in one case the court, to their great dishonour, sent them back to reconsider their verdict. Of the remaining twenty-six the petty jury condemned only three; but the governor had now determined to make a general sweep of the whole proceedings. He pardoned all those under sentence, threw open the prison-doors, and turned a deaf ear to all the outcries and groans of the afflicted. The believers in witchcraft anticipated the most gloomy consequences from the free scope thus given to the operations of the powers of darkness. Great then was their surprise to find that from this moment all the troubles of the afflicted ceased, and were never more heard of. At the same time the confessors "fell off from their confession," either owning it as false, or declaring they remembered nothing about it.

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\* Neale, ii. 156-7.

Mather seeks to account for this, by supposing that Satan, after being allowed such an extraordinary range, had been suddenly chained up. But others could not help suspecting that the prosecutions had been the main exciting cause in the whole of this dreadful transaction; as it is admitted, that the more "the afflicted were hearkened unto, the more they multiplied," and that there had been deep guilt as well as delusion in the whole affair. All who had been actively concerned as prosecutors or judges in these transactions, hastened publicly to express their contrition for the parts they had acted. Twelve of the persons who had most frequently sat on the juries published a paper signed with their own hands, in which, among other things, they say, "We confess, that we ourselves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand, the mysterious delusions of the powers of darkness and prince of the air, but were prevailed upon to take up with such evidence as, we fear, was insufficient for touching the lives of any. We do hereby acknowledge, that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds, and do therefore most humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake, for this our error; and we also pray, that we may be considered candidly and right by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion. We do declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again for the whole world." One of the judges delivered in a similar paper, to be read before the congregation, and stood

up in their presence while it was reading. Mr Pais also asked pardon of God and man for the part he had taken; but the people never could efface from their minds the innocent blood which he had been the means of shedding, and he was obliged to leave Salem. Many now urged that there ought to be an inquiry into the conduct, both of the confessors and the afflicted, when it was too evident that so many had been guilty of the most dreadful perjury. But the guilt and madness had been so distributed through the whole society, that it was difficult for one to reproach another. "Considering," says Mather, "the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us into, it was thought safer to underdo than to overdo." Neale considers it unaccountable that trial should not have been made of hanging two or three, to see if they would adhere to their confession to the last; but really this was cutting very deep for a mere experiment. It was esteemed wisest, once for all, to throw a veil of oblivion over the whole of that dreadful abyss.\*

Thus terminated the long series of agitations which shook the colony, till that greater one by which it was separated from the mother country. We have not yet noticed, however, the events without, arising from its relation with the neighbouring Indian tribes. A more full view of the habits and manners of the northern aborigines is reserved till we reach the territory of the Five Nations, where the

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\* Neale, ii. 164-70. Mather, ii. 62-4.

native character presented itself under its boldest and most striking features. The nations about New England appear to have been an inferior race to those on the lakes. They had not the same forms of polity, nor did they display the same copious and figurative oratory which has been admired in the latter.\* The government was entirely monarchical, absolute power being exercised by the Sachems, or Kings, who transmitted the throne by hereditary succession to their posterity. In matters of difficulty the Sachem held a council of his nobles, and his deportment there is said to have been highly dignified and graceful, and the discussions carried on in a very orderly and judicious manner.† The ground was cultivated, but solely by the women, who sowed, reaped, collected into barns, dug in the ground, and lined the houses with bark. They held it commendable to keep their wives well at work, and censured the English for spoiling theirs by allowing them to remain almost constantly idle. The only occupations in which they would employ themselves were those which might bear also the character of diversion, hunting, fishing, and plundering. Their only medicine, besides the howling and dancing of the Powaws, or priests, consisted in bringing themselves, according to the Russian system, into a profuse perspiration, and then plunging into the nearest brook. Their only vessels were single trees hollowed out, or pieces of bark sewed together; if these overset, "it is but

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\* Hutchinson, 468.

† Mather, vi. 51.

a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were." Nothing could equal their astonishment on the arrival of the first ship, "to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side."\*

The Indians at first received the English well, hospitably invited them into their wigwams, and guided many to their houses who had wandered in the woods, and were in danger of perishing. But this good understanding, as usually happens in the intercourses between civilized and savage man, was not of long duration. The colonists, however, set out on the principle of treating the Indians in that just and equitable manner which suited their own religious profession. They passed laws, not only prohibiting the seizure by violence of the Indian lands, but even the purchase of them without leave from the general court, who took care, that the natives in their ignorance should not part with them for a price wholly inadequate. The Indians at first parted most readily with wide ranges of unoccupied territory in exchange for the new luxuries brought by the strangers. But when they found themselves gradually hemmed in, their hunting grounds narrowed, and themselves shut out from their ancient fields, they repented what they had done, and began to dread that these intruding strangers would by degrees drive them wholly from the land of their ancestors. Their passions being inflamed by the use of

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\* Mather, iii. 192.

strong liquors, which, notwithstanding the legal prohibition, were largely sold to them, occasions of quarrel could not fail to arise. In some of these Englishmen were wounded, and even killed; the colonial government pursued the culprits, and proceeded against them according to the rigour of English law,—a measure which, not being conformable to Indian ideas, kindled deep resentment, and led to measures of retaliation. There appear also to have been on the border, especially in Connecticut, a sort of outer settlements, almost beyond the pale of law and order. So little care seems to have been taken of their instruction, that Mather mentions with horror, persons among them who had grown up without having ever heard the name of Christ. It may easily be supposed that the dealings of such persons would afford every reasonable ground of provocation; and the Indians, as usual with savages, confounding all the English together, were exasperated, not against these individuals only, but against the whole nation. Hostilities were begun by the Pequods, a powerful nation on the Connecticut border, who could muster a thousand warriors. They did not face the English in the field, or attack any of their principal posts, but hovered round the border, and sought to attack and destroy detached posts and villages. The plunder which they obtained formed an incentive to farther attacks, and they became “like wolves, continually gaping and yelling after their prey.” On approaching any post, they kept themselves concealed during the night, amid hedges and bushes, till daybreak, when they burst in with

frightful cries. Their first step was to set fire to the houses, which, being of wood, instantly caught the flame; and when the alarmed inmates rushed out, they killed the men, and carried away the women and children, with all their effects.\* The honour of the females was not in any danger, but they were treated with the most dreadful cruelty. When the Indians were annoyed by the crying of the children, they would seize them, dash out their brains against a tree or stone, and throw them away. When the females, from fatigue or sickness, were unable to keep pace with them, they threatened them with death if they lagged behind, and when this did not produce the effect, would plunge the tomahawk in their brains, tear off the scalp, and march on. Although they took no concern in the spread of their own religion, they made it a sort of religious war, viewing the God of their enemies with the same enmity as themselves. On entering a village they hastened to burn the meeting-house, and then tauntingly asked the English where they would now go to pray. They burned all the bibles they could find, and while they were torturing their captives, uttered blasphemies against the objects of Christian worship, "bidding Jesus come and deliver them if he could."† The English might have found it difficult to withstand them, but for an alliance with the Naragansets, the second most powerful people, whose ancient enmity to the Pequods prevailed over their jealousy of

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\* Hubbard, 62-110.

† Ibid.

the foreigners. A treaty was therefore drawn up, signed by the marks of Agamaug, Wampsh, Tawageron, and other chiefs, binding themselves to the most active co-operation with the English, into whose hands Wobegnop, Weowthim, and Weenew, their kinsmen, were placed as hostages. The English, however, found it necessary, in the active field-operations, to rely chiefly on their own strength. Some of the captains at first committed the error of imagining that the Indians should be fought in their own way, by small parties lying in ambush and seeking to surprise them ; but they were found quite an overmatch for the English in this mode of fighting, and, in consequence, a body of seventy, the flower of the county of Essex, were entirely cut to pieces, filling the country with mourning, not only that they were so miserably lost, but by so palpable an error. But, when the English marched in a close and regular body, the Indians did not venture to face them, and could only wound a few by firing out of the bushes and hollows. The difficulty was how to reach them, and strike a decisive blow. This could only be effected by storming their forts,—an enterprise of difficulty and danger ; and when these were successively carried, they lodged themselves in the marshes, and it was found “ ill fighting a wild beast in his own den.” Yet the war was conducted with such vigour, that the Pequods were partly exterminated, partly reduced to submission. Other tribes, however, rose behind them ; and even the Naragansets, the original allies of the English, when they saw the power of these strangers becoming



paramount, began to side with their enemies. The Indian chiefs began to imitate the English mode of fighting, and even to assume English names, with some characteristic epithet. One-eyed John, Stonewall John, and Sagamore Sam, kept the colony in perpetual alarm. But their most deadly and formidable enemy was Philip Sachem of the Wompanoags, who kept them for years in constant alarm, till his death established them completely paramount over all this range of territory.

All the European nations had made a very solemn profession, that a leading, if not the most leading object of their settlement had been to communicate the light of the Gospel to the savage and ignorant natives. In many cases, indeed, the action of very different motives had been conspicuous, and the one alleged had served chiefly to lull their conscience under conduct the most opposite to that which the Gospel would have sanctioned. The New England settlers were perhaps the most really and earnestly concerned for the eternal welfare of that untaught race among whom they were established. Such had not been the case in the earlier and more northern settlements, where Mather mentions a clergyman, who, from the pulpit, alluded to this as the main object of his flock's coming out, when one of the principal members rose and said, "Sir, you are mistaken,—our main object was to catch fish." The Massachusetts settlers, on the contrary, from the first, applied themselves to this important undertaking; they set apart for it several pious and zealous ministers, and they established a seminary for the education of the Indians, especially to the work of

the ministry. They could not indeed boast of the crowds of converts which were apparently made by the Catholic missionaries ; but the latter, it is observed, were often content with a very nominal profession, and the mere performance of some outward rites. Thus a whole tribe in the vicinity is mentioned as having been baptized by the French in one day, in consideration of a shirt presented to each ; but as the shirt, in the course of a few weeks, got excessively dirty, they came in a body, and intimated their intention to renounce their baptism, unless they were supplied with a change.\* The Massachusetts ministers, on the contrary, were perhaps rather too rigid in the proofs which they demanded of a regenerate and believing state previous to reception into church communion. Instead of making any allowance for the weakness of the Indians, they only increased their rigour. A day was appointed, called *Natootomnpteackesuk*, or “ the day of asking questions,” when a large body were jointly catechized, their answers taken down, and circulated through the most spiritual persons of the colony, by whom their fitness might be judged of.† The missionaries judiciously preached only short sermons, and then asked the Indians if they understood what had been said, and invited them to ask questions. This invitation was readily accepted, and they often spent several hours in conversation. Some of their questions were rather irrelevant, and even puzzling, as, “ why sea-water was salt and river-water fresh ?

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\* Neale, i. 284.

† Mather, iii. p. 197-8.

why the ocean did not rise and overflow the earth?" They asked also if God could understand them when they prayed in the Indian language? how there were so many people in the world when they had been all drowned by the flood? and why the English should know so much more of God, when all were the children of the same father? After they had been satisfied on all these points, there remained the question, what the Sachems would think? and this was followed by the higher and deeper question, what the Powaws would think? The Powaws were the priests and oracles of America; when any one was sick, when he had lost any thing, when he wished to know the lucky time and manner of doing any thing, he had recourse to them. Deadly were the denunciations of these gifted persons against the apostate Indian who should forsake their creed for English gods and an English priesthood. Not only would he be deprived of their aid in every emergency, but he might expect from their wrath the most deadly evils; death itself could and would be inflicted by magical influence, if he should continue obstinate. Several circumstances, however, combined to raise a doubt of the infallibility of the Powaws. It was observed in their magico-medical capacity, that, after they had spent hours in howling, dancing, leaping, and blowing upon the patient, and all being in vain, had pronounced that his hour was come, an English doctor, by a very simple application, would restore him to health. The Indians never indeed could raise their minds to the idea, that the divinities of the Powaws had not a real existence; they only considered them as less powerful than those

of the English, from whom, consequently, the needful protection might be expected ; but indeed this cannot be wondered at, when we find the same to have been the opinion of the gravest and most learned divines of the colony, who never doubted of the supernatural powers of the Indian priesthood.\* Several, therefore, observed, that, notwithstanding the inferiority of the gods of the Powaws, their obligations to them had been so great, that they could not handsomely desert them ; and to this the ministers do not seem to have known very well what to answer. Political opposition was also encountered ; “ the devils,” it is said, “ having the Sachems on their side,” who dreaded that “ their little kingdoms and glories”† would be shaken, if a new doctrine were introduced among their people. They even used threats to deter the missionaries from proceeding in the work of conversion. Philip, on being addressed by Mr Elliot, took hold of his button, telling him, “ he cared as little for his Gospel as for that button.”

Notwithstanding these obstacles, Mr Elliot, Mr Experience Mayhew, and several other excellent persons, succeeded in prevailing on a number of the Indians in different quarters to form themselves into villages, and follow a civilized and Christian life. The chief settlements were at Concord, Nantucket, and particularly at Martha’s Vineyard, where the ecclesiastical establishment was entirely Indian. Hiacomés, a young native chief, having embraced Christianity, and

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\* Mather, vi. 52.

† Ibid. 198-9.

attained a competent knowledge of religion, was appointed pastor, while John Tockinosh and Joshua Mummeechegs were named as his elders.\* It was made an object, not only to instruct them in their religious duties, and wean them from their roving and turbulent mode of life, but generally to banish the rude and unseemly habits in which they were wont to indulge; and they were persuaded to impose fines upon delinquencies of this nature. It was contracted under heavy penalties, that they should not kill lice between their teeth, that they should not besmear their bodies with grease, nor set up the dreadful howlings to which they were accustomed. Women who appeared with their hair hanging loose, or their bosom uncovered, had a fine levied on them. The Indian who beat his wife had his hands tied behind his back, and was carried in this state to the tribunal, where he was punished at the pleasure of the judge.† The Indian females made considerable efforts to obtain an opinion from the ministers, that if a man beat his wife, all his prayers would be vain; but however bent on putting down the practice, they do not seem to have been prepared to commit themselves altogether to this extent. In a few years, matters were so far advanced, that there were formed in Massachusetts alone, thirty congregations of "praying Indians," whose numbers amounted to about three thousand. From that time the progress seems to have been rather retrograde. After the first novelty, the old habits of the Indians,

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\* Mather, vi. 524.

† Neale, i. 245-50.

and particularly their sloth and love of strong liquors, began again to strive for the mastery. There is stated, indeed, to have been a most strict observance of that clause in the Fourth Commandment, which says, "In it thou shalt not do any work;" but as no regard was paid to the preceding clause, "Six days shalt thou labour," much doubt was felt as to the purity of the motives by which they were swayed. The attempt to organize an Indian priesthood failed altogether, the converts possessing neither the steadiness nor sobriety requisite for the holy office. The duty, therefore, devolved upon European teachers, who, in many cases, scarcely obtained the wages of a day-labourer, and that very precariously. The formation, however, of a society in England for the propagation of the Gospel in this settlement, and pretty liberal contributions raised in the principal towns, in some degree remedied this evil.

## CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF ~~THE~~ OTHER COLONIES.

*Secondary States of New England.—Connecticut—Rhode Island—New Hampshire.—New York ; settled by the Dutch ; Transference to England.—Maryland.—Carolina ; its Constitutions ; various Vicissitudes.—Georgia.—Pennsylvania ; Account of Penn ; Treaty with the Indians ; its rapid Increase.*

THE settlement of Virginia and that of New England, or, more strictly speaking, Massachusetts, have exhibited on the greatest scale, and under the most striking features, that series of early and daring adventure, by which the vast Indian desert was converted into the seat of great and flourishing nations. The other states were peopled in a great measure out of these two ; they found a path already marked out for them, and trod nearly in the same footsteps. To enter, therefore, into a similar detail of their fortunes and progress would be inconsistent with our limits, and would involve a wearisome monotony. Each, however, had some characters peculiar to itself, which will be found deserving of a brief survey.

The secondary states of New England were mostly peopled out of the original and central colony of

Massachusetts ; and, as may have been observed, the emigration was, in several instances, connected with circumstances not very highly meritorious on its part. Connecticut, however, did not owe its existence to any such equivocal cause. It arose merely out of the overflowing of the surplus population of Massachusetts proceeding in search of new and unoccupied lands. In this pursuit, Mr Chalmers remarks, that they made no inquiry, either of the Plymouth Company, in whom the whole of ~~this~~ coast had been originally vested, or of the Marquis of Hamilton, to whom it had been afterwards conveyed, or of the Dutch, who, from their strong settlement on the Hudson, had spread themselves in this direction. Finding the territory one vast unoccupied forest, they very coolly divided it among themselves, nor was any one present able to start any objection. The company, somewhat surprised to hear that its territories were occupied without even the trouble of giving them notice, sent out a code of instructions for the regulation of the settlers. But that body declined paying any attention to them, and undertook the entire management of its own concerns. Its only formidable annoyance arose from the Indians, of whose attacks, from its advanced position, it was obliged to stand the first brunt ; and till the Pequods and Philip were finally humbled, Connecticut enjoyed only short intervals of tranquillity. It prospered, however, being recruited by several Puritans of distinction, who came direct from England ; nor did it, even after the accession of Charles II., meet the fate which its daring courses might seem likely to have prepared for it. That



prince, amid the joy of the Restoration, granted to Connecticut a charter on the most liberal terms. The colonists were erected into a corporate body, having a right to all the lands extending across to the Pacific Ocean. Connecticut, therefore, conducted itself entirely as an independent state; and even the regicides lived there in security. As Charles and his parliament, however, began, in the leisure of peace, to turn their attention to the regulation of these rising colonies, they were not a little mortified to find that they had divested themselves of all power to regulate or control them. At length Charles began to take a more daring course, and to break down all the barriers which obstructed his progress to absolute power. Massachusetts was the first point beyond the Atlantic upon which this system was brought to bear; and it has been seen, that, after an honourable struggle, that state was obliged to yield to superior power, and to see its rights wrested from it. While this contest was pending, Connecticut was allowed to stand by, each party foreseeing that its lot would be ruled by that of its greater neighbour. Massachusetts fell, and Connecticut behaved to follow. The people, on seeing that this issue could not be escaped, resigned themselves to their fate with somewhat of an abject submission. They wrote, professing their loyalty, desiring to continue in their present station; but, were it the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, submitting to the royal commands. They even professed their willingness to be united to any other government, with only a humble preference of that over which Andros had been placed. This pliancy had

the effect, whether foreseen or not, of securing to them a very unmerited advantage over Massachusetts. The king contented himself with directing Andros to receive their submission, and did not extort from the courts any legal sentence of forfeiture. When, therefore, the happy era of the Revolution arrived, the charter was not judged to have lost its validity, and was restored to them entire. They continued to enjoy a plenitude of liberty, and an independence on the government at home, which was denied to Massachusetts, solely on account of the spirited stand which she made for these rights.\*

Rhode Island, unlike Connecticut, rested its foundation solely on the schisms of Massachusetts, and was peopled by the heretics ejected from that seat of Puritan orthodoxy. Williams was foremost, whose proceedings at Salem the reader probably has not forgotten; and though his treatment was unmerited and unjust, yet Burke and Chalmers seem to go too far in making him suffer merely for advocating the rights of conscience. Whatever might have been his faults at Salem, his conduct at Providence, to which he retired, has been the theme of universal panegyric. The toleration, and, indeed, equality established with regard to all religious professions, Roman Catholics only excepted, was a new feature in that age, and secured an ample influx of refugees. The next band consisted of Mrs Hutchinson, with her train of Antinomian converts; and, notwithstanding

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\* Chalmers's Annals, ch. xii.

the removal and tragical fate of herself and family, the persecuted adherents to her cause brought a great accession to the colony. The Anabaptists, the Quakers, all the successive suffering sects, found a refuge here. They composed a medley very offensive to the pure eyes of the Boston ministers. Mather describes them as "a generation of libertines, familists, Antinomians, and Quakers, whose posterity, for want of schools and a public ministry, are become so barbarous as not to be capable of either good English or good sense." There does seem to have been, from first to last, rather a want of erudition in the society of Rhode Island; but in other respects they might have taught valuable lessons to these their severe censors; for we read of none of those furious dissensions which kept the Massachusetts colony in a state of such perpetual distraction.

Rhode Island shared nearly the political career of Connecticut. It was left long to govern itself unmolested; and Williams, when he came over to England during the time of the Commonwealth, met the most cordial reception from Cromwell and the other Independent leaders. At the Restoration, also, they were as fortunate as their neighbour in obtaining a very republican constitution, almost entirely independent of the mother country. Yet the state continued always so loyal and even submissive to the government at home as repeatedly to call forth the applauses of Charles. All these merits could not shelter it from the determination of James II. to crush every corporate body both at home and abroad. The fatal writ of *quo warranto* was issued; and it was only by a submis-

sion still more abject and implicit than that of Connecticut that they could stop its procedure. They presented an address, in which "they humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty." The king approved and accepted their submission, attached them to Massachusetts, and sent Andros, who dissolved the government, broke its seal, and assumed the entire administration. When the Revolution came, Rhode Island, like Connecticut, not having lost its charter by legal sentence, was considered as entitled to resume it; and the colony continued thus to enjoy what it scarcely merited,—a more independent government than any other of the American states.\*

New Hampshire and Maine, differing wholly in this respect from the rest of New England, were founded upon strictly loyal and church of England principles. These tracts were divided by the Plymouth Company between Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason; of whom Mr Chalmers declares, that no American adventurers were so conspicuous for the energy of their exertions. It does not appear how he reconciles this with the admission made immediately after, that they totally neglected the colony, ruled it in a tyrannical manner, and gave no encouragement to settlers.† It never, therefore, made any progress till it began to be recruited by the religious dissensions at Boston. Mr Wheelwright, the distinguished Antinomian orator, with his adherents, formed the first arrival. They seated them-

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\* Chalmers's Annals, ch. xii.

† Annals, p. 471-4.

selves in the midst of the forest which skirts the banks of the great river Piscataqua, and immediately established a form of church and civil government agreeable to their own views. Being soon mixed, however, with persons of opposite character and religious profession, violent dissensions arose, which stained the early annals of the colony with blood. This afforded to the general court of Massachusetts an opening to extend their pretensions to New Hampshire; the proprietors of which being then eagerly engaged in the civil wars, no opposition was made to the act by which this region was declared to be comprehended within their patent. The regular government which they established, and the encouragement afforded to settlers, enabled the colony soon to reach a degree of prosperity before unknown. A few, also, flying before their severe sway, increased the still scanty population of the outer district of Maine, till Massachusetts, daily extending its views, comprehended that territory also within its range. Gorges and Mason, as soon as they began to breathe from the civil war, were not a little dismayed to find that the whole of their large American possessions had been quietly occupied by a neighbouring state, and by persons whom they hated and despised. Their loud complaints met with very little notice under the Commonwealth, when Massachusetts was favoured and cherished, and they themselves viewed with enmity by the ruling power. On the accession of Charles II. a more favourable ear was afforded, and a commission was sent out, with full power to make a final arrangement. The commission decided in favour of Gorges and Mason; but the general court, holding

the actual possession, contrived, partly by arms, partly by solicitation, and partly by legal proceedings, to keep the question pending for more than seventeen years, though it cost them during that time much more than any benefit derived from the settlement. At length a decision was obtained in favour of Gorges; but the court, still intent on their object, immediately purchased up his claim. The validity of the sale, however, was disputed, and this colony continued still the object of contest and litigation till the fatal era when, Massachusetts being deprived of her charter, her rights upon the countries to the south were considered to have dropped along with it, and she was restricted to her original limits. A royal government was established in New Hampshire, which subsisted to the period of the last revolution. The colony does not seem to have been very deserving of so lengthened a contest, since Mr Chalmers found its public revenue in 1680 to amount only to £131, and a tax of a penny in the pound producing only £89, 4s.

NEW YORK experienced an early destiny materially differing from that of any of the other colonies. For a long period it was Dutch, bearing the title of New Belgium or New Netherlands, having New Amsterdam for its capital. The discovery of this region, and of the noble river by which it is watered, is due to Hudson, the celebrated navigator. Hudson, in 1609, followed almost in the steps of Cabot.\* He coasted

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\* Purchas, iii. 581-95.

the foggy shores of Newfoundland, then, proceeding south, passed Cape Cod, and sailed directly onwards to the grand estuaries of the Chesapeake and the Delaware. Finding these, however, occupied by the English, he retraced his course northwards, and, sailing between Long Island and the main, entered that important river which now bears his name. He admired its spacious stream, and the majestic forests by which it is bordered, and had some communication, though rather hostile, with the natives. On his return, according to the English historians, "he sold his title to the Dutch."\* Chalmers questions, seemingly on good grounds, the validity of this odd transaction.† In that difficult code, according to which Europeans divide the world among themselves, the titles seem to be purely national. But if, as Forster asserts, Hudson not only sailed from the Texel, but was equipped at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, there was no room for sale or purchase of any kind to constitute the region Dutch. The English jurists, however, referring to the wide grants of Elizabeth, according to which Virginia extended far to the north of this region, insisted that there had long ceased to be room for any claim to it founded on discovery. But the Dutch, who are somewhat of slow comprehension, could not see the right which Elizabeth could have to bestow a vast region, of the very existence of which she was ignorant. They sent out a small colony, which formed a trading house at the mouth of

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\* Brit. Emp. ii. 236.

† An. ii. 568.

the Hudson. Argal, from Virginia, forced them to own the sovereignty of England ; but this was soon forgotten when the Dutch West India Company, established in 1620, sent out fresh colonies on a larger scale. Their trading houses on the island of Manhattan (the present site of New York) soon assumed the importance of a town, defended by a fort, and which became New Amsterdam. They afterwards, at a considerable distance up the river, founded Albany, by which they obtained extensive facilities for the fur-trade, and opened a communication with the celebrated confederacy of the Five Nations. The claims of England, however, though they slumbered, were not forgotten. Charles II., inspired by rooted antipathy against the Dutch nation, granted this territory to his brother, the Duke of York. To make this grant effectual, an expedition of three hundred men was immediately despatched, and in September, 1664, anchored in the harbour of Manhattan. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, appears to have been wholly unprepared for such an attack, and, indeed, to have been more distinguished for the acts of good government, than for military prowess. After a short and courteous parley, he surrendered the place,—an example which was soon followed by the rest of the colony. The Dutch obtained the most liberal terms, full protection for person and property, and the free exercise of their religion. The greater part remained, and some of the principal inhabitants of New York still bear Dutch names. In the course, however, of the long naval war between England and Holland, the States sent an expedition, which, finding the go-



vernor absent, and the place wholly unprepared, entered it in the same polite and easy manner as was formerly done by the English. The transaction in both cases resembled rather that of a new governor coming to assume his functions, than a victory achieved by a hostile power. Most of the English settlers having ample protection granted to them, remained in the colony ; and the issue of the war being on the whole prosperous to England, New Belgium, at the peace, became again New York. James, imbued with the deepest principles of arbitrary power, sent out governors, who were instructed to rule by his sole authority. This was felt very grievous by the citizens, who had a full sense of their rights as Englishmen ; in assertion of which they proceeded to a most daring attempt. They sent home Dyer, the collector of the revenue, under a charge of high treason, as having attempted to levy taxes without authority of law. James took care that Dyer, whose acts had been his own, should be forthwith acquitted ; but so strongly was he impressed by this bold measure of his transatlantic subjects, that, after some hesitation, he made up his mind to give them some form of representation. In 1682, Mr Dongan was sent out to form a council of ten, and a house of representatives of eighteen members. Dongan went under the odious character of a Papist, yet his integrity, moderation, and courteous manners, made him beloved and acceptable. Two meetings, and only two, were held of this assembly. James ere long repented of this extraordinary liberality. He determined, on coming to the crown, that, in the general sweep which he was making of all charter-

governments, New York should not be exempted. Instructions were sent out to Dongan to make laws and impose taxes, under the sole authority of the monarch. The humiliation of New York was not yet completed. It was soon after, with the other northern states, annexed to Massachusetts; Dongan, its mild and conciliatory governor, was recalled, and it was placed under the domineering sway of Andros. Unable to resist, the colonists bent under the iron yoke of necessity, and did not suffer any very grievous positive oppression. When, however, rumours began to arrive of the happy Revolution of 1688, a strong impulse actuated their minds. Even before the arrival of the official intelligence, the inhabitants, under a mercantile character of the name of Leister, rose in arms, proclaimed William, and assembled a representative body. Leister assumed the functions of governor, and was very readily acknowledged as such. This assumption was not confirmed by William, who sent out a Colonel Slaughter to fill that place. Leister, however, alleging some informality in the terms of his appointment, refused to relinquish his station; but being soon overcome, he was tried and executed,—seemingly a hard sentence against one who had rendered such services. Accordingly the British parliament soon afterwards reversed his attainder, and his estates were restored to his family.\*

The population and resources of New York, though in a state of gradual increase, being still very inade-

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\* Chalmers, ch. xix. Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 243.

quate to its situation and natural resources, parliament was employed in considering the means of forwarding its growth. The chief measure taken for this purpose was the transportation of three thousand German Protestants, called Palatines, who not only had lands assigned to them, but were conveyed, clothed, and subsisted for three years. The entire cost of this transportation amounted to £78,533; which, however, amid the ferments of party, was declared by a subsequent vote of parliament to be not only an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, but of "dangerous consequence to the church." These sober and laborious colonists, however, being settled on the banks of the Hudson, proved of the greatest service to the colony, and laid the basis of a most useful part of its future population.\*

The English of New York, in ascending the Hudson, came into contact with the grand savage confederacy of the Five Nations, which extended along the southern shore of the St Lawrence and the lakes. The relations between the two parties were in general those of friendship, and even of close alliance, cemented by mutual fear and hatred of the French. That people, when they occupied Canada, having undertaken to support their immediate neighbours, the Hurons and Algonquins, involved themselves in war with the Iroquois, in which they suffered severely, and spent more than a century before they could break the force of that great Indian league. The Five Nations, during this long contest for their existence, repeatedly

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\* Brit. Emp. Am. i. 249-50.

applied for and obtained the aid of Britain, particularly in muskets and ammunition. In 1710, Alnecy-cathtonnopron, Ganajohabare, and three other princes, came across "the great lake" to wait upon the queen, and solicit her alliance. It was a great question in what costume these chieftains were to appear at court. Application was made, not very judiciously, to the manager of the theatre, who undertook the clothing of the monarchs; but, with very bad taste, instead of presenting them plumed and painted in the Indian war-dress, habited them in waistcoat, breeches, and stockings, above which he drew a scarlet mantle trimmed with gold. Major Pigeon, who came over with them, interpreted their speech, which bore, that their great queen had been acquainted with the long war, which, in conjunction with her children, they had waged against her enemies the French; during which they had been to her subjects a wall of security, even to the loss of their best warriors. As soon as they heard that their queen was preparing to send an army into Canada, they put on the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and were very sorrowful when they learned there was any hesitation in putting this laudable design in execution. They presented belts of wampum, in token of strict alliance, and of their readiness to co-operate in any such glorious undertaking. Accordingly, in 1711, when a combined naval and military expedition was undertaken against Canada, they afforded an active though fruitless co-operation in that unfortunate and inglorious enterprise.

NEW JERSEY was a mere offset to New York, to

which it naturally belonged. The Duke of York, on sending out Nicholas to make his grant of the latter territory effectual by conquering it, assigned to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, already proprietors of Carolina, all the coast extending south to the Delaware and into the interior. These proprietors appear to have founded New Jersey on a very liberal and satisfactory footing, allowing to it an assembly, which had the power of making laws and imposing or rejecting taxes. When, however, New York had been conquered by the Dutch, and afterwards recovered, the Duke contended, that, by these transactions, the grant, and the privileges conferred in consequence, had been annulled, and he subjected New Jersey to the same arbitrary system of rule which he had established over New York. From this tyranny, and especially from the right of arbitrary taxation, the colonists had the courage to appeal to the government at home; and their representations were so forcible, that the Duke at last agreed to refer the question to Sir William Jones, who, by his legal eminence and integrity, rendered the name he bore already honourable. He threw additional lustre upon it by the sentence which he pronounced, that "the inhabitants claim under a grant from his Royal Highness, in which grant there is no reservation of any profit, or so much as jurisdiction."—"I am not satisfied," says he, "that the Duke can demand that or any other duty from the inhabitants of those lands." The Duke having gone too far to recede, was fain to acquiesce with the best grace he could; and the privileges thus extorted by the Jerseys are supposed to have been one chief motive

of his liberality to New York, lest it should be deserted in consequence of the more favoured state of the former colony. The time soon came, however, when all these barriers were to be broken down. When James ascended the throne, he would brook no more of New Jersey independence. By the usual process of *quo warranto*, that province was deprived of its constitution and all its rights, and annexed as an humble appendage to New England. When these chains were broken by the accession of William, New Jersey became agitated by a number of conflicting claims to its government, involving it for ten years in what were emphatically termed "the revolutions," and which prevented it from enjoying those benefits which it had a right to expect. The English government even endeavoured to subject it to New York; but Sir John Hawles and Sir Creswell Levinz gave a concurrent opinion in favour of the rights of their own assembly. On the whole, the progress of New Jersey was slow. It was reckoned that, in the beginning of last century, it did not consume above £1000 of British manufactures, nor receive more than three ships annually into its ports. It was overshadowed by the greater lustre and importance, first, of New York on one side, and then of Pennsylvania on the other. Its natural advantages, however, enabled it to proceed thenceforth in a course of steady, though not rapid progress.

MARYLAND was founded on a different basis from any of the other colonies, and formed, in some respects, an antipode to New England. The Catholics in those days were not only persecutors, but in some degree

the objects of persecution; and Charles I., though willing, was not always able to protect them against the severe laws, inspired by fear, which had been enacted against them under Elizabeth. Some of the leading members conceived the idea of creating for them an asylum in the new world. Lord Baltimore, an Irish nobleman of distinction, who stood at the head of the Catholic body, easily obtained from Charles a grant of that angle of Virginia which lies on both sides of the interior Chesapeake,—a tract equally happy in soil and climate, and commodious for commerce. The name of Maryland was given to it in honour of Henrietta Maria, Charles's beautiful queen, to whose intercession the adventurers were doubtless greatly indebted. An expedition of two hundred persons, many of whom were Catholics of good family, was fitted out, and placed under the guidance of Lord Baltimore's brother, Mr Calvert. He carried out letters to the governor of Virginia, by whom he was kindly received and forwarded. On arriving at the upper part of the Chesapeake, he used all his efforts to place himself on a friendly footing with the Indians. The first Werrowannee merely said, "I will not bid you stay, neither will I bid you go; you may use your discretion." Shortly, however, by presents, feasting, and kindness, he so gained their affections, that one of the princes, in a profuse style of compliment, said, "Were the English to kill me, I would tell my subjects not to revenge my death, for I would be sure it had been my own fault." The natives were even induced, with little difficulty, to relinquish their village, with the

cleared ground round it, to the new-comers, and to remove to another spot. The Calverts gained great credit by their sway over Maryland. They established a complete freedom of religious worship ; and Maryland became the resort, not only of Catholics, but of members of the church of England, flying partly from the Puritan persecutions of New England, partly from those adversities which they afterwards experienced in the mother country. The proprietor, as his religion began to flourish under the secret support of the crown, seems to have abated a good deal of that wise moderation which had hitherto secured the prosperity of the colony. Even after the population amounted to sixteen thousand, of whom by far the greater number belonged to the church of England, there were only three clergymen of that persuasion, very slenderly endowed ; while ample provisions of land had been set aside for the Catholic priests. It was in consequence represented to the heads of the English church, that the spiritual state of Maryland was deplorable for want of a public ministry ; that religion was openly despised, and a general profligacy of manners prevailed. Lord Baltimore, however, strenuously and successfully resisted every proposition for an establishment. At the Revolution, the inhabitants of Maryland rose against the Baltimores with equal zeal as those of New England against Andros. They published a " declaration of their motives for appearing in arms," the allegations of which Mr Chalmers condemns as equally frivolous and unjust ; but, unless the latter term could be applied to them, I do not see how the former could. They complain of his Lordship " de-



claring the best of the laws void by proclamation, though assented to in his name by the governor; of a law which punished all speeches against his Lordship's government, that should be thought mutinous by the provincial court, with imprisonment, boring the tongue, whipping, banishment, or death; seizing Protestants in their houses with armed Papists, and detaining them long without trial; private murders and public outrages, committed by Papists upon Protestants without redress, but are connived at by men in chief authority, who are governed by Jesuits." These statements, if they involved any measure of truth, were certainly far from frivolous, and fully justified William in assuming the entire government into his own hands, leaving to the Baltimore family only the produce of some local taxes, which had been personally appropriated to them.\*

CAROLINA was settled at a later period, and on considerably other bases than the states hitherto described. It vibrated between the names of Virginia and Florida; but Florida was a tragic sound, guarded by those terrors which the Spanish claim, so fiercely and dreadfully enforced, drew around it. Virginia, as to its southern quarter, and especially the bay and river of Roanoke, recalled the signal disasters which had befallen Greenville and Lane in their attempts to settle it under the auspices of Raleigh. Only a small body, ejected by the interior agitations of New England, had formed a settlement round Cape Fear,

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\* Chalmers, ch. xv. Brit. Emp. Am. i. 323-35.

and a few from Virginia, spreading themselves in search of unoccupied land, had composed the outer country of Albemarle. After the Restoration, however, the active spirit which had been created by so long a train of civil contest, finding no longer scope at home, produced an impulse in favour of foreign and colonial adventure. Charles found, in kingdoms created by a stroke of his pen, the means of satisfying some of the vast claims made on his not very ample stock of gratitude. The Duke of Albemarle, (the immediate instrument of his restoration,) the Earl of Clarendon, (the firmest friend of his father,) Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, and a few others, were created absolute lords of the province dignified with the regal title of CAROLINA. Settlers were studiously drawn from various quarters. A considerable number of planters in Barbadoes, having taken some disgust at their situation there, came and settled in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Recruits were drawn from Virginia and other colonies, where the lands along the coast were now in a great measure filled up. Emigrants were invited from all the three kingdoms, and a numerous class were allured by an immunity, which secured the settlers for five years against any prosecution for debt contracted previous to their arrival. At the same time a liberal constitution was granted, composed of a governor, a house of assembly, and a council appointed partly by the one and partly by the other.\*

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\* Chalmers, p. 525.

The proprietors were not content, though the colonists were, with all that had been thus done for the well-being of Carolina. They determined that its constitution should have something exquisite and peculiar, which might distinguish it above every one previously framed. With this view they prevailed upon Locke, the greatest philosopher of the age, to draw up what were called "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." This plan, which appeared laudable and promising, had not, however, any success. Locke was undoubtedly well acquainted with human nature, and not ignorant of the world; but he had not taken a sufficiently comprehensive view of the history of man, nor were political speculators yet duly aware of the necessity of adapting constitutions to those for which they were destined. The grand peculiarity consisted in forming a high and titled nobility, which might rival the splendour of those of the old world. But as the Dukes and Earls of England would have considered their titles degraded by being shared with a Carolina planter, other titles of foreign origin were adopted. That of Landgrave was drawn from Germany, and of Cacique from the native Indians. But these princely denominations, applied to persons who were to earn their bread by the labour of their hands, could confer no real dignity. The reverence for nobility, which can only be the result of long-continued wealth and influence, could never be inspired by mere titles, especially of such an exotic and fantastic character. These high nobles met with the deputies in a parliament, where, however, the council, like the Scottish

Lords of Articles, had the sole power of proposing every new law. The whole was made subject to a palatine court in England, composed of the whole proprietors ; at the head of which was placed a functionary, bearing the title of Palatine, and invested with almost supreme power. The sanction of negro slavery was also a deep blot in this boasted system. The colonists, who felt perfectly at ease under their rude early regulations, were struck with dismay at the arrival of this philosophical fabric of polity. They declared, that whatever might be its intrinsic merits, it was in their circumstances altogether unsuitable and even impracticable ; that they had among them no materials out of which Landgraves and Caciques could be framed ; and that the whole was an invasion of the original rights granted at their establishment, and on the faith of which they had come to America. A compromise was made, by which only so much of these grand constitutions as the colonists felt applicable to them were at first introduced, and the rest were reserved till their minds should be enlarged to comprehend their value. It was insisted, however, that there should be some Landgraves and some Caciques ; but these great nobles never struck any root in the western soil, and have long since disappeared. Locke himself was created a Landgrave ; but without deriving from such a title any lustre additional to that which his writings conferred upon him.\*

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\* *Histor. Account of the Colon. of South Carolina and Georgia*, (London, 1779,) i. 44-6. Chalmers, p. 526.

Carolina advanced for a long time languidly and with difficulty. The colonists were exempt indeed from those dissensions which were generated by the rigid sectarian tenets of the New England church; but they laboured under a much deeper evil, in the want of any fixed principles whatever, religious or moral, and of that steadiness and energy of action which usually accompany them. These gay cavaliers, or "ill-livers," as Archdall calls them,\* understood much better how to spend than how to earn an income. So long as they were maintained at the expense of the proprietors, which was continued to the utmost reasonable period, matters went on tolerably; but when the latter began to intimate an expectation that some instalments should begin to be paid of their long and large advances, they were answered only by the most urgent entreaty for farther supplies. They complied at first, and even repeatedly; but, as the same result always followed, they at last declared that they could incur no more desperate debts, and that the colonists must now draw upon their own resources. They had recourse, hereupon, to every idle and iniquitous mode of raising funds. They hunted down the Indians on every side, and sold their hapless victims as slaves to the West India planters. They converted their ports into dens of pirates. Yet all these expedients did not preserve them from a squalid poverty, which the pompous titles of Landgrave and Cacique rendered

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\* Brit. Emp. i. 467.

only more conspicuous and humiliating. They were cursed, moreover, with a series of governors of their own stamp, and whose continual change prevented any stable system, or any tie between rulers and subjects. Of all these scourges, none was so dreadful as Seth Sothel. Mr Chalmers does not hesitate to make the very bold assertion, that the annals of delegated authority do not present a name so branded with merited infamy, and that there never had taken place such an accumulation of extortion, injustice, and rapacity, as during the five years that he misruled the colony. He had been made prisoner in his way out, and kept in close captivity at Algiers, where he took, it appears, not warning, but lessons. At length the enraged inhabitants rose, seized the governor, and were dissuaded from their intention of sending him home to England only by his solemn agreement to renounce the government, and for some time the colony. He made afterwards an attempt, with some temporary success, to resume his place; but, after this and some other vicissitudes, the inhabitants earnestly implored that the fine-spun and elaborate constitutions to which they imputed, perhaps unjustly, the sufferings of so many years, should be wholly withdrawn, and they should be placed again under their plain original charter.\*

From this time Carolina began to improve, less, perhaps, from the overthrow of her famous fundamental constitutions, than from the flowing in of a

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\* Chalmers, p. 539-52.

new and better population. The principle of religious freedom had been made the basis both of the charter and the fundamental constitutions, and, amid all their evils, had been preserved entire to the people of Carolina. Although, therefore, any little religion which the first settlers brought with them consisted in a somewhat vehement zeal for the English church, the country was perfectly open to sectaries of every denomination. Many, driven by persecution from New England, or finding the best lands of that country occupied, repaired to Carolina, and got into their hands almost the whole trade of that province. Here, also, the English Puritans, exposed under Charles II. to a persecution as severe as ever, sought refuge. They soon became as numerous, more substantial, and more wealthy, than any other part of the community. This prosperity was viewed with a very evil eye by the original settlers, who saw themselves thus eclipsed by a body whom they alike despised and hated. Covering this jealousy under a pretext of zeal for the church, they contrived, by the most violent measures, to pack an assembly, in which, by a majority of one, they carried a law excluding all dissenters from it, and from every office of trust and profit under government. They even passed another for deposing the dissenting clergy, and appropriating their churches to the English form of worship. Of these devout churchmen, most, it is stated, had never partaken of the sacrament either in their own or any other communion, and led the most dissolute lives. There is quoted of Governor Moor, one of their chief leaders, a commission to Anthony Dodsworth and others, "to

set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many Indians as they possibly could." The British parliament listened to the heavy complaints sent home by the suffering party. On the 12th March, 1705, they voted an address to the queen, bearing, that these laws were contrary to the charter granted to the colony, and the laws of England ; that they were destructive to trade, and tended to depopulate and ruin the province. This address was referred to a committee of the Lords of Trade ;\* who thereupon reported, that the proprietors, in sanctioning such laws, had been guilty of an abuse of the power granted by their charter, which involved its forfeiture. They humbly submitted, therefore, that her majesty should take the same into her own hands. Yet this recommendation was not immediately followed, nor was any thing effectual done for the relief of the Carolineans till 1721, when the people rose in insurrection, established a provisional government, and entreated the king to take the government into his own hands. George I. acquiesced ; and in a few years after the colony was secured to the public, by purchase from the proprietors, for about the sum of twenty thousand pounds.†

We shall here introduce the account of a colony detached from Carolina, and naturally connected with it, though its origin was later than that of Pennsylvania, which yet remains to be mentioned. The territory to the south of the Savannah, more remote from

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\* British Emp. 487-9.      † Histor. Account, &c., i. 255-321.



the other settlements, and in a somewhat debateable state in relation to Spain, had remained still unoccupied. In 1732, the usual pressure in regard to subsistence being felt at home, a scheme was formed for relieving the mother country, by leading out a colony to this new region, which, in honour of the reigning monarch, was called GEORGIA. Twenty-three trustees were appointed, among whom were the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lords Percival, Tyrconnel, and Limerick, and a number of gentlemen of good family. It was announced as a charitable object, to which parliament contributed ten thousand pounds, and collections were made in various parts of the kingdom. A sum of fifteen thousand pounds was placed at the disposal of the trustees, who employed it in transporting 370 British and 115 foreigners; besides which 127 persons went over at their own expense. The colony, having to apprehend attacks from various quarters, was established on quite a military basis.\* Each planter, along with his plough and his spade, was bound to provide musket and shot, and lands were granted as military fiefs, on the condition of taking the field whenever an enemy should approach the frontiers. As the inhabitants of the English towns, however, were not found likely to prove very mighty warriors, a body of 130 Highlanders were drawn from Inverness, and several bands of old German soldiers were also induced to embark. Amid these preparations, Mr Oglethorpe, a person of much mildness and

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\* Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 526. Historical Account of Carolina and Georgia, ii. 42-45.

discretion, made it his primary object to conciliate the Indian nations. Those who immediately bordered on Georgia were the different tribes of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Through the medium of an Indian female of some distinction, who had married a Carolinean trader, he was able to negotiate a general congress at Savannah. Yahoulakee, Tatchi-quatchi, Essaboo, and nearly fifty other great war-kings and captains attended. Mr Oglethorpe presented to each a laced coat and hat, and a shirt, and, representing to them the instruction and the wealth which they and their subjects might derive from intercourse with the English, proposed that they should cede some part of that immense territory which was lying at present waste. The Indians came prepared upon this subject, and Oueeka-chumpa, their spokesman, advanced and presented a buffalo's skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. This was a type of the English, who were swift as the eagle and strong as the buffalo, and, like the former, flew over vast seas to the uttermost ends of the earth. He, however, who gave the English breath had given the Indians breath also, though he had bestowed more wisdom on white men. They were persuaded that the great power which dwelt in Heaven, which had given breath to all men, had sent the English for the instruction of them, their wives, and children. They therefore freely gave them the lands which they did not use themselves. This was not only their own opinion, but the opinion of all the eight towns of the Creeks. Tomichichi, the chief or king, and who lived nearest to the settlement, was

prevailed upon to come over to London, and being duly equipped, was introduced into the king's presence. He said, " This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come in my old days, not expecting to see any advantage to myself, but for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks. These are feathers of the eagle, which are a sign of peace in our land. We have brought them over to leave them with you, oh great king! as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nation." The king made a gracious and suitable answer; and the chief, with his attendants, after being feasted by the principal nobility, returned to America loaded with presents.

The progress of the colony was slow, being fettered by regulations enacted by the trustees from the best motives, but which were alleged to be unsuitable to the infant circumstances of the colony. The importation and use of negroes were prohibited; no rum was allowed to be introduced, and no one was permitted to trade with the Indians without special license. The colonists complained, that without negroes it was impossible to clear the grounds and cut down the thick forests; though the honest Highlanders always reprobated the practice, and denied any necessity to exist for it. The rum was the object for which they could most readily have exchanged their surplus produce; and the moderate use of which, in this hot and humid climate, was almost

essential to health. The prohibition of trade with the Indians excluded them from an easy mode of improving their fortune. The misfortune was, that by passing the Savannah, they found themselves in Carolina, delivered from all these shackles, and no want of land besides. The province was, moreover, exposed to continual threats and fear of invasion from the Spaniards, who never abated any thing of their original pretensions to the whole of this range of territory. It never enjoyed solid peace or prosperity, therefore, till the treaty of 1763, when, at the close of a triumphant war, Britain obtained the cession of the whole states and settlements on this line of coast, including Canada on one side and Florida on the other. From that time, both Carolina and Georgia, being freed from all apprehension of a foreign enemy, and enriched by the copious employment of British capital, advanced with uninterrupted steps in the career of improvement.

There remained yet one state, which (except Georgia) was the latest in its origin, but which, begun under purer auspices, made a more rapid progress than any of the other colonies. We have seen the excesses into which the early Quakers were betrayed by their fervid zeal and pretensions to immediate inspiration. These had rendered them sometimes justly amenable to the guardians of public order, though not to the dreadful extent in which their offences were actually visited. But, when a little time had cooled this extreme fervour, and they came under the guidance

of men of information and enlarged views, they attracted just admiration by the mild and steady course with which they proceeded in the career of useful and philanthropic exertion. No Quaker name shines so bright as that of Penn. He was the son of a vice-admiral of that name, who distinguished himself in an expedition to the West Indies. Young Penn became imbued at college with the new opinions, and joined with several of his fellow-students in manifesting them, by seizing the surplices of the clergy, and tearing them over their heads. He soon renounced, however, such irregular modes of testifying his faith, and became the strenuous advocate of unlimited freedom of sentiment and worship. The Spirit, however, moved him at sundry times to address the public in the streets and highways,—an offence which, in that age of persecution, when religious zeal was identified with disloyalty, exposed him to violent legal persecution. The first proceeding was before the Lord Mayor and Recorder, for simply preaching in the street. The tenor of it gives a truly dismal picture of the manner in which British justice was then administered. The indictment was laid, that “William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, before made, and betwixt the aforesaid William Mead and other persons, did take on him to preach and speak, and then and there did preach and speak unto the aforesaid William Mead and other persons then in the street aforesaid.” The jury, after a short consultation, brought in William Mead not guilty,—William Penn guilty of speaking

only. The enraged Recorder now addressed them in the following *constitutional* terms :—" Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept ; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court ; we will have a verdict, or - you shall starve for it." This threat was accordingly fulfilled, and they were locked up under all the above privations, being denied even the needful accommodation of a chamber-pot ; but, under all this tyranny, their true British spirit only rose higher, and they brought in a decided sentence of " Not guilty." The Recorder iniquitously fined them in forty merks, sending them to prison till it was paid ; but he did not venture to proceed against Penn without their sentence, further than merely to inflict a short confinement, as a penalty for keeping on his hat.\* As he continued, however, to pour forth the dictates of supposed inspiration in the same modes and places, he was exposed to a continued series of legal procedure, nor did he find protection under the parental roof. The admiral submitted, as the only terms on which his favour could be continued, the very moderate proposition, that he should take off his hat to himself, to the King, and to the Duke of York. But the young Quaker declaring, that his conscience absolutely interdicted him from " hat-worship" in any shape, he received a box on the ear, and was turned out of doors. Yet the sober mildness of his demeanour and his practical

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\* Penn's Works, i. p. 15.

wisdom enabled him gradually to triumph over these hostile feelings. His father became cordially reconciled, and left him the whole of his pretty property; and he was even allowed to plead before parliament the cause of his persecuted brethren.

The attention of Penn was first drawn to America by being employed as a trustee upon the estate of one of his fellow-religionists, who had obtained an extensive grant there, but whose affairs had become involved. He was thus instrumental in embarking in the new world a number of his suffering fellow-Quakers. Having his attention drawn towards this object, he conceived the idea of prosecuting it on a greater scale. He happened, through his father, to have claims upon the government to the extent of £16,000 and as Charles, with an exhausted exchequer, found great difficulty to pay, in the ordinary manner, a debt very considerable in those days, he very gladly embraced the alternative of clearing it with a stroke of the pen, by the assignment of a large extent of territory in the new world. Penn became thus proprietary of the region called after him PENNSYLVANIA, a large expanse of inland territory, partly detached from New York and New Jersey, and partly from Maryland. It was included between the 40th and 43d degree of latitude, and bounded on the east by the river Delaware. Penn diligently applied himself to form a constitution for the new state, of which he was to be the founder. He created one, in which the rights and security of the people were better provided for than in any other, even of the very liberal constitution given to America.\* The most complete freedom was

allowed to every religious profession, and several institutions peculiar to itself were formed, with a view to the promotion of peace and beneficence. There was a nomination in every county-court of three peace-makers, to terminate in an amicable manner the differences between man and man, and twice a-year there was held in every county an orphans' court, to inspect the affairs of widows and orphans.† His transactions with the Indians threw peculiar lustre on the legislation of Penn, and in an especial manner secured the tranquillity and welfare of the colony. In the course of the following year, 1681, commissioners went round the different tribes to treat with them for the purchase of a part of their lands, which they, who did not occupy a hundredth part of the vast extent possessed by them, could spare without any sensible loss. The arrangements being nearly completed before the arrival of Penn in the following year, a general meeting of the chiefs was appointed beneath the shade of a prodigious elm-tree, which grew near the present site of Philadelphia. On the day fixed, the Indians, with their dark visages, rude attire, and brandished weapons, appeared in the depth of the thick woods which then covered that now fine and cultivated plain. As the approach of the English was announced, they laid down their weapons, and seated themselves in groups, each behind their own chieftain. Penn then advanced with a few attendants, unarmed, in his usual plain dress, holding in his hand a roll of

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\* Chalmers, 642.

† Br. Emp. Amer. i. 311-12.



parchment, on which were engrossed the terms of the treaty. He addressed them in a simple speech, laying down the principles of amity and equity, by which he proposed that all the transactions between them should be guided. He begged that they might keep the parchment for three generations, and show it to their children as a memorial of what had passed on this day. The Indians, as usual, made long figurative speeches, the substance of which was, that they would live in peace with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.\* It is by no means rare that the intercourse between civilized and savage nations should open in this courteous and auspicious manner; but it is seldom indeed that the harmony is not soon broken, and even that it is not followed by an imbittered hostility. Such was in no degree the case in the present instance. Penn continued to maintain with the Indians, not only peace, but an intimate union; he visited them in their villages, he slept in their wigwams; he was received by them as a brother, a son. Even after his departure, the colonists trod still in his steps; and the Indian tomahawk was never lifted against a race which would have considered it unlawful to return the blow. Although the price was satisfactory to the Indians, it was scarcely felt by the English.† Twenty miles of territory were bought for what would have been the price of one highly-cultivated acre in the mother country. Even after experience

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\* Edin. Review, xxi. 489.

† Br. Emp. Am. i. 310-11.

of the demand had taught the Indians to raise it ten times higher, years elapsed, ere, instead of the mile, it began to be sold by the acre.

The growth of Pennsylvania was rapid in an unexampled degree. Besides the great body who preceded Penn, he brought out two thousand with himself, of a useful and respectable stamp, and could boast, with some reason, that it was made a country at once. The historian of Carolina complains, that it obtained favour, as a young beauty eclipses her more advanced rivals, rather than from any more substantial reason. But this young maiden possessed many solid and genuine attractions to justify the partial regard of her admirers. The orderly freedom which reigned, the absence of all persecution, and the perpetual peace with the Indians, who formed the scourge of the other colonies, rendered their situation much more comfortable than any other settlement. Emigration took place on a greater scale than at any former period. In 1729 the emigrants amounted to 6208, the greater part of whom were Irish. Thus Pennsylvania, though of an origin so recent, soon equalled all, and surpassed most of the earliest founded and most prosperous colonies.

NOVA SCOTIA, as has already appeared, was a subject of almost perpetual debate between the French and English governments. The former had early settled, and conferred on it the title of Acadia, while their rivals still held it as a portion of New England. Following up this view of the subject, James I., in 1621, granted the southern part of it to Sir William Alex-

ander, and a few years after the northern part to Sir David Kirk, for the purpose of leading over Scottish colonies. Sir William, in the following year, sent out a vessel, which was obliged to winter in Newfoundland; but being re-enforced next season by another ship, it sailed, and took a pretty extensive survey of the coast. The Scotch found several very commodious harbours, and on ascending the rivers, came to "very delicate meadows, having roses, white and red, growing thereon, with a kind of wild lily, which had a very dainty smell." They found also a profusion of gooseberries, strawberries, and berries of various other kinds. There grew also naturally a profusion of large pease ("but taste of the fitch,") and they even assert that they saw growing wild detached ears of wheat and barley. They made up, therefore, a very favourable report;\* at present, however, they merely carried it home, without any immediate attempt to form a settlement. When Purchas wrote there was an intention of sending out a colony next spring, which does not, however, seem to have been ever fulfilled. Sir David Kirk sold his patent to the French king for £5000, which is, however, alleged never to have been paid.† Sir William (afterwards Lord Stirling) sold his share likewise to Seigneur de la Tour, a Protestant lord of the house of Bouillon. Both under Oliver Cromwell and William III. successful expeditions were sent against this settlement; yet, somehow or other, the French are always found again in pos-

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\* Purchas, iv. 1873.

† Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 32.

session of it. It was not till the treaty of Utrecht, in 1716, that Nova Scotia was finally ceded to Great Britain, the French only retaining the island of Cape Breton,—extremely commodious for their fishery, and affording them an entry into the river of St Lawrence.

## CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND  
LOUISIANA.

*Plan of Colonizing Canada.—La Roche.—Disastrous Issue.—  
De Monts,—Champlain,—Marquette, and Jolyet.—Hennepin.  
—Lahontan.—Charlevoix.*

WHILE the English were founding along the American coast the most flourishing and prosperous colonies of the new world, the French were busily pursuing a different career. They were penetrating into the immense northern interior of America, ascending and descending those mighty rivers, and coasting the shores of those boundless lakes, which seem to convey to its most inland depths the character and the benefits of a maritime region. The heads of the French mission, both political and religious, engaged in this career, displayed really very great enterprise and address, and effected extensive discoveries with much less disaster than might have been expected to attend so new a line of discovery, beset with such great and singular perils.

The river St Lawrence, and generally the more northern tracts of America, formed the quarter to

which the French directed their special attention. The transactions in Florida, however in some respects glorious, were of too tragic a character, and the pretensions of Spain on that side too formidable, to make any farther attempts be felt as safe or eligible. The naval energies of England, and the tide of emigration produced by her religious dissensions, had enabled her to preoccupy all the middle regions of the continent. The early discoveries of Cartier had turned the eyes of France towards the St Lawrence, and established her claim to it according to that peculiar code by which Europeans have chosen to apportion among themselves the rest of mankind. Although CANADA had scarcely any measure of the smiling and luxuriant aspect of Florida, or even of Virginia, yet it opened into regions of vast extent; and the tracing to its distant fountains this sea-like abyss of waters presented more than common attraction to curiosity and adventure.

At this time, the only mode in which it was conceived that the regions of the newly-discovered world could be peopled, was by sovereign and exclusive companies. In fact, when we consider the perilous and doubtful character of those early adventures,—that fleets were to be equipped, towns built, wastes cultivated, and too probably war waged,—a much more than ordinary temptation was required. The want of rivalry, however, could not fail, according to universal experience, to have a most paralyzing effect on the energies of these companies. They, indeed, were likely to be bold and adventurous spirits who sought to range in such a sphere; yet favour rather than

merit formed too often the principles upon which the selection was made.

The first who, after the long interval which had now elapsed, undertook to colonize these northern regions, was a bold Breton, of good family, named *De la Roche*. He obtained from Henry IV. a patent of the same extensive character as those granted in England to Gilbert and Raleigh. He received the title of Lieutenant-General for the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the river of the great bay (St Lawrence) Norimbega, and all the lands adjacent. He was to have the supreme command, both civil and military, and no one was to be permitted to trade, unless under his sanction. The King of France stipulated for himself absolutely nothing, not even that invariable article, a fifth part of the gold; but rumour had never ascribed to Canada this darling representative of wealth.

La Roche, in 1598, set out to take possession of the vast domain thus lavishly bestowed on him. So little ardour, however, did the nation feel, that he was obliged to draw upon the jails for a great proportion of the sailors. After a not unprosperous voyage, he reached Sable Island, near the coast of Nova Scotia, where he landed a party of his ill-conditioned crew. The choice is censured, this island being a mere collection of sand-hillocks, with only a few scattered shrubs, and the interior filled with a large lake or pond. La Roche, however, was groping in the dark, and might think his party better secured here than on the continent against the hostility of the natives. He proceeded, and made a survey of the opposite coast of Nova Sco-

tia, and then returned to France, with the view of obtaining fresh recruits and supplies. Arriving in Brittany, he incurred the enmity of the Duke de Mercoeur, whose power in that province was still almost sovereign, and who so far prepossessed the King, that De la Roche was deprived of the means of carrying his enterprise farther. The chagrin of this disappointment brought him to the grave. No one, mean time, concerned himself about the unfortunate expedition left at Sable Island, which was soon reduced to the utmost misery. From the planks of a shipwrecked Spanish vessel they formed to themselves some sort of shelter from the severity of the climate. Having soon consumed their scanty stock of provisions, they were reduced to a diet purely of fish ; and as their clothes fell to rags, were obliged to recruit them by sewing together the skins of sea-wolves. At length some one put Henry in mind of the existence of this unhappy colony, and that no one had any idea of what had become of them. That humane prince instantly sent out a vessel to relieve whatever of its hapless remnant might still be found. Twelve only survived, who were brought home, and, with their shaggy and uncouth aspect, their dress of fish-skins, and their hair and beard grown to an enormous length, so moved that prince, that he granted a pardon for all their past offences, and dismissed each with a present of fifty crowns.\*

This was no very encouraging outset ; and for se-

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\* His. Gen. des Voyages, xiv. 589-91.



veral years nothing was attempted beyond a traffic in furs, which proved very profitable. Chauvin and Pontgrave, two of the principal fur-merchants, made even some faint attempts to settle a colony, which were seconded by a company formed at Dieppe, yet proved abortive.

A more splendid and vigorous attempt was made by *De Monts*, a gentleman of Saintonge, and a Calvinist. He was invested by the court with the same extensive and exclusive rights so lavishly bestowed on all who would engage in the arduous career of transatlantic adventure. He even obtained free permission to exercise his own religion ; oddly combined, however, with an engagement to initiate the savages in the mysteries of pure Catholicism. He equipped an expedition really on a large scale, comprising no less than forty vessels. His commission extended from the fortieth to the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude, including thus the whole of New England not yet occupied by any other potentate. De Monts, with his officers, spent a long time in surveying the coast as far as Cape Cod, without well knowing where to fix ; and he is supposed not in the end to have made a happy choice. He settled on the little island of St Croix, fertile indeed, but which, in winter, afforded neither wood nor fresh water ; and he removed afterwards to Port Royal, now Annapolis. This country, however, fulfilled none of those hopes of rapid wealth, under the influence of which most of the adventurers had been attracted thither. With difficulty it was made to yield the necessaries of life ; and the fur-trade was very limited when compared with that which could

be carried on in the upper part of the St Lawrence. De Monts was moreover accused of riding on the top of his very ample commission, by capturing indiscriminately every vessel which approached the wide limits of the coast conveyed over to him; and it was but a derisive compensation which he sometimes offered, of giving their names to the point of the coast at which they had been seized. Complaints were made, that the Newfoundland fishery, a great source of national wealth, could no longer, on De Monts's account, be carried on with any safety. The King listened to the cry of the fishers, and deprived him of his commission, granting him only a small compensation. The company, however, continued under other auspices; but, finding that Acadia, as they had called their present settlement, offered none of the advantages sought for, they gradually moved over to Tadousac, on the St Lawrence, a little below the future station of Quebec. At length the English having appropriated to themselves this part of the continent, under the title of Nova Scotia, sent an expedition of three vessels, which rooted out all that remained of the French settlements and possessions, and sent the occupants prisoners to Virginia. The French made repeated attempts to regain possession of it; and the country fluctuated between the two nations till the treaty of Utrecht, by which, as before stated, it was finally ceded to England. Canada, however, remained much longer in the hands of the French, and became the main point from which they extended their range of discovery.

*Samuel Champlain*, who had accompanied De Monts in his different voyages, was now invested with the

chief direction, and became the real founder of Canada, or New France. He removed the seat of settlement higher up the river, to Quebec, which, seated on a hill, commanded the passage, here only a mile broad. Having built and fortified a town, and brought the surrounding territory into tolerable cultivation, he made it his next object to push into the interior. The southern bank both of the river and lakes was found occupied by two powerful people, the Algommequins (Algonquins), and the Entouhonorons (Hurons). These were engaged in deadly and almost ceaseless warfare with the Iroquets (Iroquois), a still fiercer and more warlike tribe, occupying all the southern shore of the St Lawrence and of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Champlain, to promote his objects of discovery and interior intercourse, determined, with wisdom somewhat dubious, to take an active part with the two former. He marched with them southward along the banks of the Sorel, and of the considerable lake which still bears his name. He was delighted with the appearance of the country, and of the numerous isles by which the river and lake were diversified. Game and fish were remarkably abundant; and the beavers, under favour of the wars which reigned continually among mankind, enjoyed an undisturbed peace, and multiplied in an extraordinary degree. To the south and west rose lofty mountains covered with snow, called now Savage Mountains, between which fine and fertile valleys were interspersed. Here they found the Iroquois, a fierce and proud race, accustomed to triumph over all the other occupants of these savage deserts. They marched intrepidly to meet the strang-

ers ; but when they saw the flash of the guns, heard the balls whizzing in their ears, and witnessed their fatal effects, a panic seized them, and they took to flight. Several captives were slain, and Champlain had then an opportunity of witnessing a scene new to the civilized world, and which struck him with the deepest horror. A selection was made of one captive, upon whom were to be vented all the concentrated furies of savage vengeance. The whole body of allied Indians joined in inflicting that train of studied, lengthened, and exquisite torture, of which so many dreadful examples have since been seen. Amid these tortures, the victim was heard, in tones of proud defiance, raising his songs of war and death, boasting the superior prowess of his countrymen, recounting their victories, and the captives of the detested race of the Hurons whom they had taken and tortured. Champlain, shocked beyond measure at a scene in which he had almost a share, implored in vain that they would put an end to it ; till at length some one hinted, that though they could never consent to this, yet he himself might terminate the sufferings of the victim. Champlain gladly loaded his gun, and shot the poor creature dead, when a new scene opened. After tearing and mangling his limbs, they pulled off the skin of the head, which, including the hair, formed the scalp, and was treasured as their grand war-trophy. They carried it home along with those of the other prisoners, and, on approaching their native village, bore these precious spoils, fastened at the end of long pikes, in full view before them. Their wives

came swimming across the river to meet their lords, and, on seeing these signals of victory, raised loud shouts of exultation. They received them from the hands of the warriors, and tied them round their neck, as the most precious ornaments.

Champlain, in his next expedition, pursued a due westerly course towards the great lakes. He appears to have proceeded along the Ottawa to the lake of Nipisierini (Nipissing), and then to that of Attigononton, a vast body of water, extending four hundred leagues from east to west, and resembling an inland sea of fresh water. Such a description can apply only to Lake Superior; the shores of which, however, he represents as so rude and rocky, that he could scarcely find ten acres of land fit for cultivation. Thence, turning to the lake of the Entouhonons, he was again engaged by his allies in a war with the Iroquois. The Hurons furnished two thousand five hundred warriors, well fitted with bow and tomahawk; but when Champlain sought to place them in line with his European troops, he could make next to nothing of them. The chiefs could maintain no sort of authority; all the troops made a rule of steadily following their own inclination, and doing exactly what they pleased,—a system, he says, which ruins all their affairs. Yet the whizzing of the French balls alone drove the enemy to flight; and several prisoners were taken. As the Hurons were beginning the work of torture on an Iroquois female, Champlain could not help bitterly reproaching them with such an unmanly and uncivilized proceeding. They

replied that it was no more than their enemies did to them ; but, since it displeased him, they would desist, reserving only in full plenitude the right of torturing their male captives. Champlain now led them to the attack of a strong palisaded fort, into which the enemy had retreated ; but he found his auxiliaries as little helpful here as in the field. The object was to set fire to the fort ; but as they kindled the fire against the wind, it had no efficacy. The enemy mean time showed the utmost activity, both in extinguishing the fire, and in pouring clouds of arrows, by which the French chief received two severe wounds, and his whole party were obliged to sound a retreat. Champlain was packed up like a bundle, and thrown over the back of an Indian, tied so excessively tight, that he could not stir hand or foot, and the pain of his wounds, though severe, was less than he suffered from this dreadful position. However, by this painful process they effectually carried off their wounded, which he considers as the only laudable part of their tactics. Champlain now found that he had embarked on the weaker side ; and the deadly enmity of a nation so powerful and extended as that of the Iroquois became a material bar to his designs. On his return, his allies endeavoured to revive his spirits by the view of a stag-hunt. Two lines of palisades were made to approach each other, till they united at an angular point. The Indians then imitated the cry of the wolf,—a sound of all others the most justly terrible to the stags, which were thus impelled into the wide opening of the angular space. Thence they continued to be driven

along the interior of the palisades, till they were hedged into its extremity, and easily caught.\*

By this expedition, however, Champlain was enabled to form an accurate idea of the extent and situation of Canada. He estimated it to contain four hundred and fifty leagues, which, enclosed by noble rivers and lakes, and opening into vast interior regions, seemed to afford almost indefinite scope both for trade and settlement. The Company, however, intent only upon commercial transactions, which did not yield all the fruit they expected, failed to second the ardour of Champlain, who represented so strongly to the court their supine and dilatory proceedings, that he procured the abrogation of their charter. From its ashes rose one on a much grander scale, and which aimed to convert New France into a colony of the first magnitude. Cardinal Richelieu placed himself at its head, and its hundred and seventy associates included many persons of rank as well as rich merchants and citizens. The first results answered very ill to these mighty demonstrations. The English, animated by that hostile feeling which was inspired by the persecution of the Protestants, and the siege of Rochelle, not only drove the French completely out of Acadia, but besieged and took Quebec; so that this boasted colony seemed for ever lost to the mother country. Many even urged that France ought to give herself no concern on the subject, since she never had derived, and, according to all appearance, never would derive any benefit from

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\* Champlain, Voyages.

this rude and distant possession. The feeling of national honour, however, was paramount; the most urgent representations were made to the court of England relative to this violent and unprovoked aggression. That court, then altogether inclined for peace, especially with France, agreed, on 29th March, 1632, to a convention, by which France was reinstated both in Acadia and Quebec.

The improvement and extension of the colony was now undertaken with more vigour than ever. A numerous fleet was sent out, and Champlain, who had given such repeated proofs of his zeal and capacity, was invested with the functions of governor-general. In 1642, Montreal, destined to become so flourishing a seat of the fur-trade, assumed the character of a town, and a continued chain of settlement was formed between it and Quebec. For fifty years the attention of government was rather directed to the consolidation and internal improvement of the colony than to exploring the expanse of interior America. The Count de Frontenac was seized with a more enterprising spirit. He extended the range of settlement to the shores of Lake Ontario, built there the fort that bears his name, and opened an intercourse with the tribes who roam over the boundless plains westward of the Alleghany. Here he learned that, afar along the western plain, there rolled a river so mighty, that even the hitherto unequalled stream of the St Lawrence could not come into competition with it. This river poured its stupendous waves not in any of the directions hitherto recognized in those of America, but towards some distant ocean, that lay far in



the south and the west. In the present darkness as to the boundaries and details of the continent, it was concluded that this could only be the *Mer Vermeio*, or Gulf of California, by which it was hoped that the long-sought-for passage might be found to the golden regions of India. Every motive, therefore, impelled the Count to strain every effort for its discovery. Frontenac found no want of bold and fitting instruments. M. Jolyet undertook, with two little Indian bark canoes, and three men in each, to explore these great and unknown secrets of interior America. He had an attendant, of whom Catholic expeditions of discovery were never in want. Father Marquette, with that courageous devotion which, though not always guided by enlightened views, uniformly inspired the Jesuit missionaries, accompanied him, in the hope of effecting the conversion of the numberless yet unknown tribes of savages whom they were to encounter. Having been long employed in missionary labours among the Canadian Indians, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their character and the mode of dealing with them. The Indians on the lakes, however, communicated intelligence which was the reverse of encouraging. They warned the French, that perils, other and greater than mortal, awaited the daring bark which should be launched on these immense waters; that monsters of strange form and huge dimensions opened their mouth and received in one morsel the canoe with its entire crew. If they escaped this danger, they would come to a place where a mighty demon bestrode the stream, by whom the daring bark which approached within a cer-

tain distance was suddenly plunged into the depth of the waters. The French, however, assured their informants, that they were ready to encounter all the perils, natural and supernatural, which were to be met in descending this grand central stream of the continent.

The expedition proceeded first through the already explored lakes of Erie and Michigan, till they reached the north-western extremity of the latter, which Marquette conceives to have been the Ultima Thule of the French. It was called then the Bay des Puans, but bears now the more elegant appellation of Green Bay. The surrounding country was wandered by the Miamis, Mescouteens, and Kickapoos. The Miamis are considered as civilized and intelligent beyond most savages. They would often wake the French in the middle of the night, to ask farther information on any subject of which they had been talking. Their houses, being commodiously formed of rushes, can easily be taken to pieces and carried from place to place. On entering their chief village, there appeared in the middle of it a cross, on which were suspended white skins, red girdles, bows and arrows, offerings to the great Manitou for his care of them during the winter. The meadows around this village appeared the most extensive in the world. Two Miamis undertook to be their guides up the Fox River, and to see them embarked on the Ouiscousin, which fell into the Mississippi. The former, in fact, though broad at its entrance into the lake, was in its upper course so encumbered with marshes and narrow channels, that they could never have found their own way; and sometimes

the wild oats grew so thick amid the water, that they appeared to be sailing amongst fields of corn. At length, after a passage of a mile and a half, they were launched in the Ouiscousin, and their guides left them to find their own way into the unknown depths of America, without any other protection than what they supposed themselves to derive from a daily hymn to the Virgin.

The voyage down the Ouiscousin was easy and prosperous; and they saw it with exultation opening into that grand stream of which they were in search; the broad Mississippi descending from its distant northern fountains to the unknown southern sea in which it was to terminate. The banks bore a majestic character corresponding to that of this main central river of America. The trees appeared to Marquette the loftiest he had anywhere seen; wild bulls and other animals of gigantic stature roamed in vast herds over the meadows. The water abounded with fishes, among which there really were monsters, (caymans?) of very frightful aspect, and a collision of which with their fragile canoes might really not have been very safe. They sailed for more than two hundred miles through majestic solitudes, in which they did not discover a human being. At length they descried the print of human feet upon the sand; upon which Jolyet and Marquette followed the track, till it led them to a place where three villages were clustered together, and they were so near as to hear the voices of the inhabitants. Here-upon the French set up a loud cry; and this, which would have been enough to frighten a civilized com-

munity, reassured the savages, who thus saw that there was no intention to take them by surprise. Four old men advanced slowly and solemnly, and presented the calumet, or mysterious pipe, the symbol of peace over all America. They then conducted the strangers to the principal cabin, where the most venerated old man of the tribe stood, with his hands lifted towards the sun. He received them most courteously, saying, "This is a happy day, on which thou comest to visit us. All our people wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our cabin in peace." A multitude crowded round them, preserving the greatest order, and a few voices only saying, "You have done well, brethren, in coming to see us." The French stated four reasons of their journey, accompanying each reason with a present. The Indians approved of all, except their intention of proceeding farther down the river, against the dangers of which they kindly remonstrated. After this discussion the feast was introduced. The dishes were sagamity, or boiled Indian corn, enriched with fat and fish. The Indians took these victuals in a spoon, and, having cooled by blowing upon them, thrust the food into the mouths of the strangers, whom they fed as we do children. Then came the crown of the feast,—a dog, killed and dressed expressly to regale their guests; but, as they could not admit a morsel of this dainty within their lips, beef was furnished in its stead.

On inquiring the name of this people they were told, "the Illinois," a name which signifies *men*, and to which they thought themselves entitled in an especial and pre-eminent degree. Marquette does

not altogether repel this pretension, and considers them the most civilized people he had seen in America. One thing appeared mysterious; a number of men, who wore the clothes and followed the occupations of women, and were excluded from most manly exercises, though they were admitted to the national councils, and held in a sort of religious veneration. In other respects, the Illinois did not materially differ from the nations of Canada.

The travellers took leave of their kind hosts, and proceeded down the Mississippi. A number of rocks rose boldly from the banks, one of which had monsters painted in very brilliant colours on its perpendicular sides. Soon after they heard from the right a mighty roar of waters, and saw trees and floating islands rushing down into the channel. This was the influx of the great Missouri from its distant source in the Rocky Mountains, after a longer course, and with a larger body of water than the Mississippi itself. They recognize it under the name of Peketanoni; and it was a subject of regret that the channel, which before was clear and gentle, became now troubled, muddy, and rapid. Soon after they saw, hovering in the centre of its streams, the demon of which they had been so solemnly forewarned. He consisted of a range of cliffs, crossing nearly the whole stream, and against which the waves dashed with noise and fury; and considerable skill was in fact necessary to guide the canoe over this American Scylla. The next event was the entrance from the eastward of the Ouabiskgou, (the united streams of the Wabash and the Ohio,) inhabited by a peaceable

race, who were cruelly harassed by the Iroquois. In descending the river they suffered severely from gnats, against which they were obliged, in imitation of the natives, to build a hut above their canoe, and kindle a fire beneath it, the smoke of which drove away those tormentors. They came to several villages, the inhabitants of which presented appearances a little hostile ; but on presenting their calumet of peace, a friendly intercourse was always established. At length they came to the Akamseas, (at the mouth of the great river Arkansaw). Some fear was excited by the appearance of two large canoes, with the captain standing up in the midst of one of them ; but the presentation of the calumet produced the usual hospitable reception ; and though some in the council started a proposition to murder and rob them, it was indignantly overruled by the chief, who sealed his friendship by dancing the calumet in their presence. They were here informed, not with strict accuracy, that they were within five days' sail of the sea. On comparing this statement with their actual position, they became convinced that the Mississippi emptied itself into the gulf of Mexico, not as they had expected and hoped, into the sea of California. They considered, therefore, that by proceeding downward, they might fall into the hands of Spaniards, from whose jealous enmity they might suffer death, or at least imprisonment,—a very disagreeable issue to themselves, and which would lose to their country all the benefits of this extensive discovery. They determined, therefore, to return to Canada. Their voyage was laborious and tedious, as they had to struggle

against the stream ; but, being by the very same route, it presented no new object or event.\*

When Jolyet and Marquette reached Quebec, there happened to be in that city a young and enterprising Frenchman, of some birth and fortune, and who had come out with the view of attaining either wealth or distinction by American discovery. His name was Cavalier, to which he added the title of *Sieur de la Salle*, by which he is best known. His adventurous spirit was at once smitten by the accounts of this vast river, which seemed to afford a key to the whole of the interior continent. His ambition having been especially directed to the scheme of a northern passage to India, he is supposed to have conceived the idea of effecting it by means of the Upper Mississippi, though he surely could not expect to find an opening by this channel into the northern ocean. Full of these ideas, he set sail for France, where, through the favour of the Prince of Conti, he received every encouragement. The Prince presented him with a coadjutor, the Chevalier de Tonti, a brave officer, who had lost an arm in the wars of Sicily. La Salle, from the very circumstance that he could not refuse, felt probably some jealousy as to the companion thus fastened upon him, but who proved in fact to be a most useful and efficient coadjutor. He now set sail from Rochelle with thirty men, among whom were citizens of different descriptions. He did not linger at Que-

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\* *Relation de Marquette, ap. Thevenot Recueil, tom. i.*

bec, but hastened up to the lakes, where he spent two years in raising forts, carrying on the fur-trade, and building vessels of forty or fifty tons, which astonished the savages, who called them the great wooden canoes. Being unaccustomed, however, to the difficult navigation of the lakes, two of them were wrecked, which occasioned a severe loss. At length the whole party were united, like their predecessors, at the extremity of the lake of Illinois, which we call Michigan. They had hitherto maintained the most friendly intercourse, even the Iroquois having received favourably the embassy sent to smoke their pipe. Near their present station, however, there were a party of Outagamis, who, one night, creeping on their bellies, and in deep silence, reached the French quarters, where they succeeded in possessing themselves of a coat belonging to M. La Salle's servant. As they were making off, however, the sentinel heard a sort of noise, and called out, Who is there? to which they answered, "Friends." He told them he was glad to hear it, but this was the strangest time and manner of visiting friends he had ever known. The Outagamis made some lame apologies, which were accepted under the circumstances, till the absence of the coat was discovered. Hereupon a council being called, it was determined, rather idly perhaps, to take some strong step which might deter the Indians from similar visits. La Salle sent a message to the chief, intimating that he would kill him unless the coat was restored. This notice threw the Indians into a strange perplexity. The coat had been too inestimable a treasure to remain entire, or to be the



portion of any one man. It had been cut into pieces, and the buttons, being taken off, had been distributed among the chiefs, of whose collections they formed the pride. After taking a view of this state of things, the Outagamis concluded, that no alternative was left to them but to present themselves to the French in battle-array. This was not precisely what had been expected, and the visages of some of the French were observed to become somewhat pale at such an issue. La Salle ran about cheering his men to the combat; but Father Hennepin, seeing no symptoms of either side being very blood-thirsty, very laudably walked forward to the oldest Outagami, and offered to act as mediator. It was immediately agreed to send two of their elders, provided an assurance was given of their safety. This arrangement being made, they assured La Salle that the misdeed had been committed by some of their rash young men, and that their only motive for not restoring the coat was the impossibility of doing so, arising out of the state to which it had been reduced. La Salle, sensible that matters had gone rather too far, was not inexorable, and a good understanding was soon restored. The savages even requested him to remain with themselves rather than go among the Illinois, who were very numerous, and would kill him. They expressed also great esteem for the grey-coats that went bare-foot, some of whom they would have wished to remain with them.

Without regard to the above sinister presages, La Salle set out with forty-four men and three recollects, to follow the Mississippi downwards to its termina-

tion. He took a different and more direct course,—ascending the Miami, and then descending the Illinois. They found its course very fine, equally beautiful and fertile, and bordered by large villages. The first they came to, composed of five hundred wooden huts, was deserted; but, in descending the river, they found themselves suddenly between two large bodies, encamped on the opposite banks. The Illinois, astonished by this large array of strangers, placed themselves in order of battle. However, the French, drawing up themselves in a line, and in a good posture of defence, were merely asked, who they were, and for what purpose they came? They answered, that they were subjects of the King of France, who had sent them for the purpose of instructing and doing them all the good in his power, and without any evil intention. The Indians then presented the calumet of peace, declared their respect for his French majesty, and invited the French on shore. They now made a grand feast, composed of beef, venison, and game of every description, and, when the Europeans added brandy, materials were afforded for an uninterrupted festival of three days. The French, according to Indian usage, received the names of comrades, friends, and even of brothers; and some of them were adopted as members of the principal families. Every thing, therefore, on the dreaded side of the savages afforded the most favourable promise for La Salle's undertaking. His only danger was from the discontents fermenting among his own people, and which existed to an extent sufficient to overturn the best-laid schemes. The sense of this, and the rumours of the

loss of his principal bark, wrought so strongly upon his mind, that, in building a small fort to secure his present position, he gave it the name of Crevecœur (Heart-break). His followers made haste to justify this appellation. They do not seem to have had any just ground of complaint ; but they murmured at being led into distant and unknown regions, among men worse than brutes, and having the prospect of being led still farther, to gratify the caprice of an adventurer, and fulfil his prospects of aggrandizement, which they were not to share. To effect his destruction and their own return became their main object. They represented him to the natives as a spy of the Iroquois, their ancient enemies, for whose sake he was observing their country, and building the present fort, and whom he would soon lead to effect their utter destruction. These assertions made a deep impression on the credulous minds of the savages. La Salle, soon perceiving this by their altered manner, formed a bold and decisive resolution. He went directly to the assembly of the chiefs, and demanded to know the cause of the evident alienation which had taken place. The chiefs frankly told him ; and he then argued the point so forcibly, and showed so clearly the motives of the calumny, that they were entirely satisfied. Presently, however, came an Iroquois envoy, who represented that the French were endeavouring to make themselves masters of all America ; for which purpose they especially sought to arm Americans against each other ; that the mission of La Salle could have no other object, and the building of the fort was one of the steps towards it. La Salle breasted this danger

in the same bold manner ; and, by openly arguing with his antagonist, succeeded in dispelling an apprehension which was not so wholly devoid of foundation. But his perils were not at an end. His ruffian followers, when they saw all other means of his destruction fail, formed the horrid design of administering poison both to himself and all the friends who would have avenged his death ; and this they succeeded in doing at the Christmas dinner. Scarcely was the entertainment over, when the company began to be seized with convulsive affections, the cause of which being immediately penetrated by La Salle, he used and recommended a large doze of treacle, which, with other remedies, effected the restoration of the whole poisoned party. The villains, in horror at seeing him alive, fled, and were in vain pursued through these immense deserts.

La Salle, though by his firmness he had baffled all these plots and perils, found himself so much weakened by the desertion of his men, that he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac for a fresh supply of arms and ammunition. He sent, however, Dacan, with Father Louis Hennepin, and four other Frenchmen, to reach the Mississippi, and ascend that river to its source,—an expedition the result of which will come afterwards under our view. Tonti was left with the command of the fort and men ; but the mutinous spirits were not all purged out of the latter, and when Tonti returned from an occasional absence, he found that the greatest number had deserted the fort, carrying with them every thing that could be carried. By great activity many of the fugitives being caught,

were partly hanged and partly pardoned ; and some of the savages recruited the French ranks. Scarcely, however, were matters brought again to a tolerable state, when a fresh calamity was announced. The Iroquois, it appeared, were advancing to attack the Illinois, whom they both outnumbered and surpassed in valour, and the Illinois felt all their suspicions revive of a correspondence between the French and their mortal enemies. Tonti was so much stung by this circumstance, that he determined to proceed personally and singly to the hostile camp, and endeavour to negotiate a treaty. He approached with the calumet of peace, but was immediately seized, and a stroke made at him with a knife, which would have caused death, but for the interposition of the ribs. This, however, was contrary to the savage law of nations, and all the others cried " Shame ! shame !" and led him before their chiefs, Agoustot and Tagoncourte. As he was opening his treaty, however, news came that the parties were skirmishing, and that some Frenchmen were seen fighting on the side of the Illinois. The fate of Tonti appeared now sealed ; and a young Indian behind him, holding a knife, began fondly stroking his hair, under the evident feeling what a fine scalp it would make. Tonti, however, besought him to have a little patience, till he saw whether the council would award him this savage prize. He exhausted all his oratory to incline the Iroquois chiefs to peace. He endeavoured to work both on their affections and fears. He represented that Count Frontenac, their father, and M. La Salle, their brother, would

be highly displeased with their present hostile conduct, and would not fail to inflict due chastisement, to which he scrupled not to add, that the opposite force, consisting of 600 Illinois and 200 French, would be found much more than a match for theirs. Notwithstanding all this, the fierce Tagan Courte still advised death; but Agouston, a friend of La Salle, was listened to on the side of mercy, and Tonti was even sent back with a fine collar of porcelain, in token of sincere peace and amity with the Illinois. Two days after their chiefs waited upon him and presented three collars of wampum; the first of which was in honour of the governor of Canada, the second of La Salle, and the third intimated a perpetual alliance with the Illinois. A few days after, Tonti was respectfully invited to the council, where he was presented with six bags of beaver-skins, all of them significant. The two first were to Count Frontenac, their father, the third was for plaster to his wounds, the fourth was for oil to rub his legs, the fifth was in veneration of the sun; while the sixth imported, that the French should next morning evacuate the fort, and set out for their own settlements in Canada. This last bag effaced from the mind of Tonti all the favourable impressions which the first five had excited. He began indignantly to sound them as to what would happen in failure of the condition which they had attached to it. The reply was neither very prompt nor perspicuous; but its import seemed very clearly to be, that they would devour him. Hereupon Tonti indignantly kicked away the bags, and departed both in wrath and in

haste ; for it was whispered to him that, in the present temper of the chiefs, there was not a moment to lose for his personal safety. That night a council was held at the fort, and as they cooled it became evident that they were in a very critical situation. The Iroquois had discovered the deception put upon them in regard to the French force, at which they were highly indignant ; so that, if the import of the sixth bag were not verified, a general attack would be made, which they felt themselves very unable to resist. All things considered, there appeared no choice, but forthwith to pack up, embark on the river, and make the best of their way towards the lakes. This was effected with all speed, and in a month they reached the shores of Lake Michigan.

La Salle, even under this accumulation of disasters, did not lose courage. Having collected twenty men, with the requisite provisions and stores, he put himself in motion early next season. He now wisely determined no longer to lose time in building forts in wild and untenable positions, but to push directly down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The waters being frozen when he first set out, he was obliged to proceed by land, but at length embarked on the Illinois, and proceeded direct down to the Mississippi. He soon came to the immense muddy influx of the Missouri, which he calls Osage, and to the Ohio, which he names, from its great tributary, the Wabash. Descending the river sixty leagues, he came to the nation of the Chicacha, (Chickasaws,) whose pride is to make their faces like flat plates, by the application of wooden tablets, strongly girt with

bands, to the foreheads of the children. The people were numerous, in a plentiful country, and supplied them amply with every refreshment. Fifty leagues lower down they came to the Cappa, where they were at first somewhat alarmed by the sound of a drum; but, on coming in contact with the people, found them also quite friendly and civilized. They came next to the Akanceas, (Arkansaws,) where tidings of them having preceded their arrival, a great multitude were assembled to see them, and hear the discharge of their fire-arms. Here they procured guides to the Taencas; among whom they found something decidedly superior to any thing else they had seen in America. The streets of the village were built in a straight line and regular order; and both the palace and the temple had some share of magnificence. The ladies, dressed in cloth of woven rushes, with necklaces and ear-rings of pearl,—with a deep-brown complexion and black sparkling eyes, enchanted the Chevalier. Seeing one of the princesses cast a longing eye on a case of scissors, which had been presented to the king, he slipped a pair into her hand, and received a cordial squeeze in return. As another lady cast a somewhat rueful glance at the thorns with which her train was rudely fastened, he delighted her by presenting a parcel of pins. The Taencas were found under a political system, nearly similar to the celebrated one of the Natches,—an absolute prince, who is not only implicitly obeyed, but venerated almost as a God, before whose path flowers are strewn, and on whose tomb twenty of the principal chiefs voluntarily im-



molate themselves. Tonti returned to the boat, and gave La Salle an account of his friendly reception, and presently after the royal barge was seen approaching, with drums beating, and female attendants playing on various instruments. A most amicable interview took place, in which it is even asserted that he acknowledged himself the vassal of the King of France; but upon this point we must reserve our belief.

In proceeding farther down they were met by a canoe containing a hundred men, armed with bows and arrows, which appeared about to be employed against the French. La Salle, however, caused his men to arrange their canoes in regular array, when, having placed them in this formidable position, he presented the calumet of peace, which by this time the natives were heartily glad to accept. These were of the nation of the Natches; and La Salle was invited to their village, which presented, on a greater scale, the same scene just seen among the Taencas. The Quinipissas received them in a very different manner, and, lining the shore, answered their advances only by a shower of arrows; whereupon they very wisely sailed on. Tangibao, to which they came next, presented a dreadful picture of savage warfare. It had just been surprised and sacked, and the dead bodies of its inhabitants were lying piled over each other. They thought it was not good staying here, and sailed on with all speed. Ten leagues farther the channel began to assume a new character. It stretched to a breadth so immense, that one side could no longer be seen from the opposite, the taste of the water

became more and more brackish, and the shore was strewn with large and beautiful shells. They were at the mouth of the Mississippi.

La Salle celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings this triumphant accomplishment of the object of his voyage. *Te Deum* was sung, the cross suspended to the top of a large tree, and the arms of France set up. The sun's altitude was then taken, and the latitude fixed as between the degrees of 22 and 23, very erroneously, unless there be some mistake of copying. The immediate banks were so flat and so inundated by the tide as to be uninhabitable; but a few leagues up the soil became rich and the country beautiful. He now determined to reascend the river, and, proceeding by way of Canada to France, convey thither in person the tidings of this splendid discovery. The ascent, however, was of course much harder than the descent, and their provisions beginning to fail, they were driven to somewhat violent and perilous modes of supply. It was needful to begin with their friends, the Quinipissas, who had given them such an inhospitable reception. They thought themselves lucky in falling in with four females of that nation, whom they treated in the kindest manner, and then sent one of them, loaded with trinkets, hoping that she would act as a mediator. Accordingly the chief came out, and invited them to take refreshments, and spend the night in his village. Under this fair seeming, however, deep treachery lurked; and had not the French been strictly on their guard, they would have been destroyed in an attack made at daybreak by the united body of the

savages. Being roused, however, in due time, they killed several, and most barbarously, in imitation of the reprobated practice of their enemies, tore off their scalps, which they carried away as trophies. They next repaired to the Natches, to whom they presented the Quinipissa scalps, which, being those of their enemies, would both, it was hoped, excite their ardent gratitude, and show "that they were not persons to be fooled with." The prince did not receive those horrid gifts with all the complacency which was expected; and there appeared many symptoms, that, if they had not seen the French so closely on the watch, they might have followed the Quinipissa example. After this, in the course of several months, which it cost them to reascend the Mississippi and Illinois, they met with various adventures, but made their way without any serious obstruction, and La Salle, having reached Quebec, immediately set off for France.

The French court received La Salle with all the distinction due to the eminent discovery which he had made. The plan with which he followed it up, of forming a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and thence establishing a regular communication with Canada, was cordially embraced. An expedition was fitted out, comprising four vessels of various sizes, and a crew of 280 men; and La Salle was made absolute governor of all that back region, which extends from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. He set sail from La Rochelle on the 24th July, 1784, along with the West India fleet; and, after touching at St Domingo and Cuba, arrived on the coast of Florida. But here

he was involved in an unforeseen perplexity. Although he had formerly reached the mouth of the Mississippi, he had not come down so far as to be able to know its appearance from the sea ; he possessed no observation of longitude ; and he inquired in vain of the pilots and navigators of America on the subject. The little information he got tended to mislead him ; and he passed the main opening of that great stream without knowing it. He proceeded upwards of two hundred miles to the westward, and found himself in a bay, afterwards called that of St Bernard. Finding himself in a broad channel, bordering a fine country, he resolved to found here the fort which was to be the basis of the establishment. Accumulated evils, however, began here to press upon him. The vessel in which were deposited his stores, utensils, and all the materials of his establishment, sunk, through the misconduct, and, as was suspected, the evil purpose of the commander. La Salle, by great activity, saved a part of them ; but as the rest floated down the river, they were eagerly appropriated by the Indians. The violent measures adopted by La Salle for compelling them to desist and to make restitution, kindled the deepest resentment in this fierce and proud tribe, called the Clamcoets. It led to one of those dreadful midnight attacks which form the usual mode of American warfare, and in which they killed two and wounded several of the French. A similar outrage was repeated on other occasions, when opportunity was found. The health of many began to sink under the tropical climate, and one of the officers having been bit by a serpent, without knowing how to cure it, died

of the wound. The flat-bottomed boat, or frigate, as it was called, which had been brought for the purpose of surveying the coast, also perished. Meantime Tonti, surprised and anxious at receiving no tidings of the expedition, measured over again the whole of the former voyage, and reached the mouth of the Mississippi. He made the most diligent search on each shore, and, proceeding to the sea, sent boats both east and west, which examined the coast for twenty leagues in each direction, but without seeing the least trace of any thing French, or being able to obtain the slightest intelligence respecting La Salle and his expedition. He then gave up the search in despair, and sailed upward to the lakes.

Meantime La Salle struggled with energy against the difficulties of his situation, aggravated by the hostile conduct of the commandant, who, though enjoined to obey, sought only to thwart him on every occasion. He completed the fort, suppressed a violent mutiny, and made several excursions into the neighbouring country. He became sensible that he was not in the Mississippi; and as the country, though sufficiently fertile, offered no prospects of wealth, or opening for commerce, he determined to penetrate to the Mississippi and the Illinois, and endeavour to form an exact idea of his situation with regard to those rivers, and the continent in general. He took with him twenty men, among whom was his nephew, of the name of Moranger, a young man of merit, but of somewhat haughty spirit. He became an object of resentment to several of those fierce and turbulent spirits, who formed the savage resolution of satiating

their revenge by his blood. Having gone some miles with him on a hunting expedition, they attacked at once him and his servant, and soon executed their bloody purpose. La Salle, when night came, without the return of his nephew or any of his party, felt a dreadful foreboding, and early next morning set off for the quarter where he understood them to be. It was not long till he discovered his nephew lying stretched on the ground, and weltering in his blood. As he sought the assassins with every expression of grief and rage, two of them, who were concealed in the grass, started up and successively fired at him. One of the balls entered his head, and he died in an hour after.

Thus perished, on a distant and savage spot in the depths of America, one of the most distinguished explorers of that continent. He evidently possessed courage, activity, address, and perseverance sufficient to accomplish the boldest enterprises. There can only arise the question, on considering the dreadful enmities which arose against him among his followers, whether he possessed a conciliatory spirit, and the art of managing the minds of men? Prevost says, that even his friends and panegyrists admitted that he was harsh, violent, and tyrannical. Such a character is not given of him by Hennepin and Tonti, who knew him intimately, and do not qualify in any shape the praises which they bestow upon him. Tonti laments him as a friend in the tenderest terms. He talks of those blooming families of whom he was the common father, the main support, and who were ruined by his loss. He mentions him as a man universally beloved.

Indeed the influence which he possessed with the savages, and the attachment felt towards him by those fierce spirits, affords a strong presumption that he was not altogether of the rash and violent temper imputed to him. The persons employed in these distant expeditions were too often composed of the refuse of Europe, or at least of those daring and intractable spirits who, removed beyond the pale of law and society, thought themselves exempted from every restraint, and indignantly repelled the necessary attempt to enforce it.\*

We have already mentioned that La Salle, on his first return from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, had sent forward *Dacan* and Father *Hennepin* to survey the Mississippi from its source to its termination. Hennepin has left a pretty copious narrative of this expedition. They first went down the river almost to its mouth; but the sailors being alarmed at the idea of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, obliged them to return. Reascending the river, they passed the mouth of the Illinois, afterwards that of the Ouiscousin, and reached above the falls of St Anthony. During this voyage, Hennepin made it his daily prayer, that if he should meet with Indians, it might be by day, and not by night; at which last period it is their invariable system to kill, plunder, and scalp all who come in their way. To this extent his prayer was granted. About eight leagues above the fall of

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\* Tonti *ap.* *Voyages au Nord*, v. 86-183. Hennepin, *ib.* tom. ix. Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, iii. 34-7. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, xiv.

St Anthony, at two in the afternoon, fifty canoes of bark, manned by about a hundred and twenty naked savages, were seen descending the river with incredible swiftness. All attempts to escape being vain, the French made towards them, and presented the calumet of peace, saying, in the Iroquois language, *Mistigouche Diatches*, " Friends, we are the men of wooden canoes ;" but this was quite unintelligible to them. The savages surrounded the party with loud shouts and cries, and were preparing their arrows, when an elderly chief came forward, and endeavoured to hold some intercourse with them by signs. He particularly sought to learn what was become of the Miamis, the enemies of his tribe, for whose destruction they had come down in this savage array. The French gave them to understand, that the Miamis were beyond their reach, having retreated and joined the Illinois. This was evidently felt as a deep disappointment ; and several, who had relations to avenge upon the Miamis, shed copious tears, accompanied with the most doleful cries. The French, as coming from the Miamis, shared the odium of that race ; and the chief having refused to smoke in their calumet of peace, it was plain that their life was in the utmost peril. Suddenly the Indians set up a dreadful united shout, and hurried them across the river, keeping up a series of howlings, which thrilled through their nerves. On reaching the opposite bank, it was announced to them, that they must prepare for death. Hereupon Hennepin felt that he must bestir himself, and having examined his stores, drew forth six hatchets, fifteen knives, and some pieces of Virginia tobacco. This



donation smoothed the brows of several of the chiefs; and though they still refused the calumet, they presented some beaver-flesh, cooled by being blown upon with their mouths, and allowed the captives to go to sleep. Next morning a young chief, painted all over, came and asked for their pipe of peace. On its being delivered he filled it with tobacco, caused it to be smoked first by his own tribe, and then by those who had shown the greatest enmity to the strangers. It was announced, however, that they must accompany them to their home, whither, since the Miamis had escaped, they had now resolved to return.

The French were pretty roughly treated in their passage up the river, and were exposed to much fear from Hennepin's determination to go through his sacred office, without regard to his pagan and savage spectators. As the Indians made strange gestures whenever he began, his companions represented to him that if he persisted, they would certainly all be killed. They entreated him not to sacrifice their lives to this ritual, and at least to seek a private opportunity of performing it. Hennepin attempted to follow this last advice; but the Indians, thinking he was attempting to fly or secrete something valuable, watched him so closely as to render this plan abortive. At length he announced to his companions, that he was resolved to go through his office, and leave the event to Providence. As he took out the prayer-book and began to read, the Indians showed a strange emotion; but, as was afterwards understood, they considered it an evil spirit whom he was endeavouring to sooth,—a ceremony not foreign to their

own worship, and which they did not consider worthy of reprobation. The most critical moment in the eye of his companions was when the father took out his breviary and began to chaunt the litany. They were agreeably disappointed; the Indians listened with pleasure to the music, and considered the breviary as a friendly spirit, which was teaching him to sing. Yet there remained still a party who eagerly thirsted for the blood of the French in the room of that of the Miamis. One old chief endeavoured to effect his purpose by standing beside them, and weeping the whole night without intermission. When he could hold on no longer, he called one of his sons to weep in his room, so that the lamentation was never intermitted. These tears sorely afflicted the captives, not merely on account of the deadly purpose with which they were shed, but because they made it impossible to take the rest which fatigue urgently demanded. These doleful proceedings brought repeatedly under discussion the question of killing them; but the friendly chiefs urged, that the calumet having been smoked, the faith of the tribe was now plighted, and that, by giving good treatment to these prisoners, they might obtain a store of the "iron with the evil spirit," as they call *guns*; the superior nature of which to their own arrows they already well understood. Although, however, the French continued to hold their lives by this precarious tenure, the hardships they endured were unspeakable. The Indians marched, or rather flew, with almost preternatural speed, and without being retarded for a moment by rocks, swamps, or the most entangled forests. The

captives, at their best, were very unequal to such a career, and being soon overcome with fatigue, and their legs and feet cut and bleeding, they could with difficulty walk at all. No allowance was made; the Indians, enraged that their progress should be stopped, used the most violent means of pushing them forward. When every thing else failed, they set the dry grass behind them on fire, which spread most rapidly, and then indeed it was "run or burn." However, when at any time the last alternative seemed to be nearly inevitable, the savages ran and carried them off out of the danger. After nineteen days of this dreadful march, they came to a spot in the midst of almost inaccessible morasses, which, being thought secure against enemies, had been made the head-quarters of the tribe. As the chiefs were now about to separate, they began a survey of the French property, which had hitherto been in some degree respected, for the purpose of dividing it among themselves. A roll of very fine tobacco was the most tempting object, and had almost given occasion to a battle. They took possession also of Hennepin's embroidered sacerdotal robe, and all the ornaments of his portable chapel. The chalice only threw such a glitter of light that no one durst touch it. After dividing their property, the next affair was to divide the French themselves; and this was the subject of long and eager discussion. At length Hennepin learned with utter horror, that he had fallen to the lot of the same chief who had shed so many tears in order to obtain his life. He now deemed it high time indeed to prepare for his last hour on earth;

but great was his surprise, when the chief advanced with the calumet of peace in his hand, which he presented, receiving that of Hennepin in return. The latter was now acquainted, that the national customs allowing the chief two alternatives, either to kill him with torture, or to adopt him as a son, he had, after some preparations being made for the first, ended with fixing upon the latter, and that he might now expect from him all the tenderness of a parent. Hennepin was then introduced to his kindred, and first to a brother, who had got on his sacerdotal robe, and was walking up and down with it in great pride, calling it the robe of the sun, having wrapped in it the bones of a revered relation deceased. The worthy friar was then led to the tent, where he found six mothers, the chief being privileged to indulge in polygamy to a considerable extent. This large family, of whom Hennepin had so suddenly become a member, applied themselves to cure the severe rheumatic affections which he had contracted from cold and fatigue, and which made him unable to rise without assistance. They laid him on a bear's skin, and rubbed him with the grease of wild cats; but this being found insufficient, they stripped him naked, and hurried him to the sweating-house, or great vapour-bath. They kept him lying for several hours, during which his father and three of his brothers partly sung and partly wept, straining their voices to the very highest pitch. Hennepin thought this remedy would have cured him of all his earthly evils, instead of which, after a few applications, it entirely restored him to health.

Hennepin now felt a desire to learn the language of his new family ; but there was on both sides such a total ignorance, as did not leave him a single point from which to set out. At length he caught the word *Tabetchiaben*, " How do you call this ? " which served as a basis. As in answer to this he received the names of successive objects, he wrote them down upon paper,—an operation which, with others unintelligible to them, conveyed the idea of him as a supernatural being. They addressed him by the appellation of Spirit, and in unfavourable weather solicited a change, though he solemnly deprecated any such power. The paper, or *white*, as they called it, was imagined to be another Spirit, to whom he told and by whom he was reminded of every thing. They amused themselves with telling him long catalogues of the names of objects, always adding, " Spirit tell that to *white*." As they were naming all the parts of the different objects, they included some that were frivolous, and even indecent ; and as they saw him omitting these, they called out, " Tell that to *white* too ! Tell that to *white* too ! " Their fear and veneration were especially excited by a round iron pot which the French had brought with them, as less brittle than earthen ware. It was tendered as a present to several whose favour it was desirable to gain ; but they repelled it with horror, believing it to be a malignant power, and would not even touch it, without having their hands well covered with beaver-skin. The women, not daring to sleep in the same house with it, took care to have it hung without doors, on the bough of a tree.

Winter now came on, and a severe scarcity of provisions affected the settlement, in which Hennepin very amply shared. Neither their tenderness for him as a son, nor their veneration as a divinity, prevented them from giving him scarcely a sufficiency of food to keep soul and body together. His mothers had other children who came much closer to them, and to whom they were more inclined to give the little they could spare, than to this foreign and mysterious son. Hennepin at last was able to subsist only on roots and berries which he collected, without being able to make any very nice distinction whether they were palatable, or even wholesome.

This extreme want, without any means of supply, made it next to impossible for the savages to refuse to their captives permission to depart. Accordingly they sailed down the river Mississippi, meeting with various adventures, which, for brevity's sake, and because they have nothing very striking, are here omitted. They met, however, the *Sieur de Luth*, with a party, coming to inquire after them, and endeavour to form a settlement on the Mississippi. Hennepin turned back with them; but found so many obstacles, that he determined for the present to return to Canada.

During his residence among the savages, Hennepin made inquiry of some who came from the westward concerning the South Sea and the Strait of Anian, which had been one of *La Salle's* principal objects. Several assured him that they had come five hundred leagues from the westward, and had never found any great lake or sea, nor, consequently, any

straits, and had heard of none such from any of their neighbours. There were only great rivers, traversing a boundless extent of plain, great part of which was destitute of wood. He concludes, therefore, that there is no Strait of Anian, and no separation between Asia and America. Although this last inference be so very erroneous, it was yet a natural one under Hennepin's circumstances. It was always hitherto supposed, that, if the South Sea bounded North America, it must be immediately behind the settlements formed by Europeans along the coast; nor was it ever imagined that the continent could stretch here to such an immense and continuous breadth as it actually does.

The many adverse events which had attended this expedition, deterred for some time any others from attempting to penetrate beyond the lakes. Indeed, the government seems never to have concerned itself to form a settlement in these vast interior regions of America, but left them to be explored by individuals animated by private adventure or religious zeal. Among the first, and one of the most conspicuous, was Baron La Hontan, a French gentleman of good family, who went out early to Canada, hoping to retrieve his paternal fortune, which had suffered by several misadventures. Being employed by government upon the lakes, he became so intimate with the savages, that the public, it appears, accused him of having become a savage himself; which, he insists, was doing him more honour than he deserved. However, this intimacy between him and the Indians led him to the scheme of penetrating deeper into their territories. He formed the plan of an expedition to

those eastern regions beyond the Mississippi, which European enterprise had never till now contemplated. His object was to ascend that great tributary, which he calls Long, but which I apprehend to be that known under the name of Peter's River. He proceeded first to Lake Michigan, the general point of outset, and, descending the Oniscousin, found himself in the Mississippi. He passed successively through the country and numerous villages of the Eokoros, the Essanapes, and the Gnaczitares ; but he is not celebrated for the genuineness of his names. Among these last he found himself beyond the range of the calumet of peace, that mystic and sacred symbol not being here understood. They appeared, however, the most polished Indians he had yet met with ; their houses were well constructed, and their villages large. They were well acquainted by report with the Spaniards of New Mexico, with whom their wide wanderings brought them sometimes into contact. The French were here visited by a party of a people called Mozeemlik, who were said to be very powerful, and who pleased them by their grave and polite deportment. They reported, that far to the west there was a great salt lake, about three hundred leagues in circumference, and with a wide opening to the south. In the interval there was a broad range of very high and steep mountains, which could not be crossed without great difficulty. From them rivers flowed,—on one side to the Mississippi, on the other towards the salt lake. These statements sufficiently authenticate the journey and information of La Hontan. The salt lake, a name which the Americans familiarly apply to the



sea, appears to be Queen Charlotte Sound, the river the Columbia, and the mountain-range evidently that of the Rocky Mountains. From the lake on which the Gnaczitares dwell, La Hontan descended in five weeks to the Mississippi. He went down that river as far as the Illinois ; in ascending which he found the fort of Crevecœur still under the command of De Tonti, who, he says, was highly respected in that neighbourhood.

Among the missionary travellers the most eminent was Father Charlevoix. He made what may be termed the grand tour of interior America ; proceeding up the St Lawrence through the lakes, and then down the Mississippi to New Orleans. As he was well attended, and effectually supported in a route now repeatedly traced, he met with few adventures ; but he collected materials for the best published account, both of the very extensive dominions then possessed by France in America, and of the institutions and character of the Indian tribes. On the former subject his information is now superseded ; but on the latter he will, in the following chapter, furnish us with a great part of the materials on which its information is to be founded.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

*Views of Savage Life.—The Five Nations.—Form of Policy.—War.—Declaration.—March.—Surprise.—Return.—Treatment of Captives.—Negotiations.—Religious Belief and Observances.—Arts.—Amusements.—Music.—Dancing.—Domestic Life.—General Decline and Disappearance of these Tribes.—Its Causes.*

AMONG the results of American discovery there is none which, considering man as an intellectual being, seems entitled to rank higher than the new, bold, and picturesque forms under which it presented human manners and existence. The species appeared much more nearly approaching to what has been accounted his state of nature than in any region of the old continent. The Scythian, among the ancients, had been taken as the representative of the man of nature; but, however rude might be his aspect when compared with the civilized Greek or Roman, he had already made a certain progress in the arts of life. He belonged to the pastoral state, possessed numerous flocks and herds, while the nation was assembled in large bodies, and obeyed ancient and hereditary chiefs.

The Indians of North America, on the contrary, formed only a handful of men, scattered over an immense extent of continent. Destitute of sway over any part of the animal creation, they subsisted entirely on the precarious produce of the chase. In this state they afforded favourable elements for solving the interesting question of what man is, when not yet subjected to the influence of order, law, and civilization? They then fatally refuted the theory maintained by some philosophers, and even fondly cherished by the human heart, of a state of nature as one of simplicity and innocence. Such a state, so far as it has any real existence, is found only among the inhabitants of a civilized country placed in retired and rural situations, restrained by law, and maintained by the order of society in a round of regular and peaceful occupation. But man, untaught and freed from every restraint, soon shows, that there is within him a source of evil which arrives at a rapid and terrible development. It inspires fierce and unbounded passions, impelling to excesses of crime, such as are viewed with horror by the most corrupted members of a civilized society. Yet this dark picture is not without some great and some amiable features. Liberal hospitality, unbounded attachment to their chiefs or communities, fearless courage, and daring fortitude, are virtues thoroughly and uniformly displayed by the Indian. We have caught striking views of savage life, in tracing the progress of settlement in the countries along the Atlantic coast; but it is on the lakes of Canada, and along the Mississippi and its tributaries, that this life was displayed under its boldest and grandest features. In particular

the Iroquois, or Five Nations took long a most prominent part, and displayed, in the most marked and decided manner, all that is peculiar in the Indian character. They were formed of the Mohawks, the Oneydas, the Onondagoes, the Cayugas, and the Senekas ; to which the Tuscaroras, by a voluntary union, added a sixth. Their enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, ranged on the opposite side of the lake and river boundary. The Outagamis and Nadouessis, on the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois, on the river of that name, the Natches, Chikasaws, and Choktaws, on the Lower Mississippi, were also prominent among the Indian nations.

Philosophers, who have drawn in the closet the ideal picture of man in the savage state, have imagined, that where the supply of food and clothing is so scanty and precarious, the obtaining of these first and necessary objects will absorb every effort, and leave scarcely room for any farther thought. Actual observation tells a different tale. It shows, that the finding of food is neither the only nor the chief object which occupies the time or mind of the savage. Agriculture, and the rude processes of clothing and covering, are carelessly devolved upon the enslaved females. Hunting, which, as a train of suspense and adventure, derives an attraction which renders it always a favourite recreation of the opulent in civilized life, is the only form under which he deigns, *en s'amusant*, to contribute to the public subsistence. The objects which engross his soul, and call forth all its energies, are those of the state and of war. Our modern economists, following Smith, of whose few errors this is perhaps the greatest,

are too apt to consider man as a mere money-making animal, who will never hesitate to work, provided he is well paid for it. They do not consider that the desire of power and of esteem are more powerful principles than the desire of wealth, which is itself chiefly valued from the consideration which is attached to it in a commercial state of society. But by the naked tenant of the Indian wigwam the invitation to do hard work at a guinea a-day would be rejected as the foulest insult. It would sink him at once from a statesman and warrior, the highest characters in the eyes of mankind, to the humble station of a peasant and a mechanic.

It might have been supposed, that nations which possessed nothing, which never aimed at conquest, and which never exercised an internal police or jurisdiction, would have little subject on which to consider or debate. This is so far from being the case, that the British senate is not more crowded with business than the Mohawk or Oneyda councils. Surrounded by other tribes, with whom they are in a state of perpetual enmity, they have to negotiate treaties of peace, to form alliances, to learn every movement of the enemy, and, above all, to mature the plans and organize the resources of war. It was by their deep and deliberate policy as much as by their arms that the Iroquois acquired such an ascendant throughout America. The French and English, who went to treat with them, found them as well acquainted with the interest of their own tribes, and of all those for more than a thousand miles round, as the best instructed European cabinet. All the warriors are present

at the national council; but each family names an orator, who alone is permitted to speak; and their oratory is much extolled. They have a hereditary chief, to whom some form of respect is paid, and a war-chief, who, by personal influence and the opinion of his valour, usually leads them to battle. Neither chief nor council, however, can exercise the smallest control over the actions of any individual, or punish him for the most enormous crime of which he may be guilty. Even if one murders another, the right of exacting blood for blood rests entirely with the relations of the deceased. The public never interfere, unless as mediators, that the national tranquillity may not be disturbed; with which view, instead of forwarding the ends of justice, they endeavour to persuade the injured party to compound matters on the easiest possible terms; they will even provide a compensation out of the public funds. Outrages of this nature, however, are rendered very rare, by the attachment which unites the members of these communities to each other, cemented by fear and hatred of all the surrounding tribes; and, in general, there is much internal peace and courtesy.

But war is the grand occupation of savage life; and, though waged with frantic fury, is prepared with the same deep and solemn deliberation which is bestowed upon all their other concerns. Chateaubriand seems to suppose, that the protection of their hunting-grounds affords the most frequent pretext of hostility; but almost all other authorities agree in considering this a very secondary motive, and revenge as altogether the ruling one. Doubtless they are secretly and

powerfully predisposed to it, by a longing after its fierce and terrible excitement, by the hope of glory which it offers, and by the maxims instilled into them from their infancy that they are to exist only for war. It is the nature of man, as Dr Ferguson observes, "to pine in the lap of ease, and to exult in the midst of alarms that seem to threaten his being." The call to arms, therefore, though it cannot be made with any authority, is instantly, and by all, obeyed with alacrity.\* When the war-chief wishes to call out his countrymen, his first movement is to march three times round his winter-house, spreading the great bloody flag, deeply variegated with tints of black. As soon as the young warriors see flying this grand signal of blood and death, they crowd round him to listen to the oration by which he is to rouse their courage. "Brethren," says he, "the blood of our countrymen is yet unavenged; their bones lie uncovered; their spirits cry out to us from the tomb, and must be heard. Youths, arise! anoint your hair, paint your faces, cause the forests to resound with your songs, console the spirits of the dead, by the assurance that they shall be avenged. Youths! follow me while I march through the war-path to surprise our enemies, to eat their flesh, to drink their blood, to tear them limb from limb! We will return in triumph, or, if we perish, this belt will be the monument of our valour." He then throws down on the floor the belt, or collar of wampum, the grand symbol of Indian policy.

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\* Adair, 380.

Many a hand would wish to lift it up ; but this were presumptuous in any one, except a warrior of high fame, who thereupon becomes second in command of the expedition. Then begin the preparations, which consist, not, as with us, of arms, funds, or ammunition, but of solemn observances to propitiate the great spirit and the genii who preside over the Indian destinies. The chief is painted black from head to foot, and commences a fast of several days, not the luxurious abstinence of the Catholic devotee, but a thorough and genuine fast. Lest this should not sufficiently extenuate his frame, he drinks the great war-medicine, consisting of a decoction of consecrated herbs and roots, and operating as a brisk emetic. During this period his attention is exclusively fixed on his dreams, which are to portend all that is hid in the secrets of fate respecting the approaching conflict. The whole train of his slumbers is therefore submitted to the sages and old men, and according to them it is fixed whether war shall be, and in what shape or scale. In almost every instance the decision is made in favour of the projected hostilities. The chief then, having passed through this important train of trial, washes off the deep coating of black in which he has been invested. A huge fire is kindled in the centre of the village, and the great war-cauldron placed on it, into which every warrior throws something ; and each of the allies, who have been prevailed upon to join the expedition, sends something to be thrown into it. Lastly, the sacred dog is loosened from the post to which he had been bound, and, being sacrificed to Areskouï, the god of war, is boiled in the



cauldron, to form the chief dish at the great war-festival. To it are admitted only the warriors and counsellors, all females being excluded; and the dog is eaten in deep silence. During this succession of ceremonies, the experienced members are in a state of incessant and watchful anxiety, well knowing, that omission or irregularity in the slightest particular will draw down the wrath of the great spirit, and convert this hopeful enterprise into a source of the deepest calamity. But if the omens continue good, they begin at last to fit themselves for immediate departure. The chief paints himself, not as before, in one deep gloomy tint of black, but in various colours, at once brilliant and terrible. He, and each warrior after him, sings his war-song, and then dances his war-dance, in which they at once narrate and act over again those deeds of their former life in which they place their glory. It is now time for the final equipment. The bow and quiver, or carbine, is suspended from the left shoulder, the tomahawk from the left hand, and the scalping-knife is stuck in the girdle. The *manitous*, or objects chosen by each warrior for his guardian power, are collected and placed in a box, which has been considered as a species of ark, and intrusted to the guardianship of one of the most distinguished chiefs. The women, mean time, have been busily negotiating the means of gratifying their vengeance and appeasing the manes of their lost relations. More tender feelings arise as the moment comes when the warriors are to depart, perhaps to return no more, but to become victims of the same dreadful fate which they are imprecating on others. The chief having

made a short final harangue, each warrior departs singing his death-song ; after which they proceed in deep silence. The women follow to a considerable distance. When the separation comes, they exchange the most tender names, with ardent wishes for their return and success ; and each receives some object, which has been long worn by the other, to serve as a memorial, should this be the final parting.

Before commencing operations, the Indians fulfil one of the laws of nations, by making an open declaration of war. This can be transmitted by none of the channels usual among civilized nations ; but they have one of their own. A herald, painted black, bears a red tomahawk, on one side of which are represented figures, indicating the cause for which war has been undertaken. He reaches the principal village, enters at midnight, throws it down, and disappears like a phantom. Fair warning being thus given to the threatened party, there is an end to all frank and open proceedings,—the war is henceforth one continued stratagem, in which each party seeks only to circumvent and surprise the other.

While the Indians continue in their own country, they straggle in small parties for the convenience of hunting, still holding communication by loud cries of birds and beasts, which they can imitate in perfection. None ever fail of joining the rendezvous on the frontier. The skill with which they trace their path through the trackless woods has been particularly noted. The slightest indications, such as would never attract the notice of an European, enable them to find a sure path through the boundless monotony of the western

forests. Equal is their skill in tracing the print of each other's steps, even over the yielding grass, where scarcely a trace of them remains. They even boast that they can know by inspection the impression made by the feet of each nation and tribe. No less art is used to evade the discoveries thus made. They walk as much as possible in the water, along the margin of marshes or rivers, on the trunks of fallen trees, or wherever the foot makes the least impression. To conceal, at least, their numbers, a large body walks in file, one behind the other, each placing his foot on the print made by his forerunner; while the largest foot of the company brings up the rear; by which management a large body appears as if only one man. They sometimes fix on their feet the hoof of the buffalo and the paw of the bear, and run for miles the winding course usual with those animals. Their efforts are now incessant to surprise and cut off their enemies. They send forth from the depth of woods the cries of the animals which are the favourite objects of national hunting. When they have taken a prisoner, they paint his body, and set him against a tree in the attitude of a spy, lying in wait for the enemy coming to surprise him in this position.

These little movements are only preliminary to the grand object of surprising a village, and, if possible, the principal village of the enemy. Towards it all their steps tend, as they steal, like silent ghosts, through the darkest depth of the most unfrequented forests. Having approached it, they cast a hasty glance from the top of a tree, and then shroud themselves in the thickest cover. Amid repeated and fa-

tal experience, the Indians have never adopted the obvious precaution of stationing nightly sentinels. The *manitous*, or guardian powers, enclosed in the holy ark of war, are held strictly responsible that the midnight peace of the camp or village shall not be disturbed. Their frequent and flagrant failures, though they cause individual *manitous* to be discarded and exchanged for others, never shake the general trust reposed in them. The enemy, therefore, when they have reached a covert spot unseen during the day, have the satisfaction of beholding the village before them sunk into the deepest slumber. They continue in close watch till the hour just before day-break, when all is usually sunk into the deepest silence. At this moment they begin slowly, flat on their faces and guarding carefully against the slightest noise, to creep towards their enemies. When they fortunately reach the spot without any alarm being given, the chief, by a shrill cry, gives the signal, and, after a general discharge of arrows, they rush on with the war-club and tomahawk. The air echoes with the sound of the death-whoop and the war-whoop. The savage aspect of the combatants; their faces painted black and red, and soon streaming with blood; their frightful and united yells, soon make it seem as if the tenants of the infernal world had arisen. The victims, too late aroused, spring from their fatal slumber; and, having before their eyes that most dreadful of human fates which awaits the captive, make almost superhuman struggles for deliverance. The horrible contest rages with all the fury of revenge and despair; but it is short. The surprised

party, amazed and confounded, seldom seek to rally, but fly with wild speed to the nearest marsh, and seek shelter in its most inaccessible depths. With the victors, the first and favourite object is to take prisoners alive,—it is well known for what fatal purpose; but, if this is impossible, the tomahawk or the club despatches them on the spot. Then, placing a foot on the neck of his fallen enemy, the Indian draws out his scalping-knife, which is carefully kept in high condition. He cuts round the head; and, by a few movements, in little more than a minute he has detached the skin and hair, and lodged in his bag that proudest war-trophy.

Their purpose now fulfilled with greater or less success, the warriors return to their native village, where the women and aged men await them in long-ing expectation. Even in approaching, they announce, by well-known sounds, the fate of the expedition. The evil tidings come first. A herald in front, for every warrior who has fallen, sounds the death-whoop, a shrill lengthened note rising at the end into an elevated key. An interval is then allowed to elapse, that the sad tidings may reach the village, and communicate the grief which they naturally tend to excite. Then rises the loud inspiring note of the war-whoop, which, by each repetition, announces the number of captives whom they are bringing in triumph. The dreadful joy which these signals excite banishes for the moment all trace of the preceding lamentation. The inhabitants form themselves into two rows, through which the prisoner is led, with his face painted, and crowned with flowers, as for a fes-

tival. As he passes, every one studiously beats and torments him, only taking care that no vital part shall be struck. A council is now held on his fate, whether he shall expire in the most frightful tortures, or shall be adopted into the nation, and saluted as a brother. The last alternative is usually adopted in regard to youthful prisoners, or such as are new to the field. These are distributed to the women, that they may supply out of them the blanks which war has made in their family ; that they may make the youth a husband or a son, as circumstances require. He is then treated with the utmost tenderness, his wounds are cured,—no distinction is ever after made between him and the rest of the tribe. He even goes out to war against his former countrymen ; and to go over to them and desert his new ties is considered an act of peculiar baseness. But if he be a veteran warrior, on whose breast and arms there has been painted, in blue tints, with pointed fish-bone, a record of slaughtered enemies, a darker purpose is formed. He is invested in mocassins of black bear's-skin, and a flaming torch placed over his head,—the sure seals of his death-warrant. He is now intrusted to the female members of the tribe, who seem transformed into so many raging furies ; yet, that their conduct may not appear wholly without a parallel, Adair refers to that of the most delicate ladies of rank at Lisbon, led by their priests to a religious *auto da fe* : when their shouts of infernal triumph appeared to him to match those of their sister-savages in the west. The victim, however, before the fatal scene begins, is allowed a short interval to sing his death-

song, which he begins cool and triumphant. With joy he goes to the world of souls, to join his great ancestors, who set to him the high example of fighting and suffering. He recounts his heroic exploits; he recounts, above all, those members of the hostile tribe around him who have fallen under his hand; and, if he has been present and an actor in a similar scene of torture against them, he proudly recalls it. His hatred against them is inextinguishable. He laments that he cannot devour their flesh and drink their blood to the last drop. The song is then taken up by the female, to glut whose vengeance he has been especially consigned. She invokes the spirit of her husband or her son, who has fallen in battle or died amid tortures, to come now, and be at last appeased. A feast should be prepared for him; the blood of a warrior should be poured out; his scalp should be torn from his head; he should be thrown into the war-caldron; let the dead, therefore, cease to complain. The captive is then tied to a post, and allowed a certain range, within which, while the brand, the hatchet, and every studied engine of torture, are applied to him, he may repel, and even attack. He struggles fiercely in the unequal strife, and, while his frame is consuming in agony, he still defies his tormentors, and outbraves even death itself. Some even tell their tormentors that they are old women, who know not how to torture a warrior, and boast how much more effectually they themselves have done so to various individuals of their tribe. A very few, by almost incredible efforts, break through the circle, and effect their escape. Nor are instances wanting when na-

ture prevails, and symptoms of agony, and even shrieks, escape from the overwhelmed sufferer ; whereupon shouts of exulting laughter burst from the surrounding circle. At length the dreadful tragedy closes ; and the scalp, if it remain, is taken off, and lodged among their military trophies. The victims are not, however, eaten ; though this has been asserted by authors of note, and expressions are even current among them which seem to indicate such a purpose ; but they are either the remnants of ancient usage, or vague threats of total destruction.\*

Neighbouring tribes may be considered as nearly in a state of permanent war. Nevertheless they conclude occasionally what they call peace, though it is more properly to be considered as a " hollow truce." Pride, however, makes them disdain to make the first advances. These are usually managed by the chiefs of a neutral power, who set out along with those of one of the belligerents. The sacred pipe of peace is the grand instrument of negotiation among the Indians, who remain impressed with the salutary belief, that the Great Spirit never forgives those who violate its pledge. The negotiation consists rather in presents, speeches, and ceremonies, than in any demands which they have to make upon each other ; for they have no property out of which a tribute can be demanded ; nor is it customary, even in cases of the most decided victory, to require any cession of territory, or change of hunting ground. It has some-

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\* Adair. Charlevoix. Carver, 331, &c. Chateaubriand.



times indeed been demanded that the vanquished party should put on petticoats, and wear them for a certain period, in token of a subjugation which has sunk them below the level of manhood. When, however, the nation thus humbled retains any portion of energy, the humiliation of this apparel usually rouses them to extraordinary exertions, which render them often more terrible than ever to their once victorious neighbours.

The first travellers among the interior Indians received the impression that they were a people without religion, because they saw neither priests, temples, images, nor sacrifices. This impression, which has often been suggested by a first view of savage life, was completely refuted by more intimate observation. It was then discovered that their whole life and all their actions were under the entire guidance of what they think religion. They have a supreme deity, whom they call the Great Spirit, or the Master of Life, to whose favour or anger they impute all the good or evil which life presents to them.\* They address him for their daily support; they suppose themselves to derive from him their presence of mind in battle; at the stake they thank him for the courage with which he inspires them. Their preparation for war, as we have seen, is one continued round of religious ceremony, and their march is equally under the guidance of superior spirits. When they depart on a hunting party, the same course of

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\* Long, 139.

**fasting, physic, and dreaming, is observed on a small scale.** They have no idea of such a thing as chance, or the fortune of war. They are not even strangers to **spiritual pride.** Europeans are called by them the **men** of the accursed speech ; while they value themselves as “the beloved of the Great Spirit.” Though **their religion** thus comprises some lofty elements, and **may** seem at first sight to be purer than that of more **civilized** people, it is soon found to partake most **amply** of the imperfections of all the religions of **nature.** Along with the Great Spirit they worship **the Great Hare, or rather, perhaps, these are one and the same ;** for this is a point on which neither travelers, nor perhaps the Indians themselves, seem to have very clear ideas. But, besides this great being, each individual has his Oka or Manitou, consisting of the head, beak, or claw of a bird, the hoof of a cow, and every the most insignificant object. Each youth, before he is recorded in the list of warriors, must have secured his Manitou. He is made to fast for several days, and careful note taken of his dreams ; in the course of which some object or other usually makes a deep and peculiar impression upon his mind. This is fixed as his Manitou or guardian power, and a good specimen of it is procured. The youth then, after a thorough perspiration produced in one of their large vapour-baths, is laid on his back, and the figure of the Manitou is pricked on his breast with ten needles of fish-bone, dipt in vermilion ; the intervals are then rubbed with gunpowder, so as to produce a mixture of red and blue. They now call out, “ Master of Life, look on us well ; receive a brother

warrior ;" and the newly-initiated enters upon all the privileges and dignity of that character.

When the Indians have been overtaken by any disaster, which appears to them to be the work of the Great Spirit, or the Great Hare, they submissively resign themselves to it, and only inquire what dire omission in the long round of trifling observances has drawn down his displeasure. But if the Manitou is believed to be implicated, the whole blame is laid upon him, and very sharp remonstrances are addressed to him on the subject. It is demanded of him what benefit he expects in thus neglecting the interest of the person who has chosen him as a guardian, and from whom alone he receives food, worship, and offerings. He is told of the disgrace which must fall upon him from every mishap which he allows to overtake the person under his protection. Finally, warning is given, that, unless more satisfaction be obtained in future, another Manitou will be chosen in his place, and who then will supply him with food, worship, and offerings? If the Manitou continues incorrigible, this threat is fulfilled. A new course of fasting and dreaming is gone through ; in the course of which the vision is obtained of another Manitou, which, being painted in red and blue on the breast of the warrior, and the former as much as possible effaced, becomes henceforth the object of his veneration and confidence.

A future life, the fond hope of man, even under the tuition of nature, was an idea familiar to the Indians. They firmly believed in a country of souls, which they were to inhabit hereafter. Man, even the

most uninstructed, cannot contemplate the thinking principle within him, without feeling that it is something wholly different from that material world which he sees around him. Yet, when he begins to form a distinct idea of this soul or spirit, he cannot escape being re-entangled in sensible images. When pressed to explain, they describe it as a shadow or image of the body; but, when examined as to its occupations and enjoyments, they are all the same which belong to its present form and sphere of existence. The land of souls is a fair country, far in the west, with wide plains and extensive forests, and abounding in all the animals which are the objects of the chase. Happily they do not transport their wars and vengeance to it. The souls, before they can arrive at this country, must perform a journey of several months, must pass over some very lofty mountains, cross a broad river, and often defend themselves against a furious dog. These two last images must recall Styx and Cerberus; but the mountains are probably the Rocky Chain, the western boundary of the great plain of interior America.

Superstitious ideas, excited by natural impressions, are common to the Americans, with other unenlightened races. All the mighty features of nature are deemed to have a *genius loci* which presides over them. On arriving at the immense expanse of Lake Superior, the mighty roar of the Niagara, and even the smaller falls of St Anthony, offerings are made of objects deemed costly or valuable. Even difficult and dangerous passes are covered with skins, bones, pieces of metal, and bodies of dogs killed and hung

by the feet. There does not seem to be much absolute vision of ghosts, though examples of this are by no means wanting ; it is generally believed, however, that the deceased does not set out immediately for the country of souls, but continues for some time to hover round his earthly remains. They are apprehensive, therefore, that the spirit of those whom they have tortured may be on the watch to do them mischief, and study, by beating all round with rods, and raising the most frightful cries, to scare it away. Even the souls of their countrymen do not finally depart for their western home till after the festival of the dead. This most singular celebration takes place at intervals of about a year ; and on this occasion the whole nation, and often their allies, are assembled. The whole tribe then proceed in a body to the burial-place, open the tombs, and, on coming in view of the mortal remains enclosed, remain fixed for some time in solemn and religious silence. At length the women break forth into the most lamentable cries, and they then begin to collect the bones, separating any remains of flesh which may still adhere to them. These bones are then wrapped in the finest skins, and conveyed, amid continued mourning, to their home, where each is deposited in the cabin of the family. Then begins a round of feasts, dances, songs, games, and prize-combats, which do not seem much in harmony with the solemn object ; but every motion and sound are said to bear the stamp of woe ; and we may remember, that games in honour of the dead were a classical observance. After a few days thus spent, the dead are publicly exhibited in the hall

**of** council, with the presents destined for them ; and **sometimes** they are carried about from village to village. At length they are borne in solemn procession to a long pit, previously prepared, and, with **their** gifts and ornaments, are lodged, amid cries and lamentations, in this final abode. The women **lay** down food on the grave for several days, which, **it** is supposed, may elapse previous to their departure for the land of souls.

While the French were in the occupation of Canada, their religious orders, with a zeal which must merit some share of praise, sent out numerous missionaries for the conversion of the natives. They published even pompous accounts of whole nations baptized and converted. The more judicious, however, even among themselves, admit, that this conversion was neither more nor less than a simple profanation of the ordinances of religion. The Indians readily let themselves be baptized six times a-day for a glass of brandy or a pound of tobacco. They learned by heart the prayers and litanies, and repeated them as they did songs. They thankfully accepted crucifixes and beads, which were hung round their necks as toys. The footing on which the communion was dispensed may appear from what is mentioned by a missionary, who asked an Indian if he had not found it very comfortable, when the Indian replied, " Yes, Sir, it was certainly very good, but brandy is better." After these conversions, therefore, the Indians were exactly the same people as before, fixed in their original ideas, ignorant or indifferent as to all that was told them by the missionaries. Those who wished to give them

any real instruction found a great obstacle in their politeness. They listened with attention to the most copious expositions of Christian doctrine, saying, these were good words,—that was true,—they were much obliged to them for telling all this. When, however, the missionary thought them in a fair train of conversion, they began in continuance to relate the dreams inspired to them by the Great Hare, the protection afforded by the Manitou, which they showed painted on their breasts, and the length of the journey to the land of souls. When the missionary told them that these were ridiculous fables, their wrath was kindled; they appealed to him whether such language was not very uncivil, and very contrary to theirs, who had given an implicit assent to things that appeared to them the most strange and incredible. Others did not wholly retract their first declaration, but said, that these things were good for those people who lived on the other side of the great lake (the sea), but that a land of souls, where there would be abundance of fat animals, was what alone suited the Indians. The missionaries were therefore obliged to confine themselves to baptizing children, and sometimes grown people at the point of death, which, according to their superstitious ideas, ensured their future well-being. A suspicion became prevalent, that the French were carrying them away to serve as their slaves in the future world; and one parent, on seeing his dying child about to be baptized, made strict inquiry, whether, in the world to which they were conveying him, there would be good hunting? On being told, that there would be no animal whatever, he asked, what then

there would be to eat? but on being informed that there was to be no eating, all his politeness forsook him, and he exclaimed, " Oh what a lie! how can a man live without eating ?"\*

Although the French thus failed in the accomplishment of any serious conversion, they were yet allowed to live in the Indian villages, and respected as spirits or sorcerers, who could do and say wonderful things. They acquired thus a certain influence, which they are said to have very zealously employed in promoting the political views of the French crown. Both Adair and Carver speak of it as notorious, that they had drawn up what these writers call " the bloody catechism," in which the Indians were taught, that it was the English who had put our Saviour to death, having intercepted him on his way to teach the Five Nations how to become masters of all America. Long, who travelled after the French had lost sway over Canada, seems somewhat sceptical as to this horrid imputation, and says, that he saw several villages which had been sensibly improved by the efforts of the French missionaries. He laments to say, that those sent out by Britain had been at least not more successful. They appear to have accompanied the fur-traders, and, in many instances, to have been infected by the irregular habits of that class of persons. At least, the conduct of those traders, and the articles brought with them, much more than neutralized any effect derived from their instructions. When, therefore, Governor Hun-

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\* Charlevoix, let. 24, 15. Hennepin. Chateaubriand, *Lettres Edifiantes*.



ter assembled a number of Indian chiefs, to assure them of the friendly disposition of his Britannic majesty, who had sent a present of a number of pieces of fine cloth, and would also send preachers to instruct them in the duties of religion, the chief replied, that they were exceedingly obliged to his majesty for the fine cloths ; but that as to preachers, they had already more than enough, and that the people learned nothing from them but to drink, quarrel, and cheat.

The Indians, as to cultivation and the useful arts, are in the very infancy of social existence. Kalm reckons that their villages are seldom less than sixteen or eighteen miles from each other, and only a little space round each is slightly turned up with the hoe ; so that they scarcely make any impression on the unbroken immensity of forest. Through these forests they hunt with singular dexterity and skill, though rather as an adventure and an object of glory than as a branch of industry. The great hunter ranks second to the great warrior ; and, before setting out on his grand expeditions, he prepares himself by a similar course of fasting, dreaming, and religious observance. Manufactures being an object of less urgent necessity, are in a still less advanced state. Yet the floor of their hovels is often spread with mats of considerable fineness,—the work of their women. The belt or collar of wampum is ranked by them as the most precious of their works. It is formed of a beautiful species of shell, brought from the coast to a great distance into the interior. These shells being sawed into oblong beads, are strung upon cords of leather, which, being sewed together by sinewy

**T**hreads, form belts or collars, as they are frequently called, from being worn round the neck. They serve not merely or chiefly for ornament, but are the grand medium of all treaties and transactions throughout America. Every argument and every stipulation has a bead or portion of the belt appropriated to it; and abstract conceptions receive thus a sensible image, fixing them in the mind of the savage, from which they would otherwise evaporate. The calumet, or pipe of peace, is also an object of the most careful workmanship. It is on a quite different scale from ours, being three or four feet long. The bowl is of the finest stone, and sometimes of marble, while the handle, of a fine light wood, bears carefully carved or painted upon it all the warlike exploits of its owner. He adorns it, moreover, with a profusion of beautiful feathers, to which, if his exploits can enable him to add a painted scalp, it becomes then a truly proud and superlative ornament. But the ornamental art which is pursued with the greatest ardour is painting, especially that description of which the human skin is the canvass. It is far from being merely an ornamental art; the hieroglyphic figures which it delineates form their only writing, the chronicle of their history, the record of their glories. The bare bosoms and arms of a warrior tell the battles he has fought, —the scalps he has taken, the whole story of his achievements. The colours are rubbed in with powder composed of coloured earth, or the pounded bark of trees, and though not very brilliant, are extremely durable. Baskets, very skilfully made of swamp

cane, and bows and arrows, the finest in the world, are also enumerated among their works.

It is rare that music and song, under some of their forms, do not find access to the most savage breast. By the Indians they are employed as the vehicle of all their great emotions. It is essential to every Indian, that he should have his song of war, and his song of death ; and there are moments of his life fixed for the recitation of each. His own exploits, the enemies he has slaughtered, scalped, tortured, these are the perpetual burdens of his lay. Each man for himself moulds his heroic deeds into song ; and hence they rise of course to very varying degrees of excellence. The language as well as the music rather expresses the passions decidedly and deeply, than is adorned with the brilliant colours of imagination. Nor is the Indian lyre a stranger to the softer lays of love. These abound with allusions to the objects of nature, but are framed in an artificial and almost oriental taste. Long gives the following song of courtship :—" Father, I love your daughter ; will you give her to me, that the small roots of her heart may entangle mine, so that the strongest wind that blows shall never separate them ?" He adds the following song of a maiden :—" It is true, I love him only whose heart is like the sweet sap that runs from the sugar-tree, and is brother to the aspen-leaf, that always lives and shivers."

The dance forms an essential element in the existence of an Indian. It is the grand celebration at all their festivals, the prelude to their war, their hunting,

and all their grand undertakings,—the expression of their triumph. Like the music and song which it accompanies, it studies to express at once the movements of their souls and their memorable exploits. They give here a full representation of living and real war, and perform all the movements of seizing, scalping, and torturing their enemy, at the same time sounding the war-whoop, and setting up the most hideous yells. Carver, who wished to conciliate them, once joined in this performance; but, as naked tomahawks were brandished on all sides, without the least consideration of what course they might take, he felt his situation exceedingly uncomfortable. The Indians themselves took a pride in the dexterity with which they evaded the peril; but to him it seemed as if every moment bid fair to be his last, till he got happily out of the circle, which he was careful never to re-enter. The dance of the calumet, in sign of peace and perfect amity, is the only one which greatly pleases the European eye; but it is introduced only upon high and solemn occasions. A good deal has been said of the black dance, in which the devil rises and becomes the chief performer; but Europeans have been able to give an account of this only from very imperfect hearsay.

The social and domestic life of the Indians, when closely viewed, were regarded by travellers, on the whole, in a favourable light.—“We perceive in them,” says Charlevoix, “the passions and appetites of beasts of prey joined to a virtue which does honour to human nature.” Their intense and devoted attachment, indeed, to their own community became a mixed and

doubtful quality when it was connected with and inspired so fearful a hatred of every other. Yet it certainly preserved in their daily and domestic intercourse a degree of harmony, and even cordiality, which we are not accustomed to observe in much more polished societies. The universal license arising from the absence of all government and police was far from generating those dreadful consequences, which would be reasonably expected from the populace of our own country, if placed in such a situation. They were remarked, in particular, for the most liberal sharing of the little they possessed with their friends, their countrymen, and even with the passing stranger. They viewed with equal dislike and contempt the selfish appropriation made by Europeans, and their lives spent in the ceaseless study of accumulating property. It was admitted that Europeans had many good things, which, in the hands of those who, like the Indians, knew how to use and bestow them, might have been of real value; but, as it was, they were only a subject of perpetual anxiety from the constant fear of losing them. The eager value placed upon gold and silver appeared to them wholly incomprehensible; but when told that for want of those glittering baubles, Britons were immured in dungeons for life, no words could express their contempt for the barbarous race who could be guilty of such an atrocity. The entire personal independence of which they make their boast was shared even by the children from the moment they emerged from the period of infancy. The mother, even in the event of conduct which she

most disapproves, never pretends any right to forbid or even to chide. The only step she takes is to burst into tears, and exclaim that her daughter will disgrace her; and so powerful is this appeal, that girls have been known after it to go away and drown themselves. In general, the youths, from what they see and hear, imbibe all the sentiments of this savage community, and require no invitation to tread with ardour in the steps of their fathers. Charlevoix accuses them of a want of filial duty; but the instances given are only those in which chance throws them into the ranks of opposite tribes, when the national seems to prevail over the domestic tie. One having met his father in battle, was about to pierce him, till, recognizing who he was, he said,—“ You once gave me life, and I have returned the obligation; we are quit; take care how you meet me again.” Generally, however, their aged and sick relations are kindly treated, and supported with tender care. It is only among the northern tribe of the Chippeways that they come to the very opposite extremity of putting them to death. Although this conduct has doubtless for its motive at bottom the difficulty of maintaining and conveying them from place to place, it is carried through with much show of kindness and many solemn religious ceremonies. After a course of sweating, smoking, and fasting, followed by a great dog-feast, they say,—“ We devote our father to the Master of Life, that he may find himself young in another country, and be able to hunt.”

Among all the nations of Canada and the Upper Mississippi, the forms and ideas were strictly repub-

lican, and the dependence of one man upon another was held in utter contempt. But the emotions and feelings of the savage are all in extremes; and when he has bent the knee to a chief, he serves with an entire and devoted veneration unknown to the subject of the most absolute civilized monarchy. The most complete example, and on the greatest scale, was afforded by the nation of the Natchez, on the Lower Mississippi. The entire disposal which the chief possessed of the lives, properties, and all that belonged to the nation, was not at all the result of force,—the submission was spontaneous and religious. The sun, whose orb in these southern regions blazed so bright, had been raised to the rank of supreme deity; it was in his name and as his children that the chiefs of the Natchez were venerated, not as earthly but divine rulers. The grand chief, when he left his cabin in the morning, saluted his great parent with three howls, and the calumet being put into his hand, he blew its smoke in the face of that high luminary. Every time he met any of his subjects, they saluted him with a similar triple howl, and either ranged themselves in rows as he passed, or retired with their faces always turned towards him. But they had a still deeper and thoroughly savage mode of expressing their devotion to him. At his death a certain favourite number obtained, by long solicitation, the right of accompanying and continuing to serve him in the land of souls. The victims thus favoured danced on the scaffold with their faces painted, and with every sign of festive rejoicing. Those who executed the sentence drew the cord in unison with a song, in which they

**Celebrated their felicity in being allowed thus to devote themselves. A number of parents also strangled their children, and carried them in pride and pomp to the place of interment.**

**This despotism, founded upon ignorance and superstition, all barbarous as it appears to us, was yet a step in the career of civilization. The territory of the Natchez was more highly cultivated than that of the free Americans; their mats were finer; their paintings, whether on wood or on the skin, were more skilful. Chateaubriand cannot believe that much progress could have been made in these arts, when all was to be done for the sole benefit of a ruler; but the attachment to this ruler formed a sentiment, the force of which equalled or exceeded that of private interest among us. The Natchez loved war, but they did not carry it to the dreadful extremities which prevail among the nations on the lakes. To this might be added, in general, more humane and polished habits, likely to survive the degrading servitude by which they had been originally formed.**

**Of the nations who in this chapter have been described as present, the greater part are now passed, and for ever. The Five Nations, with the Hurons, the Algonquins, and all the neighbours whom they made to tremble, have nearly disappeared from the face of the earth.**

**It seems difficult to account for an extinction so total of so many brave and determined tribes. The wars which they waged with Europeans, though attended with some brilliant successes, could not, amid the inequality of arms and discipline, but be on the**



whole unfortunate. New diseases were introduced, which, being healed only upon the rough system of plunging into the nearest stream, could not but be most disastrous. But that which above all has broken up their whole social system is the introduction of the European poison—brandy. The eagerness which, amid a monotonous life, arises for some violent excitement, finds a gratification in the use of this powerful and deleterious stimulant which no Indian seems to have been able to resist. They seem also to have had no idea of enjoying it unless in its very utmost excess. The historian of New England mentions, that when a party had procured a quantity of brandy, not sufficient thoroughly to intoxicate the whole, they cast lots who should drink, and those who were rejected thought it more edifying to see others get dead-drunk than to get moderately drunk themselves. Volney saw them only in the state of degradation to which they were reduced by having surrendered themselves wholly to this fatal propensity. He met them assembled at Vincennes to sell the produce of their red hunt, when, even in the morning, men and women were wandering through the streets only to procure brandy; selling first the produce of their hunt, then their trinkets, then their clothes, and never ceasing to drink till they had entirely lost the use of their faculties. He could not go out without seeing them by dozens wallowing in the mire like hogs, and too often not without witnessing broken heads or stabs with a knife. To this unfavourable point of view may probably be ascribed the very dark picture of the native Indians, drawn by this eminent observer.

## CHAPTER IX.

### AMERICA BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

*General Progress of the Colonies.—Comparative State before and after the Revolution.—Kalm,—Burnaby,—Smith,—Chastellux,—Rochefoucault.—Progress of Agriculture,—of Commerce,—Society and Manners.—Imbittered Hostility of the two Parties.*

FROM the happy era of the British Revolution, in 1688, the American colonies, being established in the same state of political freedom, and in the same full security of person and property which was enjoyed by the mother country, proceeded in a steady and rapid career of improvement. Their own numbers, as always happens where there is a perfect facility of subsistence, rapidly multiplied; and the influx of emigrants from the mother country was more ample and continuous than ever. These did not, as formerly, seek the western world as a gloomy refuge from wrong and persecution. They came in the hope to improve their circumstances, to escape from the pressure of care and difficulty, and to acquire that dignified position which arises from the possession of property in the soil. Escaped now from the vicissitudes and hardships which had pressed so severely on the early settlers,

they began to cultivate all the arts of life, and to assume the regular aspect of an European community. Their cities now resembled handsome English county towns,—their towns were good villages,—and even in the depth of woodland which still covered the interior, farms and cleared spots were interspersed at considerable but diminishing intervals.

The population of America in 1775, according to an estimate published by Congress, amounted to 3,137,869. In 1783, however, a new enumeration, made with a view of apportioning the burden of taxation, gave only 2,389,300.\* There might be some diminution in the course of so severe a contest, where so great an extent of the states became successively the theatre of war; but it was not probably so remarkable as these estimates would infer. At the first era, it was doubtless contemplated to present to Europe as imposing an aspect as possible, as well as to encourage the Americans themselves to rally round the standard of independence; while the last, though made with more care, being yet for a purpose anxiously shunned, would probably in vain attempt to prevent many from escaping its comprehensive sweep. The distribution in the principal states was as follows:—

		1775.	1783.
New Hampshire,	-	150,000	82,500
Massachussetts,	-	400,000	350,000
Rhode Island,	-	59,678	50,400

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\* Smith, ii. 413-14

		<u>1775.</u>	<u>1783.</u>
Connecticut,	- -	192,000	206,000
New York,	-	250,000	200,000
New Jersey,	-		130,000
Pennsylvania,	-	350,000	320,000
Delaware,	-		35,000
Maryland,	-	320,000	220,700
Virginia,	- -	650,000	400,000
North Carolina,	-	300,000	200,000
South Carolina,	-		170,000
Georgia,	- -		25,000

A people who had risen so rapidly to so considerable a height, who possessed natural resources so vast, and saw themselves in a regular progress to become one of the greatest nations in the world, could scarcely fail to become fretful under the yoke of a mother country situated at the distance of three thousand miles. Amid the very liberal constitutions which had been granted to the colonies, one grand question had been left undecided, Was the legislature of Great Britain, or was it not, supreme over the American states? Whenever this question came under discussion, it was evident that the political existence of the latter entirely hinged upon it. If the parliament of Great Britain held jurisdiction over the colonial assemblies, the latter could scarcely be said to have any liberties at all; and yet, if they were entirely independent of that legislature, could the colonies be said to depend upon the mother country, or be capable of any harmonious and united action with it. This dread question was brought rashly

under discussion, by the attempt to make America bear some share of that enormous taxation which she had been very instrumental in creating. But, assuredly, if the Americans had once admitted the right to be taxed by an assembly in which they had not a single representative, their claim to the character of freemen must have become very equivocal. This work is not a history. It does not come within its scope to recount either the steps which led to this terrible rupture, or the memorable events and vicissitudes distinguishing the contest of eight years, which issued in the establishment of American independence. The aim of this chapter is to draw, from the records of a series of intelligent travellers, a picture of what America was during this era, what she was before this revolution, and what she became after. For this object, materials will be afforded by the narratives of Kalm the Swede; Archdeacon Burnaby; Smith, a zealous American loyalist; Chastellux, a French nobleman, who held a considerable command in the auxiliary force sent by his country to aid the American revolution; Brissot and Rochefoucault, eminent and well known French characters, who visited America after it began to breathe from the effects of so long a war. The details of these writers are in a great measure superseded by the rapidly-progressive state of this region; but they are still very interesting, as they fulfil the object already announced, and will enable us to connect the infant steps hitherto observed with the mature and advancing state of these great colonies.

The hand of human cultivation had now made a deep

impression on the once unbroken expanse of the American forest. Rochefoucault considers Massachussetts to be about as well cultivated as France ; and generally from five to thirty miles in the interior was now cleared. Cultivation had also extended up the Hudson as far as Albany, which was already become an important seat of interior commerce ; and one might advance a hundred miles into the interior without seeing an Indian. The whole range of country, mean time, to the south of the lakes remained still nearly in a state of nature. The county of Onondago, adjoining to Lake Ontario, which contained 1,800,000 acres, did not maintain a population of more than 3000. The agriculture of America, even under its best forms, presented nothing which an European farmer could regard as diligent or meritorious. In some parts of the interior no plough was used, the ground being merely turned up by a harrow with iron teeth four inches long, which, the farmers hesitated not to maintain, was more efficacious. That system, characteristic of the infant state of husbandry, according to which the different parts of a farm were successively cultivated, and allowed to lie waste, very generally prevailed ; and, however repugnant to all the ideas of an English farmer, was, as circumstances stood here, perhaps the best policy. There was an ample succession of lands ready to relieve each other ; cattle could be pastured in the meadows at scarcely any expense ; and there was not a market to pay the cost of high cultivation and the collection of manure. The cultivated and occupied regions along the coast gave forth continually new

settlers to bring the interior under successive culture. Their mode of proceeding is described to resemble much that which is still followed by the emigrants to the western territory. Any man, says the Marquis de Chastellux, who can command twenty-five pounds, may go into the woods, and purchase 150 or 200 acres, which seldom cost more than a dollar a-piece, of which price he pays only a small part in ready money. He begins by felling all the smaller trees, and some strong branches of the larger ones, using them as fences for the first field he wishes to clear. He next boldly attacks those immense oaks or pines which stand as the ancient lords of the territory he is usurping ; he strips them of their bark, or lays them open all round with his axe. These trees, mortally wounded, are the next spring robbed of their honours ; the leaves no longer spring, the branches fall, and the trunk becomes an hideous skeleton. This trunk seems still to brave the efforts of the colonist ; but, wherever the smallest chinks or crevices can be found, they are surrounded by fire, and the flames consume what iron was unable to destroy. This object completed, the ground is cleared ; the air and the sun begin to operate upon an earth wholly formed of decomposed vegetables, and teeming with the latent principles of production. The grass grows rapidly, there is pasturage for the cattle the very first year ; after which they are left to increase, or fresh ones are bought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increase of twenty or thirty fold. At the end of four or five years the planter completes the payment of his land,

and finds himself comfortable. Then his dwelling, which at first was no better than a large hut formed of the branches of trees piled above each other, and having their interstices filled with mud, is changed into a handsome wooden house, more convenient and certainly much cleaner than those in the greater part of our small towns. According to Brissot, many of the first adventurers were of desperate fortune and irregular habits, who, when established in the depth of the forests, lived almost in a wild state, allowed their cattle to roam at large, and hunted over all the tracts adjoining. As soon as they found society advancing and drawing its links around them, they sold their domain to a more settled and industrious planter, and sought a station farther in the depth of the interior wilds. The first preaching of the gospel was usually accepted by them as a signal for taking their departure. Instances have been known of persons who have thus successively broken up four different districts.

The planter of Virginia and the Carolinas conducted his operations on a quite different scale and system. He bestowed some pains in laying out the plantation which he had purchased. This done, his next object was to invest all the capital he could command in negroes ; upon which unfortunate race he devolved all the labours of the field under this burning climate. The active planter perhaps rose in the cool of the morning, and took a ride round his grounds ; but the rest of the day he lay stretched on his pallet, fanned by his negroes, and taking draughts of weak toddy. Many of the estates were extensive, and the planters



lived much in the style of English country gentlemen. The demand in Europe was steady and increasing for the tobacco of Virginia, the rice and cotton of Carolina and Georgia.\*

The consequence of the various improvements of this century had been an extraordinary rise in the price of land, which, in the New England districts, sold at thirty or forty dollars an acre; and instances are even mentioned where very fine grass-land brought upwards of a hundred dollars.† Mr Byrd having an extent of 33,000 acres in the Sawra country behind Virginia, sold it in 1761 for £500. The proprietor, however, having taken a dislike to it, Mr Byrd took it back, and then sold it in the same year to Mr Farley for £1000. Mr Farley laid it out in a judicious manner, and in 1772 was offered but refused £28,000 for the same territory. The land, however, in all the back settlements was still excessively cheap. Mr Smith purchased 450 acres of excellent land, with a cleared plantation and a house upon it, for £100.‡ In 1791, Captain Williamson, (supposed agent of Sir William Pulteney) concluded with Mr Morris the purchase of a tract in Genessee, on the borders of Lake Ontario, judged to contain a million of acres, for £50,000. On survey there was found a surplus of 120,000 acres, which the purchaser very handsomely allowed to go along with the rest. Captain Williamson divided this vast possession into

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\* Smith, i. 41, &c.

† Rochefoucault, 17-23-517.

‡ Ib. 152-3.

squares of six miles each, and out of his own funds, or those of his employer, built four towns, erected corn and saw mills, and transported a number of colonists from Germany and Ireland. After first letting the lands at one dollar, he raised the rate gradually to three, and acknowledged, that on 800,000 acres he had cleared £50,000.\*

Manufactures throughout the United States, during the whole of this period, could scarcely be said to exist, even in an infant state. The dearness of labour, the general preference for the possession and occupation of land, the cheapness and excellence with which every article could be furnished from the mother country, were all circumstances which would have rendered premature any attempt to establish native fabrics on a great scale. Even the domestic habit in each family, of working up plain cloth for its own use, was unfavourable to the rise of large manufactures. The only attempt of this nature had been made at Hartford, in Connecticut; but though considerable sums had been invested in it, and it wore at one time a promising appearance, Rochefoucault found it in a state of decided decline, and threatening ruin to those who had embarked their capital in it. One exception was the trade of shoemaking at Lynn, where, even in 1795, four hundred thousand pairs of that useful article of dress were annually made. In ship-building also the price of labour was

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\* Rochefoucault, 128-32.

compensated by the extreme cheapness and ready command of the materials. On the navigable rivers of the Northern States, even New Hampshire and Maine, ships could be built for eight, nine, and ten pounds a ton, and then sold at New York for twelve or thirteen pounds; thus affording an advantageous mode of disposing of the large surplus of timber.\* The thread, stockings, and beaver-hats made at Philadelphia, are also noticed with approbation. Brissot mentions sixty-three paper-mills in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

The commerce of North America was in a state of rising prosperity, much superior to that of its manufactures. A great part of its productions was raised expressly for foreign consumption, and was sent abroad to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, and the luxurious productions of the West Indies. According to Burke, in 1748, there entered the port of Boston, to and from foreign ports only, exclusive of coasting and fishing vessels, inwards, 430 ships,—outwards, 500; New York, inwards, 232,—outwards, 288; Philadelphia, inwards, 303,—outwards, 291. Baltimore was not then of any importance. In 1795, according to Rochefoucault, the vessels which entered Boston from abroad were 725, and the exports, 4,255,000 dollars.

The American navigators were beginning to show the enterprising character which has since made itself

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\* Chastellux, i. 38, &c. Rochefoucault, 478, 441, 369, 427. Burnaby, *apud* Pinkerton, xiii. 729-30.

so conspicuous. In 1794, when Brissot wrote, a ship of sixty tons, built at Albany, had made a voyage to the East Indies. That writer estimates the imports of America as follows :—

Rum, brandy, &c.	4,000,000 galls.
Wine, - -	1,000,000
Teas, - -	125,000 lbs.
Coffee, cocoa, &c.	1,500,000
Molasses, -	3,000,000
Sugar, - -	20,000,000
Salt, - -	1,000,000
Other goods, value	20,000,000 dollars.

There were still about twenty vessels, which, notwithstanding the legal prohibition, employed themselves in the slave-trade, carrying negroes from Africa to the West Indies.

The social state of America had also undergone a remarkable change, corresponding in a great measure with that of Europe, from which it was derived, and on which it continued in a great measure to model itself. In the northern states, that extreme and intolerant rigour, which had characterized its religious founders, had been greatly softened down. Boston was no longer a scene of schism and persecution. The most complete freedom of religious worship was established in that city. The citizens appeared to Brissot to unite simplicity of morals with a portion of French politeness and delicacy of manners. Neatness, without luxury, characterized their appearance. The inside of a church in Boston appeared to him to

present a very edifying spectacle, the men substantially dressed in good cloth coats, the women in chintzes and calicoes. Philadelphia had made such a progress in population and wealth, that it seems generally considered at this time the capital of America. The austere plainness of the original Quaker establishment was by this time much diluted by the mixture of various classes and denominations; and, indeed, Brissot complains that the ladies not Quaker wore dresses almost as showy and expensive as those of the Parisian belles. There were even the ordinary amusements of great cities, though carried on not only with strict order and decorum, but under a system of rigid regulation, which to the Marquis de Chastellux,\* a gay French nobleman, appeared much to intrench on the ease and enjoyment of the company. The managers decided with what lady each gentleman was to dance, and required him to remain attached to her during the whole night; they fixed the tune, the figure of the dance, the station which each was to hold; they exercised an almost despotic sway. One of them, seeing a young lady engaged in conversation, and neglecting the figure of the dance, indignantly called out, "Pray, madam, do you think you came here for your pleasure?" New York, though prosperous and flourishing, and adorned with many elegant buildings, had not yet taken quite the prominent place among the cities of America at which it has since arrived. Bradbury, in 1759,

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\* Travels, i. 277-8.

found much of the old plain, frugal Dutch spirit; but to Brissot, twenty years after, New York appeared altogether English, and the citizens to rival the splendour and profusion which reign in the great cities of the mother country.

In Virginia and the other southern colonies an entirely opposite tone of manners was found to prevail. The planters, enabled by the labour of their slaves to live in plenty and in proud indolence, had acquired much the habit of English country squires. They eagerly followed all those pursuits which by uncultivated minds are accounted pleasure; gaming, hunting, horseracing, and with peculiar ardour cock-fighting. Some, however, made a better use of their leisure, and became men of enlarged and enlightened minds, as was fully proved by the eminent statesmen whom Virginia produced, and who took the lead in managing the affairs of the Union. An hospitable and liberal spirit prevailed to a remarkable degree, and much more than in the north. If any one, even a slave, was passing an orchard, he was welcome to pluck the fruit, and the proprietor, if he chanced to pass by, instead of showing any displeasure, would assist him to pick out the best. As soon as the planter learned that a gentleman of any decent appearance had pitched his quarters in the neighbouring inn, he seldom failed to bring or send a pressing tender of the superior accommodations under his own roof; to which he cheerfully added, ample opportunity of hard drinking. The curiosity of the Virginians was extreme and annoying; yet it did not amount altogether to that rigid and merci-

less inquisition, as to the name, calling, destination, and tidings of the traveller, which was so fully established in the northern states.

The manners now described were those of the coast, of cities and towns, or of their not very remote vicinity. In the back-settlements, especially of Virginia and Carolina, the occupants, destitute of religious and moral instruction, and remote from every scene of social refinement, had sunk into a state of barbarism, and almost of brutality. Smith, who spent some time among them, was perfectly disgusted by the coarse practical jokes in which their sole delight consisted. Seeing that he had a favourite cat, they cut off its ears and tail. This they called *fun* ; and when it chanced to kitten, they cut off the ears and tail of all its young. This they called *high*. The females in this neighbourhood were extremely handsome ; but could not, he conceives, be considered otherwise than as beautiful savages. Among other frolics he mentions, that, living once with a Mr Glen, he went to bathe with him in the river, when his wife and her sister, both young and handsome, ran and carried off the clothes of the two gentlemen, and kept them hid for a considerable time. As the British were observed not to enjoy these sallies of wit, they considered them as raw and outlandish people, whom, however, they liked, and undertook to polish. In a remoter district still, Smith found only cottages scattered at several miles' distance ; miserable hovels, where even the hospitality usually characteristic of remote settlements was no longer found. They refused even the shelter of their roofs, intimating that

There must be a strange person who came there where nobody came. However, all pointed to a Mr Tyers, who received all sorts of singular persons, and, accordingly, this gentleman was found keeping a plentiful and hospitable table in the wilderness, and directing that all the few strangers who came within twenty miles should be sent to him as his guests. Still lower in the scale stood the back-woods rifleman, who had ranked himself as a semi-Indian, wearing only a large hunting-shirt like a waggoner's frock, leather breeches made of elk-skins dressed by the Indians, Indian boots, or leggings of coarse woollen cloth.\* By his side hung the tomahawk, serving every purpose of defence or convenience,—a hammer at one end and a sharp hatchet at the other; a bag and powder-horn carved with whimsical devices, which, with the fringes on his shirt, formed all his armament. Thus accoutred, the rifle procured him food, the tomahawk cut his wigwam, he wandered without a guide through the boundless forest, and was independent of every human being.

Travelling and its accommodations in such a society were naturally in a very rude and imperfect state. The only paths through the woods were those which were called *blazed*, being formed by notches cut in a tree at every thirty or forty yards, and renewed from time to time; while a larger notch every mile indicated that distance. The economy of inns was very ill understood even in the most advanced districts.

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\* Smith, 178-82.



No distinction, even in the towns, was known of hotel, tavern, or ordinary,—one house sufficed for every purpose. In the country, the innkeepers, though sometimes men of property, usually followed some other calling, and made their inn only a secondary concern. A separate bed, and sheets not previously used, were not considered as accommodations with which it behoved the traveller to be furnished. On some of the outer borders the accommodation was truly miserable. The Marquis de Chastellux came to an inn kept by a miller, in which the only food consisted of cakes, to be baked after their arrival, while the only liquor was drawn from the stream by which the mill was turned. At a Mrs Tease's, the marquis found no vessel capable of containing liquid, except a solitary tin bowl, which thus necessarily served every purpose of drinking and washing, both to the family and to strangers; and, at night, what was his horror at having it presented to him for a purpose which he dares not to name. Near Halifax, Mr Smith found a landlady six feet two inches high, and of such extraordinary powers of frame that she had worsted the most potent bruisers and boxers for fifty miles round. Mr Smith was careful not to dispute her reckoning, though it was somewhat exorbitant, being instructed that in such a case she was wont to make proof of her prowess on the persons of her customers.\*

On other occasions, however, the taverns were kept by persons in a higher rank of life than is usual else-

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\* Rochef. 105. Chastellux, ii. 76-80. Smith, i. 111.

where. Chastellux, in the interior of Virginia, on being shown into his bed-room, was surprised to find a magnificent harpsichord, with a guitar, belonging to the young lady of the house, who performed with skill on these instruments. Many innkeepers, from the information which they obtained, and the extensive acquaintances they formed, were enabled to take a prominent part in the revolution. Sumner and Weeden, from this rank, rose to be generals, and made a considerable figure in the war of independence. At the termination of hostilities, several majors, and even colonels, scrupled not to resume their place at the bar of the tavern. One innkeeper exhibited to Chastellux a piece of his skull as a trophy of his exploits and sufferings in the cause of liberty.

The hostility between the different parties during this eventful struggle was, as in every such instance, very furious and imbibtered. Smith tells a most doleful tale of the persecutions which he endured, as being from the first a declared and determined loyalist. He was early proclaimed "an enemy to the Americans," in virtue of which every man could sue him for debt and damage, and he could sue nobody. He became thus, as it were, a proscribed man, interdicted from all the ordinary business of life. As he persisted in his contumacy, a warrant was issued to apprehend him. He fled into the back territory, and took refuge in the extensive swamp called "the great dismal," the whole of which lay under a depth of from two to six feet of water, with the exception of some ridges covered with so dark and thick a vegetation

that the earth beneath could not be perceived. Emerging from this dreary refuge, he made his way down to the coast, and had an interview at Norfolk with the Earl of Dunmore, who there commanded his majesty's forces. Here he undertook to guide Colonel Connolly into the interior, and assist him in endeavouring to call out a loyalist force. He led him up the Potowmack, through a cultivated and thickly-settled country, where he was well known, yet without being discovered. They were already among the mountains, when they met a little hatter who knew Colonel Connolly, and by whose information they were pursued and overtaken. The Germans, who had occupied all this territory, and were admitted to be an industrious and improving race, but without any idea of the gentle and social virtues, were enthusiasts in the cause of liberty, and treated him with the utmost rigour. The party were confined in an upper room, exposed to constant insult, and in dread if not danger of their lives. At the end of six weeks it was announced that they were to go to Philadelphia; but Smith, looking with extreme dread to this removal, had been maturing plans of escape. The night before they were to set out, he caught a moment when the sentinels had fallen asleep, and made off along with one Barclay, whom he had prevailed upon to accompany him. He formed the daring project, in the depth of winter, of traversing the Alleghany and the whole range of the back-settlements, to reach the English posts on Lake Ontario. He had to wander through a region almost pathless, buried in deep snow, which fell

Thick over his head, wading through creeks encumbered with ice, sleeping under rocks or in the hollow of trees, and finding only, at vast distances, some coarse refreshment or a fire to dry himself. Here too he was obliged to hear and join in the most violent abuse against himself, and to show implicit credence in the most absurd reports of what he had done against the American cause. Fatigue, cold, and exhaustion had nearly deprived him of the use of his limbs, when he came in view of those tremendous chasms by which the Potowmack pours its mighty torrents from the bosom of the Alleghany. As he was preparing to scale this formidable ridge, his companion deserted and robbed him, and he was left with a scanty remnant both of money and clothes. His resolution, however, did not forsake him; and, climbing these icy steeps in two days, wading through many dangerous water-courses, and finding rest only at one solitary hovel, he reached the opposite side, and seemed now to have only a portion of the great western plain to cross; when, in this moment of hoped deliverance, he suddenly encountered the party which had passed him in pursuit, and gone on to Pittsburg, whence they were returning in despair when they exultingly beheld him. He represents his treatment now as barbarous and insulting in the extreme. They placed him on a wooden pack-saddle, tying his feet below the horse, on whose neck they placed little bells instead of a bridle. In this state they drove the animal for nearly three hundred miles across the steep and slippery precipices of the Alleghany; allowing the rider

scarcely any food or refreshment. He firmly believes that they abstained from killing him only because they would thus have lost the reward offered by the Congress for his person. He was then carried to Philadelphia, where he was thrown into a damp cell of the house where the female convicts were confined. This gloomy dungeon, the rattling of the massy keys, the creaking of the numerous iron doors, and the screams of the unhappy damsels, nearly broke his spirits, while his health also seriously suffered. The members of Congress to whom he obtained access, behaved to him politely, but did not procure any alleviation of his sufferings. Congress, mean time, alarmed by the advance of the British army through the Jerseys, determined upon withdrawing to Baltimore, and carried their prisoners along with them. At Baltimore, and generally throughout Maryland, Smith found a much more friendly disposition ; and, notwithstanding all the strictness of government, he contrived to escape on board a vessel in the Chesapeake. Though disappointed of meeting an English ship in the bay, he succeeded in reaching some friendly districts, and at length arrived at New York, then in the possession of the British.

The severities and insults now recorded are stated by Smith to have been equally suffered by all who were suspected of any attachment to the cause of England. Even Chastellux,\* with all his French

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\* ii. 265.

Feelings, was astonished at the violence of that enmity which the Americans displayed against the British name. They were even mortified at the idea of speaking the language of those whom they deemed their oppressors ; they studiously called it the American, and at one time, it is said, seriously started the idea of changing it, and in its stead adopting the Hebrew.

## CHAPTER X.

## SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

*Difficulties of crossing the Alleghany.—Daniel Boon.—Kentucky —Henderson.—Smith.—Dreadful Wars with the Indians.—Settlement and Progress of Kentucky and Tennessee.—Of Ohio.—Indiana.—Illinois.—Michigan.—Mississippi.—Alabama.*

THE steep and continuous, though not extremely lofty range of the Alleghany, drawn like a belt along the whole back frontier of the eastern states, was long for them the boundary, not only of settlement, but even of knowledge and ideas, respecting the American continent. The discoveries which the French, from Canada and Louisiana, made of the regions on the Mississippi, sufficiently showed that the limited breadth which the first discoverers had assigned to it was wholly inadequate. It was long, probably, before they suspected the magnitude of what lay between these two grand lines of mountain and river ;—that they enclosed a valley the most fertile, the most extensive, and the most finely-watered, that exists perhaps on the face of the globe. It was

obvious, however, that on that side there must lie vast regions, to the possession of which the States, according to European ideas, had a natural claim. As, therefore, the eastern territory became comparatively filled up, and the spirit of emigration and enterprise was more and more kindled, their eyes were turned in that direction. The approach of this region, however, was so arduous, and a settlement in it beset with so many dangers, that only a few of the most ardent spirits attempted for some time to break through these barriers.

Daniel Boon, at first a farmer and a hunter, afterwards a colonel, had the merit of first penetrating into, and exploring Kentucky. On the 1st May, 1769, he set out with five companions from his farm on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. He encountered very rugged roads, and very boisterous weather, in passing the mountain wilderness, till, on the 7th of June, he found himself on the banks of the Red River, flowing westward towards the Mississippi. Ascending an eminence, he saw, spread before him, the vast and beautiful forest-plain of Kentucky. Plunging into the bosom of this fruitful wilderness, he found it peopled with numberless wild animals, particularly buffaloes, in vast droves, which roamed over the plains, fearless of man, with whom they were yet unacquainted. The gun therefore afforded to the party an easy and ample subsistence. The forests presented a beautiful variety of scenery, being sometimes diversified with fruit-trees, partly in blossom, partly in bearing, and also with flowering shrubs. The Indians, however, were already in wait



to attack them. That race seem to have felt an instinctive conviction, that the moment in which Europeans should fix their foot on the west of the Alleghany would be fatal to the name and existence of the Red nations; they placed themselves from the first, therefore, in open war. As Boon, and a companion of the name of Stewart, were rambling, a party of Indians rushed out from a cane-brake and made them prisoners. They experienced great cruelty, and expected more; but Boon, always on the watch, caught a moment when the enemy lay buried in deep slumber, touched his companion, and they made their escape. He had soon after the satisfaction of meeting his brother, who had come across the mountains in search of him. They spent a considerable time in roaming this vast country, where there was not a white man but themselves, exposed to continual danger, but finding delight in this wild independence. At length Boon determined to remove his abode and family to this favourite region, and in September, 1773, having sold his farm and its appendages, he broke up from his establishment on the Yadkin. He was accompanied with five other families, and forty persons more joined them on the road. In their passage over the mountains, however, they were attacked by a body of Indians, who killed six of the party, one of whom was Boon's eldest son.

Kentucky began now to draw the attention of government. General Dunmore, governor of Virginia, appointed several officers to make a complete survey of the country, and engaged Boon to accom-

pany them and serve as a guide. He accordingly completed, along with them, in sixty-two days, a tour of eight hundred miles, which enabled them to form a more complete idea than before of the extent and position of this fine tract of territory.


. Soon after a colonial undertaking was formed on a greater scale. Nathaniel Henderson, born of poor parents, grew up without being able to write or read; but, having afterwards supplied all these early deficiencies, he raised himself by his talents and eloquence to the first eminence at the bar. He was even appointed a judge; but his bold and restless genius struck out another path to prosperity. He conveyed across the Alleghany ten waggons, loaded with coarse woollens, spirits, toys, and trinkets, and having, with the aid of Boon, convened a meeting of the Cherokees at Wataga, in March, 1775, he concluded with them, for these valuable considerations, a treaty, by which they ceded a hundred square miles of territory on the Kentucky and Ohio,—a tract equal to any in the universe for beauty and fertility.\* An old Cherokee, however, closed the transaction, by saying, “Brother, we have given you a *fine* land, but you will have trouble in settling it.” Henderson now vacated his seat on the bench, and commenced a planter, or rather a sovereign and legislator. By gifts of fine land, on the most liberal terms, he attracted settlers from all parts of America, composed a new code of laws expressly for them, and adminis-

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\* Smith, i. 126. Inlay, 334-5.

tered the government without reference to any authority higher than his own. The whole of this course, however, was considered absolutely inconsistent with the duties which he owed as a British subject. The purchase of lands, and much more of a kingdom, from the Indians, had been absolutely prohibited, without the concurrence of the governors and provincial assemblies. His proceedings were disallowed, he himself outlawed, rewards offered for his apprehension, and all persons prohibited from joining him. But the warrants of government could not yet be executed on the banks of the Ohio; the Indians having concluded the sale, made a point of honour to maintain him in it, and his domain was continually filled with fresh emigrants.

Mr Smith heard so much of this establishment, that he determined to cross the Alleghany, for the express purpose of viewing it. He provided himself with a back-woodsman as his servant, with rifles and ammunition to bring down the game, blankets to cover them while they slept in the woods, and bells fastened to their horses' necks, as a means of finding them after they had been turned out to feed. One day of very difficult travelling, through a rough country, crossed by several deep water-courses, brought him to the foot of the great eminence, not very elegantly called the Wart Mountain. This had been described to him as the point in all America which commanded the most magnificent and extensive view. He accordingly spent a laborious day in ascending it, and employs a chapter to describe, in somewhat inflated terms, the emotions with which



the view inspired him. Yet the objects comprised in it are not very distinctly marked. It appears to comprehend a very extraordinary extent of mountain scenery, of which the most characteristic feature is, that the spectator, placed at the dividing point of this mighty ridge, sees the early course of all the great rivers which flow on one side to the Atlantic, and on the other to the Mississippi. They are seen variously rolling in deep glens, or bursting impetuously over rocks and through awful chasms and ravines. Not a glimpse is caught of the far-distant plains on either side ; nor does there appear, in all the immense circuit, a trace of human art or existence.

From the foot of this mountain there were still eight or ten days of very hard travelling, till, after crossing many successive ridges, Smith came to the last and most lofty of all the Alleghanies. This ridge, called the Ousiotto, afforded on one side a vast view over the mountain region which they had passed. It was now, however, with much greater pleasure that he beheld on the other side an entirely new scene, a boundless champaign, covered with magnificent forests, and intersected with prodigious rivers, which all directed their course towards the mighty Ohio. Through a break in the woods there was even descried a portion of its vast waters, rolling in distant and solemn majesty. The party now descended rapidly into this great plain, which, though from above it appeared almost level like the ocean, was soon found to be broken and obstructed by numerous water-courses. However, they soon got into the great Indian war-path, and found little difficulty

in descending the banks of the Kentucky, forming a range of four or five hundred miles of territory, scarcely equalled in the universe for natural fertility and the abundance of every species of production.

The settlement had made some progress, and Henderson showed considerable talent both as a planter and legislator ; yet was not Smith much edified by the demeanour of these sons of the wilderness. There was no idea of subordination, respect, or any distinction between man and man, except that of the weak and the strong, or the fatal difference between white and black. He found himself treated with coarse familiarity by the meanest and most vulgar of this infant society. However, he admits that they were an open, hospitable, hardy, enterprising race ; they had abundance of shrewd sense, and something bold and spirited, which made their conversation agreeable ; they were strangers to meanness and cowardice in every form : those faults were still confined to the eastern side of the mountains. Sensible of the many causes which rendered their tranquillity precarious, they had studied to give a strong defensive character to their position. They had made their log-houses tenable against small arms, and had erected three stockaded forts ; but both the structure and position of these indicated the total want of military eye and discernment. The entire want of subordination was also here an evil of the first magnitude. It was impossible in these forts to say who commanded or who obeyed ; the defenders consisted of a mere tumultuous rabble. This was an evil that scarcely admitted of remedy ; but Mr Smith endeavour-

ed to show them the error of their positions, and to point out others that were much stronger and more defensible.

This region began now to be traversed in every direction. Mr Henderson was visited by two gentlemen who had embarked at Pittsburg to sail down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. They had an agreeable voyage, navigating the river during the day and sleeping on shore at night. New Orleans and the settlements on the Lower Mississippi contained already twelve thousand families, mostly French, who were in deep dismay at being transferred, as they had just been, to the domination of Spain, which was already employed in imposing pernicious restraints on their commerce.

The system of colonization of the western territory was thus put fairly in train, and seemed likely to advance with rapid steps; but it encountered a dreadful check from the war which immediately ensued between the colonies and the mother country. The English government, by a policy which has been the subject of much discussion, allied itself with the Indians; and that fierce people were fired with the hope that they might finally cut off all that part of "the long knife," as they termed it, which had reached beyond the Alleghany. They immediately began their desolating system of warfare. Although they did not at first directly attack Colonel Boon in his fort at Boonsborough, they hovered round the settlement, shot the husbandman as he was busy at his plough, and destroyed most of the cattle. They even carried off, near the fort, a daughter of Colonel Boon,

and one of Colonel Calaway's; but the colonel pursued and recovered the young ladies. As their numbers increased, they made bolder advances, and closely invested the forts. Boon himself, sallying out for the purpose of obtaining provisions, was surrounded by a large body of Indians and made prisoner. He secured, however, an honourable capitulation, which was observed, and by his address he so insinuated himself into their favour, that he was adopted as a son. The only occasion on which his favour was shaken, was when he shot or hunted better than themselves. It behoved him therefore to lower his exploits in these respects, that they might be brought below the level of those of his Indian protectors. He was carried by them a great distance, first to Detroit, and then to Old Chelicothe. Here, however, seeing 400 Indians painted and armed for an attack upon Boonsborough, he thought it was high time to be gone, if possible. He stole off, and, travelling 160 miles in four days with only a single meal, reached his fort. The Indians appeared in a few weeks with 400 men, and invested it; but, not being skilful in this species of warfare, they were repulsed even by the small body of men enclosed within it, and soon obliged to raise the siege. They gained, however, many advantages, and even cut off several stations; and Colonel Boon, with some other officers, having collected 176 men, and rashly attacked their main body, much superior in number, near the Blue Licks, was completely defeated, with the loss of his son and all the principal officers.

The termination of the war for the independence

of America, and even, before its termination, the depressed state of the British interests in that quarter, had a disastrous influence on the cause of the Indians. They were obliged, in consequence, to renounce all that region to the south of the Ohio which forms Kentucky, and to leave it open to American emigration and settlement. The fertility of the country, superior to that of any of the formerly settled States, the pride of landed property, and the spirit of enterprise kindled by the late contest, united to impel the Americans into this path of adventure. A tide of population began to flow across the Alleghany, which, amounting sometimes to twenty thousand in the year, produced a growth the most rapid, perhaps, that ever took place in any society. In 1782, there was only a handful of people; in 1790, these had increased to 73,000; in 1800, to 220,000; in 1820, to 564,000, exceeding the population of Massachusetts. In the first enthusiasm of emigration, many finding obstacles in disposing of their property, are said to have abandoned it altogether, rather than delay in proceeding to their new possessions. Yet the difficulties which the route presented were still considerable. The Alleghany was to be crossed at one of its most steep and formidable points, over which no route had yet been formed that was passable for carriage or waggon of any description; and the emigrants were obliged to make this difficult journey either on foot or on horseback. They were still, besides, exposed to danger from the Indians, who, though unable to make head in open combat, carried on a series of desultory and destructive attacks. With



a view to this danger, Blockhouse, on the western side of the mountains, was made a place of rendezvous where the emigrants remained, till a caravan had been formed, which appeared strong enough to venture across the wilderness of a hundred and thirty miles, which still intervened till they arrived at Crab Orchard, the first inhabited spot in Kentucky. Unfortunately the business of disposing of lands was not yet reduced to a system; neither the description nor the mode of conveyance was sufficiently accurate; and in many cases gross impositions were practised. Mere ideal lots of 50 to 100,000 acres were sold in Europe, and even in some of the great towns of the United States. The consequence was, that the titles of Kentucky are in general exceedingly vague, and subjected to conflicting claims, which can only be settled by the fatal remedy of lawsuit. The only check which the States could contrive was to ordain that the old claimant, who ejects the present possessor, shall repay to him all that he has expended in bringing it under cultivation,—a penalty which, joined to the previous lawsuit, proves often a sufficient bar to the enforcement even of a legal right. Kentucky, till 1792, continued to be considered as Virginia; but it was by that time so great and so detached from its parent state, that its claims to a separate political existence were admitted by Congress, and it received a constitution and assembly of its own.

Kentucky was found to be bounded on the south by a long and lofty branch of the Alleghany, called the Cumberland or the Laurel Mountains; and so

long as fertile and unoccupied land continued to be in abundance, no attempt was made to penetrate beyond this barrier. When, however, the crowds which came yearly over the mountains, found all the best districts already filled, they began to look to the other side of the Laurel chain; and about 1789 a brisk movement took place in that direction. They found a soil, which, if not quite so deep as in Kentucky, was highly favourable to vegetation, and was watered by a magnificent river tributary to the Ohio. Here too, however, it was necessary to travel in caravans, in order to guard against the attacks of the fierce Cherokees. A bloody war was to be maintained with that great Indian tribe, who were at last partly subdued and partly conciliated. Tennessee, which in 1790 was not thought worthy of being numbered, in 1800 contained a population of 105,000, and in 1820, by a still more rapid progress than Kentucky, it had risen to 422,000.

After the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee, a vast range of territory, extending for twelve hundred miles along the north of the Ohio, remained still in the undisturbed possession of its savage natives. The districts bordering on Pennsylvania and Canada were a debateable ground between the French and English, and were occupied only by military posts belonging to these great nations. The most important of these was Fort Duquesne, which, when acquired by England in the war of 1756, was transformed into Pittsburg. After the peace of 1763 had confirmed all these regions to Britain, its government, by a somewhat capricious regulation, prohibited the

formation of settlements upon any waters, except those which flowed into the Atlantic. The tempting aspect and luxuriant fertility of the plain of the Ohio attracted emigrants in spite of every obstacle; but the hostility of the Indians, to which they were thus exposed without any protection, rendered their situation extremely precarious. It became still more formidable during the war of independence, when these fierce tribes were supported by British aid. It was not till the year 1788 that the Ohio Company, from New England, formed a settlement, on a considerable scale, at Marietta, about the mouth of the Muskingum. They were still harassed, however, by the hostility of the Indians, which broke out repeatedly into open war, till, in 1795, a pacification was effected at a congress held at Greenville; and the United States began on a great scale the system of purchase, which has since been carried to a vast extent. The Wyandots, Delawares, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, Miamis, and several other Indian tribes, received the value of 20,000 dollars in manufactured goods, accompanied with an obligation on the part of the United States to deliver to them annually the value of 9500 dollars; in return for which they ceded the most valuable of the lands on the north bank of the Ohio to its junction with the Great Miami. In this transaction the nations of the west sold, like Esau, their birthright and their home for a miserable return; yet, when we reflect that, by this process, vast regions that were now a wilderness were to be converted into the abode of populous and civilized nations, and that it was a process so much milder than that by which the

same end had been often effected, we feel very little inclined to criticise it with severity.

The American States having thus secured the peaceable disposal of a great extent of rich territory, soon adopted a more systematic mode of distribution, which at once secured the titles of the proprietors, and brought an ample supply of funds into the treasury. It was partitioned into townships, or spaces extending six miles in every direction. These townships, by intersecting lines, were subdivided into sections of 640 acres, and these into quarter-sections of 160 acres. The lands were put up in quarter-sections, at the minimum rate of two dollars an acre, to be repaid in the course of five years. Reservations were made for the erection of schools and seminaries of learning.

As soon as this arrangement was made, and the fertile territory of Ohio fully laid open, an influx began, still more rapid than that which had poured across the Alleghany into the southern settlements. The eastern States, becoming yearly more densely peopled, gave out a greater surplus of emigrants; while, in the old world, the united pressures of difficulty and of political discontent impelled increasing crowds to seek refuge, or better fortunes, across the Atlantic. The route was now across Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and being less rugged than the northern one by Virginia, it became soon the most common one even to Kentucky. Mr Birkbeck gives a lively picture of a scene which presented itself on this great highway of emigration. "Old America," says he, "seems to be breaking up, and moving west-

ward. We are seldom out of sight as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us, some with a view to a particular spot, close to a brother perhaps, or a friend, who has gone before and reported well of them. Many, like ourselves, when they arrive in the wilderness, will find no lodge prepared for them. A small waggon, so light that you may almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils, and provisions, and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights, with two small horses and a cow or two, comprises their all, except a little store of hard-earned cash for the land-office of the district, where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one-fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. The New-Englanders, they say, may be known by the cheerful air of the women, advancing in front of the vehicle; the Jersey people by their being fixed steadily within it; whilst the Pennsylvanians creep lingering behind, as though regretting the homes they had left. A cart and single horse frequently afford the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and packsaddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects, and his wife follows barefooted, bending under the hopes of the family.

“To give an idea of the internal movements of this vast hive, about 12,000 waggons passed between Bal-

imore and Philadelphia in the course of the last year 1817), with from four to six horses, carrying from 35 to 40 cwt. The cost of carriage is about seven dollars from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and the money paid for the conveyance of goods on this road exceeds £300,000 sterling. Add to these the numerous stages, loaded to the utmost, and the innumerable travellers on horseback, on foot, and on light wag-gons, and you have before you a scene of bustle and business, extending over a space of three hundred miles, which is truly wonderful."

Through the movements now described, Ohio, which, in 1787, did not number 5000 inhabitants, contained, in 1802, the number of 60,000; upon attaining which it was admitted to form a constitution for itself. Its increase became now still more wonderful. After eight years, in 1810, it had grown to 220,000; in 1820, to 581,000. Since that time the population has been ascertained to amount to nearly 800,000, and it is not doubted that the census of 1830 will give a million.

Ohio being thus rapidly filled up, the best of its lands and situations were now occupied, and the bold enterprise of the American emigrant pushed him forward into new regions, where greater choice might be found. By the treaty of 1795, the Americans had obtained some tracts beyond the Miami. In 1804, 1805, and 1809, fresh treaties conveyed over to them the best of the lands between that river and the Wabash, the lowest and largest tributary of the Ohio. This was erected into a territory under the name of Indiana, and the population was not thought

worthy of being numbered in 1805, which in 1820 had risen to 147,000. In 1816, Indiana was admitted to the privileges of a state-government, and allowed to frame a constitution for itself.

By a similar process was formed *Illinois*, composing the region included between the Wabash and the great tributary of the Mississippi, bearing the name of the Illinois, which it derived from a distinguished nation of Indian warriors, who had long inhabited its banks. Large purchases, in 1804 and 1805, were made from the Sacks, Foxes, and Piankashaws; to which were added others in 1816 from more northern tribes. Illinois, in 1820, contained 55,000, and had in 1818 been admitted to the privileges of a state-government.

There were some daring spirits who sought to range even beyond these limits. To the north of all these settlements, in an angle enclosed between the lakes Michigan and Huron, is a large expanse of territory, in which the French had established the forts of Detroit and Mahimillimae, the principal seats of the Canadian fur-trade. Here the Americans made purchases of five millions of acres, and in 1805 a government was established; but the grand movement being to the westward, the increase of *Michigan* was not very rapid, and in 1820 it did not contain quite nine thousand inhabitants. The *north-west territory* forms a wide region between the Canadian lakes on the east and the Mississippi on the west, and extends to the northern boundary of the United States. It belongs to them, so far as relates to any other state of European origin; but scarcely as re-

spects the Indians, who remain still in the undisputed possession of this vast domain. If a few posts have been established for the fur-trade, most of them belong to the north-west company at Montreal. Though this tract does not want some fertile and agreeable spots, the general rigour of the climate will probably render it among the last to which emigrants, who have such ample choice elsewhere, will think of resorting.

The acquisition of *Louisiana* afforded to the States an opportunity of framing some new and important settlements to the east of the *Mississippi*. To the first was given simply the name of that great river, which it has for its boundary along a line of 572 miles. From the reports of the travellers who merely sailed up and down that river, and observed its flat, sandy, and inundated banks, some prejudice was felt against it. But when the interior districts, particularly on the banks of the long parallel stream of the Yazoo, came to be surveyed, they were judged to be almost the garden of North America. The valuable productions of the tropical and temperate climates are here afforded in equal abundance. It is fitted, above all, for the culture of maize and cotton and the rearing of cattle. Amid the present ardent spirit of emigration, therefore, it could not fail to be of speedy increase, and having, in 1820, reached a population of 75,000, had, in 1817, been admitted to the privileges of a separate State.

There remained still a large portion of Eastern Louisiana, having for its basis the varied and deeply-embayed coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and extending



northward along several great rivers which fall into it, till it comes to rest on the Tennessee. This, in 1800, was formed into a territory, which, from one of these rivers, was named *Alabama*. It is of very various character, the soil being in many places sandy and swampy, and the climate even of doubtful salubrity; but there are some spots of excessive fertility, which attracted the eyes of settlers from the Carolinas and Georgia, for whom this settlement lay exceedingly commodious. Thus, Alabama, in 1820, had reached a population of 128,000, a great proportion of which, however, unfortunately consisted of slaves.

The acquisition of Louisiana opened a still wider range of emigration and discovery in the immense regions comprehended between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. An account, however, of the expeditions by which these were explored and surveyed must form the subject of a separate chapter.

## CHAPTER XI.

DISCOVERIES IN THE REGIONS BEYOND THE  
MISSISSIPPI.

*Acquisition of Louisiana.—Claim on the Countries West of the Mississippi.—Expeditions sent to explore them.—Pike to the Head of the Mississippi—To the Head of the Arkansas.—His Disasters—Return.—Expedition of Lewis and Clarke.—They cross the Rocky Mountains—Reach the Pacific.—Long and James to the South of the Missouri.—Cass and Schoolcraft up the Mississippi.—Long and Keating to St Peter's River and the Lake of the Woods.*

AN immense field had been opened to American discovery and enterprise in the wide and luxuriant plain which extends from the Alleghany to the Mississippi ; but the arrangement which now took place afforded to it still more vast and almost unbounded scope. Louisiana, or the lower valley of the Mississippi, had been originally settled by France, not without continued remonstrances on the part of Spain, which viewed with jealousy a settlement thus interposed between her possessions of Florida and Mexico. At length, by the peace of 1763, this region was finally ceded by France ; but England, as the fruit of this triumph-

ant war, obtained all the portion which was east of the Mississippi; while Spain had all that lay west of that grand boundary. The English part was transferred to the United States, in consequence of the successful struggle which terminated in their independence; while, in 1801, Spain was compelled, by the preponderant power of France, to cede her portion of it. In 1804, Napoleon was tempted by pecuniary difficulties to the very unusual step of selling this territory to the United States for the sum of sixty millions of francs (£2,500,000 sterling). Some American statesmen censured this as an improvident bargain, being one which really pressed heavy on the limited finances of the state; but subsequent issues have shown that its benefits to them were quite incalculable. The prosperity of the western settlements, as they rose to their present amazing magnitude, essentially rested on having for their *débouché* the grand channel of the Mississippi. The Americans, however, had an ulterior and still mightier object. On the possession of Louisiana they founded a claim to these immense tracts, forming almost another world, which stretched westward from the Mississippi as far as the Pacific. The Indians might well have called on them to show by what law of nature, or what acquired right, a band of foreigners had thus become masters of this immense region, which had been held by their own ancestors from ages immemorial, and of which these new claimants knew not even the aspect or boundaries. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that the Americans, having removed European rivalry, will make good their claim to this coun-

try against every opposition which its savage and native possessors can make. Accordingly, it has already, in the great community of civilized nations, been recognized as theirs.

The Americans, having made this immense purchase, were not long in undertaking to survey the regions of which it consisted, and which were nearly as unknown as the most inland depths of Africa. A young and enterprising officer, Zabulon Montgomery Pike, was the first employed on this important mission. He was sent, on the 9th August, 1805, to explore the Upper Mississippi, and make a minute survey of all the interesting objects which its banks presented. He was especially instructed to inquire into the nature and extent of the fur-trade, with the residence and population of the several Indian nations, and to make every effort to conciliate their friendship.

Mr Pike in this expedition had with him a company of twenty men, in a boat about seventy feet long, furnished with four months' provisions. From Fort Louis to the confluence of the Missouri the current was rapid, but obstructed by sand-bars. Above, as described by former travellers, it became comparatively smooth and gentle, though at the mouth of the Illinois considerable agitation was occasioned by islands and sand-banks. Afterwards the river was bordered by fine cliffs, and through their skirts of forest extensive prairies might be discovered. On the 6th September he reached the mouth of the Ouiscousin, which had become a great rendezvous of the fur-trade from Canada. The village of Prairie des Chiens, on its eastern bank, was the scene of grand meetings,

in spring and autumn, between the traders and the Indians, and great fairs were held for the exchange of furs with European goods ; but as, among the latter, brandy was the most sought and valued medium of traffic, very extensive disorders unavoidably ensued. The inhabitants were hospitable ; but, by their extensive communication with the Indian squaws, had become half-Indian.

At Prairie des Chiens Major Pike obtained guides ; and, after ascending to the mouth of the Towa, was met by a party of the Sioux Indians, with their chief. They assured him that they had kept themselves sober in order to receive him ; yet this sobriety did not appear altogether complete. Their salutation, by firing a volley of musket-balls a good deal too close to their visitants, was found a little startling. However, all proved to be well-meant ; the party were hospitably entertained, and the chief presented the sacred pipe, which, when shown to all the upper bands of Sioux, would serve as a letter of recommendation. They were entertained, by special favour, with a view of the great religious or medicine-dance. The chief feature was that of frequently running up to each other, and giving a puff through small skins held in their hands, when the person blown upon would fall, and appear almost lifeless, or in great agony, but would slowly rise, recover, and take his place in the dance. Afterwards in another village, where he was hospitably entertained, Mr Pike having alluded with some tenderness to a person from whom it was painful to him to be separated, the chief replied, that doubtless it must be very uncomfortable to be without a wife,

but he would soon remedy this evil, and would present him a choice, out of which he could not fail to satisfy himself. Pike having assured him that he considered it his duty to remain faithful to one wife, the chief said, that this was very strange, since not only he himself had three, but he knew American traders who had six in the course of a winter. Being assured that such conduct in the latter was condemned by all the more respectable part of their own countrymen, who made it a rule to have one wife only, the chief still declared his preference of the Indian system.

The banks of the river, from the Prairie des Chiens to the Chippeway, consisted in a great measure of hills, not running, as usual, parallel with the stream, but in an angular direction into the country, and separated by low valleys. This interchange of hills and valleys exhibited some of the most romantic and sublime views he had ever witnessed. They were sometimes interrupted by wide-extended prairies, resembling the lawns of civilized regions, and almost inducing the traveller to suppose himself in the heart of a highly-cultivated plantation. The Chippeway was a deep and majestic stream, but not nearly equal to the St Peter's, coming from the west ; but the channel above the junction to the falls of St Anthony is one continued series of rapids, consisting of rocks in the bed of the river, and separated only by narrow passages. Above the falls the navigation became more and more difficult. They were obliged to quit their large boat, and proceed up in canoes. The season was now unfavourable, there being a great deficiency of water ; in consequence of which they were

obliged sometimes to wade, sometimes to force the boats over rocks and shoals, and drag them through the precipitous current. The water would now be not a foot above the rocks, and the next step would be over their heads. At length, about two hundred and thirty miles above the falls, in lat. 45°, it became necessary to unload the boats and betake themselves to sledges, leaving the bulk of the provisions and stores in a log-fort, defended by a small detachment. The journey was very laborious, it being now the depth of winter, and they were often unable to make more than a few miles a-day. They in vain endeavoured to regale themselves by catching a few elks, though they saw once a body of a hundred and fifty marching like an Indian army in rank and file; but their swiftness eluded all pursuit. The mighty Mississippi was now dwindled into a small stream of three hundred yards broad, holding a slow course through a level country. In February they arrived at Leech Lake, which appeared to form the main source of the river. The winter was now so severe, that in crossing it several of the men had their ears, noses, and chins frozen; but they were hospitably received at a trading fort belonging to the North-west Company from Montreal. The American eye, however, was offended by the view of the British flag flying over ground indisputably belonging to the United States, and the British commander agreed to withdraw this obnoxious display. The party visited also Red Cedar Lake, whence another branch of the Mississippi, considered by some as the principal one, is derived. Here they found another fort of the North-

west Company, superintended by a Mr Grant. It appeared surprising that any men accustomed to the comforts of civilized life could be induced to spend their lives in this dreary solitude, where they lived only on preserved meat, and wild oats purchased from the neighbouring Indians ; but they were amply supplied with every thing necessary to carry on their trade with vigour and success. An assembly of Indian chiefs was called, and an invitation given to them to accompany the expedition on a visit to General Wilkinson at Fort Louis. Two of them, entitled the Buck and Beau, the latter brother to Flat-Nose, readily consented.

Mr Pike, having accomplished his object, now proceeded to descend the river, which, being a mere reversal of his course upwards, could present little of novelty. On the 30th April he arrived at Fort Louis, after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days.

Lieutenant, now Major Pike, had scarcely arrived, when he was sent out on another exploratory expedition. The object was now, while Lewis and Clarke were proceeding on their grand voyage up the Missouri, to survey the regions to the south of that river, and particularly to trace the heads of the Arkansaw and the Red rivers, already known in their lower course as grand tributaries of the Mississippi. The party consisted of twenty-three, among whom were a surgeon and interpreter. They proceeded for some space along the Missouri, and, coming among a tribe who had recently lost several of their relations in war, received strong proofs of the relative attach-



ments which subsist among these savages. The relations began their lamentations in the morning, and continued them for about an hour, being joined by others, who, having long ago suffered similar losses, felt their wounds opened afresh. One would say, "My dear father exists no longer; have pity on me, thou Great Spirit! You see I cry for ever; dry my tears and give me comfort." But the warriors' songs were usually to the following tenor:—"Our enemies have slain my father; he is lost to me and his family. I pray to you, O Master of Life! to preserve me until I revenge his death, and then do with me as thou pleasest."

On the 26th they reached the Osage river, which from the south pours in a great mass of tributary waters into the Missouri. The country on this river was found one of the most beautiful that the eye ever beheld, having all the advantages of wood, water, gentle slopes, and luxuriant prairies, diversified by flowers and verdure. The Osage Indians were found to compose a sort of republic blended with oligarchy,—all measures being prepared and planned by a small body of chiefs, but requiring the assent of the council of warriors. They live in considerable abundance,—grain, beans, and pumpkins being cultivated; but, as usual, by the women only. Their board is profusely spread, and strangers are invited to it so hospitably that they cannot refuse without giving offence. Mr Pike was obliged to taste of fifteen different entertainments in the same afternoon. The restoration of the captives produced a striking display of natural tenderness, without any affectation of ex-

aggregated sensibility. Wives embraced their husbands, and parents their children; and all united in returning thanks to the Good Spirit, who had once more united them.

In passing from the Osage river to that of the Arkansas, the travellers passed also the large rivers Kansas and Platte, on whose banks were the Pawnee Indians, a race scarcely differing from those just described. They found the Arkansas a broad stream, and its banks might, they thought, be considered the paradise of the Indian hunter; buffalo, elk, and deer, roved in such vast herds, as might have fed the whole race of Indians for a century. From its junction with the Mississippi to its issue from the mountains the distance is 1981 miles; the whole of which, in spring, is navigable for boats; but in the dry season it is a complete sand-bar. In ascending the Arkansas, they came in view of the grand western chain of mountains, rising before them like a white wall. Severe hardship was suffered in reaching the head of the Arkansas. It was now winter, and not having been aware of the elevation of this spot, they were wholly unprepared for the inclemency of the elements arising from it. One mighty mountain particularly attracted their attention, which served as a land-mark to the savages for a hundred miles round, and appeared to them, though erroneously, a rival of Chimborazo. They attempted to ascend its sides, but were soon plunged to the middle in snow, and unable to proceed. They reached the head of the Arkansas, which they found 192 miles above its issue from the mountains, making the entire course 2173. They were now,

however, reduced to a dreadful condition, being left, on one occasion, four days without food, the game being all under cover from the rigour of the season. Two of the men had their feet frozen, and were obliged to be left behind. Major Pike, however, pushed on in search of the Red River, which, from its course along the plain, ought, it appeared, to be the one immediately beyond. In this direction a large stream was accordingly found, and Major Pike, before beginning to descend it, erected a wooden fort, and sent back to collect his suffering stragglers. He was, however, altogether mistaken as to his position. The river was the Rio del Norte, which flows through the Spanish territory into the Gulf of Mexico, and he was already in the dominion of a people the most jealous of all others of foreign encroachment. Accordingly, as soon as Major Pike's position was learned, a party was despatched from Santa Fè, which made prisoners of all the Americans. Major P. instantly took down his flag, and professed the most perfect innocence of any design of violating the Spanish territory; he was told, however, that he must repair to Santa Fè. The party were treated on the road not only well, but with the greatest hospitality and humanity. The men would invite them into their houses, cause their daughters to dress their wounded feet, and give them the best bed. On arriving at Santa Fè, their military vanity was somewhat mortified by the appearance they made, with their clothes all in rags, and without a hat on their heads; and they found, in fact, that they were taken for a band of savages. Some of the common people even asked

**if** they had ever been in a house before, and if their **tribe** wore nothing on their heads. After their trunks **had** been searched, they were sent forward to the military commander at Chihuahua, in the province of **New Biscay**. At length, after a long route through **the** Spanish territory, Pike was allowed to proceed **to** the American frontier, and on the 1st of July **arrived** at Natchitoches, where, he says, " **Lan-  
guage** cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country **waving**. All hail! cried I, the ever-sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man."

This expedition was only subordinate to another on a grander scale, and with a greater object, destined to cross the entire breadth of the continent, to penetrate into regions known hitherto only by the faintest rumour, and to reach the Pacific, the grand western boundary of America. Their first destination was to ascend to its source the Missouri, already known as the greatest tributary of the Mississippi, or rather as the primary river to which the Mississippi itself is subordinate. This expedition was planned by President Jefferson, a zealous promoter of interior discovery; and it was led by Captain Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and by Captain William Clarke, with a band of troops and attendants, amounting in all to forty-five; of which sixteen, however, were only to proceed to a certain distance. They had a keel-boat 55 feet long, accompanied by two open boats, called perioques.

On the 16th May, 1804, after a winter spent in preparation, they were afloat on the Missouri. Some miles up that river, the French had already founded the village of St Charles, still peopled by their nation to the number of 450,—a race uniting the careless gaiety and amiable hospitality of the best times in France, ready even to undertake long and laborious hunting excursions; yet, wanting that systematic and persevering industry which is necessary to the prosperity of a young colony. Farther up was found a remarkable cavern, 220 feet wide, which the traders called the Tavern, on which they had carved their names and drawn various figures; and considerable difficulty was then found in passing a series of rapids, called the Devil's Race-ground. At the mouth of the Osage Woman River is a settlement of thirty or forty families; and at the junction of Wood's River, nearly a hundred miles up, is La Charette, a little village, the highest white settlement on this river.

The Osage river is the first grand tributary. It runs west and south-west through a fertile country. The people of the same name, comprising three tribes, of upwards of twelve hundred warriors, appeared large and well-formed, but less warlike than the northern Indians, who have also the advantage over them of using the rifle. We need not dwell on the fantastic derivation of their race from the intermarriage of a snail and a beaver; as, unluckily, the high price which the skins of their mother now bear has diminished much of their filial veneration.

After passing a number of rivers and creeks, not designated by very poetical names, as Bigmuddy River, Littlemuddy River, Cupboard Creek, Good

Woman's River, Big Manitou Creek, Hay Cabin River, they came to the important tributary of the Kansas, flowing from the westward, and which, at the junction, is more than half the breadth of the Missouri. The Indians of the same name, on its banks, have been reduced to three hundred,—as, though equally fierce and warlike, they were unable to withstand the fire-arms with which their enemies, the Sauks and Ayauways have been supplied by the European traders.

In ascending, they passed the mouth of the Nema-ha, not a large river, but rolling through most beautiful meadows, adorned with copses of fine fruit-trees, vines, cherries, and plums of species peculiar to America. Higher up they came to the great estuary of the Platte, coming from sources far in the west, and rolling a more rapid stream than the Missouri itself. This river is occupied by considerable tribes of Indians. The Pawnees ranked once among the most numerous of the Missouri races; and though they have suffered severely in their contests with the Indians of the west, they still count four considerable bands. The Ottoes, once their rivals, are now much reduced, and obliged to place themselves under their protection. Both these tribes cultivate the ground, and employ themselves only occasionally in hunting. The Kite Indians, farther to the west, are constantly on horseback, and are so named from the rapidity of their movements. They are the fiercest of all the Indians, never yielding in battle, or sparing their enemies; but this ferocity has called forth a dreadful

and just retaliation, which has reduced their numbers to a hundred.

Above the Platte, the Missouri became less rapid and more winding; and the scenery, consisting of a valley enclosed between two ranges of bold heights or bluffs, was extremely interesting. Here the Americans had a conference with fourteen of the Ottoe and Missouri Indians. The grand chief, indeed, whose name in English signifies Little Thief, was unfortunately absent; but Big Horse, White Horse, and Hospitality, held a most amicable conference, expressed their satisfaction with the change of government to the United States, and hoped their great father (the president) would send them arms for hunting and defence. The Missouri was found here to wind in an extraordinary manner. After sailing along it for twelve miles, Captain Clarke happened to go hunting, and having walked a quarter of a mile, came to the very point from which their progress had begun. The banks here consist entirely of sand and mud brought down by the stream, the loose texture of which accumulates, and either breaks down of itself, or is easily penetrated. It was not doubted, that the river would in due time force its way across this narrow neck, and leave the whole enclosed peninsula dry, or rather in a moist alluvial state. The portions of the bank thus continually falling in, being partly composed of cobalt and other minerals, formed a crust on the surface, by drinking which the party were afflicted with severe bowel and other complaints. They passed a rock peculiarly precious in the eyes of the natives, as af-

**F**ording the red stone from which they make their pipes ; and amid the deadly wars which rage among them, they have established it as a neutral and sacred ground, where every one may, unmolested, collect this precious substance. Another lofty mound, of which it was doubtful whether framed by nature or art, is viewed with sacred terror as the abode of a species of malignant fairies, a foot and a half high, and armed with sharp arrows, which they discharge against all who venture to approach their residence. Our travellers fearlessly ascended it, and enjoyed, unmolested, a magnificent view of the plain of the Missouri.

Near this spot, the Americans were visited by eight chiefs of the Ottoes and Missouris, among whom was now Little Thief, accompanied not only by Big Horse, but by Crow's Head, Black Cat, Big Ox, and Big Blue Eyes. With these worthies a very amicable council was held, concluded by a dram ; and as they honestly confessed, that, in the present war, they had been themselves the aggressors, by stealing two horses and some corn, Captain Lewis more readily and hopefully undertook to mediate an accommodation. Higher up they learned that a large party of the Sioux were in the vicinity, and sent to them Sergeant Pryor, who was received in their very best style, a fat dog ready dressed being put down to him. Captain Lewis, on learning this reception, immediately set out for the Indian camp, and received their chiefs and warriors under a large oak, where he presented them with a flag, a medal, a certificate, with a string of wampum ; and to the great chief a richly-laced uniform, cocked hat,



and red feather. They made long speeches, which did not do them particular honour, being a string of begging requests. They besought powder, ball, knives, clothes, but with particular earnestness a portion of their great father's milk, meaning the president of the United States, and his milk being their favourite and fatal brandy. Yet among this number were several belonging to tribes who had made and fulfilled the Spartan vow, never to retreat before any danger; and one of this race had carried it to so wild a height, that on crossing the Missouri upon the ice, having met a hole, he chose rather to perish than make a circuit to avoid it. In general, most of these tribes had a sad tale to tell of their former greatness, and of the humbled state to which they were now reduced. This was the result both of the constant and bloody contests in which they were engaged, and of the ravages caused by the first introduction of the small-pox. A tribe of the Mahas, who saw themselves wasting before this last evil, were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy, that they set fire to their village, killed many of their wives and children to save them from so dreadful a scourge, and set out for another country.

Proceeding upwards, they came to the Ricaras, a handsome and well-proportioned race, and in their behaviour somewhat more meritorious than those lately visited. Their chiefs, Lighting Crow and Eagle's Feather, declined the proffer of whisky, and expressed wonder that their great father should send them a liquor which made men fools. They received presents with thankfulness; but did not beg them in the importunate

style of the former Indians. This tribe pay a peculiar veneration to three figured stones in the midst of the river, believed by them to be the forms of two unfortunate lovers, with their faithful dog, who, finding their union prevented by the cruelty of parents, wandered, lamenting their fate, till they were converted into stone. Both they and the Sioux, however, exhibited the most dissolute conduct in regard to their females, offering and even pressing them upon the strangers, with whom we suspect they did not find a very unfavourable market.

One of the most remarkable features of the Missouri consists in what is called the Big Bend, where it performs a similar detour to that already described, on a greater scale, being thirty miles in circuit, while the two angles of the river approached within two thousand yards of each other. The isthmus, however, being composed of a ridge nearly two hundred feet high, sloping down to the plain which composes the peninsula, did not afford the same prospect of its ever being penetrated by the stream.

By the time the party reached the latitude of 47°, sixteen hundred miles above the Missouri junction, a cold wind blew from the north-west, ice began to form on the rivers, and all the symptoms of winter were thickening. They determined to build a fort, where they might spend the winter with some comfort, and be ready in the spring to start for the head of the Missouri and the passage of the Rocky Mountains. They called it Fort Mandan, from the Indian people, among whom they now were. They were soon waited upon by Big White, Little Raven,

Neighing Horse, and Bird's Tail, the great chiefs of the Mandans, on whom they bestowed the usual presents, and soon established an amicable intercourse. The Mandans had something peculiar in their religious ideas, or at least names. Their supreme deity is called indifferently the Great Spirit, or the Great Medicine; every thing wonderful is called medicine; and each warrior's guardian power, instead of his manitou, is here called his medicine. This struck the travellers as something very peculiar; but, in fact, among all savage tribes something supernatural is attached to the processes employed in the cure of disease; the priest and physician among them is one and the same character, and the remedies employed consist always of superstitious *formulæ*. There is a Medicine stone which is the great oracle of the Mandans. It is thick and porous, twenty feet round, with a smooth surface. Every spring a deputation of the chiefs of the nation visit and smoke solemnly before it; after which they retire to sleep in an adjoining wood; when in the morning the destinies of the nation are found expressed in mysterious white marks, "which those who made them are at no loss to decipher." The Mandans were as dissolute and as regardless of the virtue of their females as the nations lower down; and their dances, even of a religious character, were marked by the most flagrant indecency. Yet instances were not wanting in which jealousy displayed itself in its darkest furies. "One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favour of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was ob-

liged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it, the Borgne walked there, and found her sitting near the fire; without noticing his wife he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till, rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes; then, turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said, 'that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge.''

On the 7th April the party broke up from Fort Mandan, thirty-two strong, in six canoes and two large perioques. On the 13th they passed the influx of the rapid stream of the Little Missouri, and on the 26th came to the much more important river of the Yellowstone, (Roche-Jaune of the French,) descending from the Black Mountains, and almost rivalling the Missouri itself. These two rivers rolled through wide plains, varied with wood, and animated by vast herds of buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. The abundance of game was now most extraordinary. Buffaloes were seen to the number of three, and on some occasions even ten thousand at once. They were intermingled, however, with animals of a more formidable character, among which the brown bear was pre-eminently terrible. The great danger arose from his frightful tenacity of life; it was only when the ball went through the brain that there was the least chance of killing him by a single shot. In several

instances, even after repeated balls passed through the lungs, he continued still formidable. Captain Lewis had very nearly lost his life by one which had reached, unperceived, within twenty yards of him, while his rifle was unloaded. He escaped only by running waist-deep into the river, then turning and presenting his espartoon, when the animal was seized with a panic, and suddenly fled.

Continuing to ascend in an almost due westerly direction from the junction of the Yellowstone, the party came to two great channels, or forks, as the Americans call them, which involved the leaders in great perplexity. One flowed from the north and the other from the south, and they were unable to decide which was the real Missouri, by ascending which they would reach the head of the Columbia. The south branch was 372 yards broad, the north only 200; yet the latter was deeper and gave its colour and character to the Missouri. Its waters, like those of the main river, were thick, whitish-brown, and turbid, and ran in the same boiling and rolling manner which characterizes that river; while those of the south fork were perfectly smooth and transparent. The two heads of the expedition made separate journeys of two days, respectively, along the banks of each river, but without coming to any decisive feature. Almost all the party, swayed by the similar aspect of the two rivers, and by the authority of one Cruzatte, an old waterman on the Missouri, were of opinion that the north was the genuine fork. The two chiefs formed a different judgment, observing, that the southern branch was decidedly the

largest, and the very clearness of its current favoured the idea of its coming from a rocky and mountainous region. The opinion of the commanders prevailed, as of right; and the men, though not convinced, submitted with a good grace. The great falls of the Missouri were to afford the only sure test by which this doubtful question was to be solved. In search of these they formed a light exploratory expedition, depositing their heavy goods in a hole, or *cache*, as the French traders call it, floored with dry branches, covered with skins, and earth over them. In two days they came to a ridge, from the top of which they had a beautiful view of the Rocky Mountains, now completely covered with snow, and consisting of several ranges rising above each other, till the most distant mingled with the clouds. On the following day a sound was heard as of a distant waterfall, and spray driven before the wind rose high above the plain like a column of smoke. The sound, swelling as they approached, became at length too tremendous to be any thing but the great fall of the Missouri. Captain Lewis, hurrying impatiently over some rugged rocks which intervened, at length reached the centre, and enjoyed the sublime spectacle of this stupendous object, which since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence on the desert. The river here throws itself down a precipice of three hundred yards wide, for about a third of which breadth it falls in one smooth and unbroken sheet; but in the remaining part, being received upon some rugged and projecting rocks, it is broken into an immense mass of white foam, the spray of which is

thrown up in a thousand shapes, and sometimes forms columns of fifteen or twenty feet, on which the sun impresses the brightest colours of the rainbow. Captain Lewis, after bivouacking near the fall, proceeded next day to ascend the river, which formed for five miles a continued series of rapids, one of which was nineteen feet perpendicular, and so rugged and irregular as to be called the Crooked Falls. The river now took a bend to the north; in following which, Captain Lewis heard a loud roar, and, crossing the point of a hill, saw one of the most beautiful objects in nature;—the whole Missouri throwing itself down one shelving rock which runs across it, and dashing across the rocky bottom, whence it throws up a spray of the purest foam across the river.

The identity of the Missouri being thus established beyond all controversy, the expedition was immediately moved up the river. As the boats, however, could not be conveyed over the falls, eight canoes were constructed above, on board of which was placed the necessary stock of baggage and stores, the rest being lodged in a *cache*. The voyage was laborious, there being a rapid current against them, and the channel often obstructed by inlets and shallows. The first mountain ranges now hemmed in the river more closely, and often hung over it in perpendicular cliffs. It was not, however, till the 19th July that they came to the grand gates of the Rocky Mountains. Of all pass-scenery in the world this appears to be the most awful. The rocks, for upwards of five miles, rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, form a most sublime and extraordinary spec-

tacle. For three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, on which a man can stand between the water and the perpendicular mountain-wall. The frowning darkness of these rocks projecting over the river, and menacing destruction to all beneath, appeared to the navigators truly awful. This river, here 350 yards in breadth, has evidently hewn its way through the mountain-mass, and the dreadful convulsion by which this must have been effected, is testified by the vast columns of rock torn from the mountain, and strewed on both sides of the river, trophies as it were of its victory.

The Missouri, at some distance above, was found separating into three branches, which, coming from the loftiest recesses of the rocky chain, united to form it. Being no longer fettered by the Indians in the composition of names, the Americans took the matter into their own hands, and applied to these forks those of three of their great statesmen, Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin; while to two tributaries they gave, not in the very best taste, the names of Philosophy and Philanthropy Rivers.

The movement of the canoes up the Jefferson being slow and laborious, Captain Lewis went forward on land to investigate the route. Continually ascending towards the most central recesses of the rocky mountains, he at last came to a point where a foot could be placed on each side; and one of the party, in a fit of enthusiasm, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. Proceeding onward, they reached a small gap formed by high mountains on each side; from the foot of one of which welled out the spring-head of



this greatest river perhaps in the world, and whose channel for three thousand miles they had so laboriously ascended. " They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man ; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain, as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, they felt themselves rewarded for all their labours and all their difficulties."

Having made this discovery, the party were not long of reaching the crest of this great rocky boundary, and their descent announced that they were coming within the domain of the Pacific. The object was to meet some of the Shoshonee or Snake Indians, who might serve as guides to the head of the Columbia, and afford various aids in the prosecution of the journey downwards to the ocean. The first whom they saw ran away, and could not be overtaken ; but they succeeded in surprising two females. These poor creatures, accustomed to consider the name of stranger as synonymous with that of the direst enemy, seated themselves on the ground, and held down their heads, submissive to the fatal blow which they immediately expected. Captain Lewis took one of them by the hand, raised her up, presented some beads and pewter mirrors, and painted her cheeks with vermilion, the Shoshonee emblem of peace. They were soon re-assured, and undertook to show the way to the camp ; on approaching which, sixty warriors were met, mounted, armed, and rushing forth in the attitude of repelling a hostile attack. Captain Lewis advanced with a flag, and the women going up to the

Indian chief, who was marching in front, explained to him that these were white men, who came with the most pacific professions, and she showed the presents received from them. They presently uttered vociferations of gladness and welcome, and their chief embraced Captain Lewis, who had the satisfaction of finding himself besmeared with paint and grease. They took off also their mocassins, understood to be a sacred pledge of sincerity, and to imprecate on themselves the misery of going for ever barefoot over these rugged mountain tracts, if they should break their engagement. The Americans then moved to the Indian camp, where a slight lodge had been fitted up for their reception. They were seated on green boughs and antelope-skins, and a space in the middle cleared of grass, on which a fire was kindled. The chief then took his pipe of transparent green-stone, lighted it, and having directed the stem three times towards the four cardinal points, took three whiffs, then presented it to Captain Lewis, and after him to the other white men. They had no food to give him except a cake made of berries, which, being seasoned by hunger, was found very acceptable.

Captain Lewis now proposed to the chief, that he, with a party of his men, and about thirty horses, should go to meet those ascending the Jefferson, and assist them in the conveyance of their luggage to the Columbia. The chief readily consented ; but next day, when Captain Lewis was pressing their departure, he saw the Indians still hanging back and hesitating, and at last learned, that some one had surmised, that the white men were in league with their enemies, and

were drawing them into an ambuscade. Captain L. warmly remonstrated with the chief upon this suspicion, and by dropping a hint as to his courage, so worked upon him, that he declared to his countrymen his resolution to go, though destruction should be the consequence. Only eight or ten would accompany him on this perilous condition, the women crying and imploring the Great Spirit to protect their warriors; yet so inconstant is the will of savages, that, before evening, all the men, and a great proportion of the women, had joined the party. They were allured not only by the hope of a good market for their horses, but of seeing a black man with curled hair (negro), who accompanied the Americans. At every mysterious and unexpected incident, however, their alarms were renewed, and were raised to the highest pitch when they came to the appointed place, and no Americans had yet arrived. The two parties were now in a most uncomfortable state in relation to each other, till an Indian came running to tell that he saw the white men. Joy and confidence succeeded; and a most tender recognition took place between the captive female whom they brought with them, and her relations and intimates, though she learned with grief the death of several in her absence. Being brought into the tent to act as interpreter, she instantly, in the chief himself, recognized her brother, leaped into his arms, threw her blanket over him, and wept profusely. She began to interpret, but was continually bursting into tears, and unable to proceed.

The Americans had been making strict inquiry into the means of reaching the Columbia, and descending

that river to the ocean. The information obtained was by no means very satisfactory. There was no timber fit for the building of canoes, and, notwithstanding the extreme ruggedness of the country, they had no choice but to proceed on horseback. They were, moreover, forewarned, that the means of filling their stomach would be very scanty. The Indians, who wished to go to the buffalo country, were only induced to accompany them as guides by having their promise to that effect urged upon them in the most pointed manner. While the party were making preparations, Captain Clarke undertook a trial-expedition. He found the road excessively rough, strewed with rocks and large stones, over which it seemed absolutely impossible to ride ; but the fine Indian horses, quite accustomed to these obstacles, carried him easily and swiftly over every difficulty. At length they came in view of a mountain, the loftiest yet seen, and were told, that its rocky sides hemmed in the river so close as to prevent all possibility of passing. It was necessary, therefore, to set out in a different and more northerly direction, by which they might reach the river below this obstruction. They had a very severe journey, and the Americans, though they could endure considerable hardship, were ill able to brook a privation of the first wants of nature, which, in the course of the journey, began to be experienced. Their first resource was to kill and eat the horses on which they rode, though rather too meagre for the purpose. They were next fain to purchase and dress the dogs which the natives kept for domestic purposes, though they themselves had so little idea of eating them, that

they called the strangers by the opprobrious name of dog-eaters; however, to our great surprise, they became rather fond of this food, and preferred it to pounded fish. At length they reached the lower course of the Lewis river, and found the Chopunnish, or Pierced-nose Indians, whose chief, the Twisted Hair, gave them a cordial reception, and assisted them in framing canoes. They came next to the Sokulks, a mild and peaceable people, who live in commodious houses of mat, and are well supplied with fishing implements, by means of which they secure a regular subsistence. The next tribe were the Pishquitpaws, who had never before seen white men, and in whom they excited considerable alarm. Just before Captain Clarke appeared, he had brought down with his gun a duck and a white crane; and the natives seeing these birds fall beside him, imagined he had fallen from the clouds along with them. This appeared more certain, when fire being wanting, he lighted his pipe with a burning-glass. It was a considerable time before they could be persuaded that the strangers were not supernatural beings, or, at least, not descended with evil intent.

The party was now in the Columbia, and saw in the west, at the distance of 150 miles, a very high mountain covered with snow, which, from its direction and appearance, was supposed to be the Mount St Helens, laid down by Vancouver as visible from the mouth of that river. In four days they came to the great falls. These, however, seem to be rather of the nature of rapids, being chiefly distinguished by the rocks and islands, which divide the river into a num-

ber of separate channels. The first descent being twenty feet high, they were obliged to haul the canoes over a neck of land. A mile below, the stream descended with great rapidity down a fall of eight feet. Here they merely carried the canoes to the bank, and let them down by ropes. This was the first pitch of the falls; next day they came to the second, which were rather narrows than falls. In approaching they saw a huge black rock, seeming to run from the right shore wholly across the river, and meet high hills on the opposite side, so as to make it appear mysterious how the water escaped. On the left side, however, a great roaring was heard; and on steering thither, there appeared a channel forty-five yards broad, through which the whole body of the Columbia forced its way. Driven into this narrow passage, it whirled and boiled in every part with the wildest agitation. Yet, as it appeared impossible to carry their canoes and baggage over these immense rocks, it was necessary to trust to their skill in steering; and they actually, to the utter astonishment of the Indians, passed through this perilous channel without any serious accident. A little below they came to another very bad rapid; but the shores being low, they were able to send round the heavy baggage and the men who could not swim. All these were only preliminary to the Great Narrows, which had been represented as the most perilous of all the passages. In fact, the channel for three miles was worn through a black rock 50 to 100 yards wide, in which the water swelled and boiled in a tremendous manner. They had now, however, gained both courage and experi-

ence, and by similar processes as before they made their way through. In passing downwards among the Skilloots and the Chillukittequaws, they observed figures of men rudely carved and painted, beside which hung the medicine-bag, containing roots, pounded dirt, and those other sacred objects which an Indian only can appreciate. They found reason, however, to believe, that these were not objects of worship, but merely ornaments; and, in fact, they were not now far from Nootka Sound, where the houses are ornamented in a similar manner on a much greater scale.

As they descended the Columbia, its channel gradually widened, till it attained a breadth of two miles, and even expanded into a species of bay filled with islands. Then having ascended a hill, and the fog which had involved the western horizon clearing up, they enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean;—that mighty ocean, the boundary of America and of American dominion, to reach which had been the object of all their labours, the ground of all their anxieties. This grand and cheering prospect, and the distant roar of the breakers, gave new life to all the travellers. Yet they had not reached the end of their troubles. They were tossed about for a fortnight in a sea which their frail canoes were ill able to sustain, and amid deluges of rain, before they could fix upon Meriwether Bay as a spot where they could securely establish themselves for the winter.

During this season the Americans held extensive communication with the Clatsops, the Chinooks, and the Killamucks,—the chief Indian tribes who inhabit

around the mouth of the Columbia. The leading external feature in these, as in all the other tribes west of the mountains, is one produced entirely by art. This is the flattening of the forehead ; and when this form is carried so far that a straight line runs from the top of the nose to the crown of the head, though so frightful in the eyes of a civilized spectator, it appears the perfection of beauty in those of a Chinook. For this important purpose a compressing machine is applied to the head of the infant soon after its birth, which, operating gently and gradually, produces in about a year, without pain, a permanent impression. This deformity reigns in full sway among the tribes on the coast, and diminishes on approaching the mountain-boundary, which it never passes ; and the eastern Indians designate by the appellation of Flat-heads those who dwell beyond the Rocky chain. Their dress consists chiefly of the skins, often rich and valuable, of the sea and land animals caught by them, mixed with some blankets of wool and mats made of grass. Their ornaments are wampum-collars of bears' claws, bracelets of copper and brass ; but, above all, white and blue beads, which are worn in great profusion. Considerable skill is shown both in their fishing implements and in their canoes. One of the latter, though fashioned out of a single tree, contains thirty or even fifty persons, with large quantities of goods. They carry on even a sort of active commerce ; an annual meeting being held at the falls, of all the nations, both above and below, to exchange the commodities of their respective districts. Their coast is even visited annually by merchant-vessels,



which might be supposed to be Russian ; but a number of names were given, which appear to be English, and probably come, like Meares, from the British Indian possessions to this remote corner. By this channel they receive bad guns, brass and copper kettles, old sailors' clothes, blankets, knives, tobacco, and, most valueless and most prized of all, the white and blue beads, which form their most precious ornaments, and even their money. They carry on traffic in a manner very little creditable, asking, and even refusing at first, the most extravagant price for their goods, and often begging ultimately that they may be taken at a tenth part of this first demand. They are acute, inquisitive, and loquacious, finding a constant subject for conversation in every thing relating to the whites, as well as in the events, trade, and politics of the little but active circle of the Clatsops, Killamucks, Wahkiacums, and Chinooks. They are unacquainted with any species of intoxicating liquors, though using tobacco to excess ; and they are excessively addicted to gambling. The women are treated more on a level with the men than in other Indian tribes ; but we are sorry to find that those depraved ideas on the subject of female virtue, which prevail in all the nations west of the Mississippi, exist in peculiar force here. They are carried into practice in the most grave and systematic manner, the husband proffering his wife and the parents their daughter, as the medium of trade, the return for presents, the reward of services. The travellers assure us that these tenders met a very cold reception from them, their virtue, it is admitted, being greatly fortified by the circumstance, that a

Clatsop young lady in full dress is nearly the most hideous object in existence. Her flattened forehead, her brown and pendent breasts, and the copious mixture of filth with her finery, served as an antidote to any irregular inclinations.

Having occupied so many of our pages in carrying this expedition out to the Pacific, we really cannot afford any more to bring them back by the very same route, with only a few deviations, and which could afford therefore no new observations of any great importance. On the 22d May, 1806, they arrived at Fort Louis, at the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri.

At the same time with this grand expedition across the continent, others on a smaller scale ascended several other western tributaries of the Mississippi. Mr Dunbar and Dr Hunter, from Natches, explored part of the Red River, and then its northern tributary, the Washita. They found the banks of the latter stream singularly fertile; it flowed with a clear and gentle current, and the water was perfectly fresh and agreeable, though there were a considerable number of salt springs on its banks. The Red River, on the contrary, as its name imports, was deeply discoloured with mud. Dr Sibley from Natchitoches, 250 miles from its mouth, ascended it to a considerable height, and collected much information concerning its upper districts. The navigation appeared to extend about fifteen hundred miles from its junction with the Mississippi, being interrupted only by rapids about 185 miles up, and more than 300 miles higher, by a much more singular obstacle, called the rafts.

These consist of masses of drift-wood, mixed with vegetable earth, which are carried down the stream, and wedged together till they are compacted into so solid a mass that trees grow over it, and it forms for fifty miles a sort of natural bridge, over which men and horses can often pass with safety.

The American government now rested for a considerable time from the work of discovery. At length, in 1819, a new zeal appears to have inspired them. Mr Calhoun, the minister at war, organized two expeditions, which might follow nearly in the traces of Pike, and complete what he had left unfinished. One of them proceeded westward to explore the regions south of the Missouri. It was fitted out on a large scale, provided with a geologist, botanist, assistant naturalist, and painter. It was commanded by Major Long, and the narrative has been written by Mr James, the botanist. A steam-packet, the *Western Engineer*, was prepared at Pittsburg, perhaps the first time that this important instrument of conveyance had been used for the purposes of discovery. The expedition sailed on the 5th May, 1819, and on the 30th entered the Mississippi. Having, however, to ascend the stream of that great and now rapid river, it did not reach St Louis, at the mouth of the Missouri, till the 9th June.

At St Louis, about a month was employed in preparations, and it was July before the *Western Engineer* was launched on the mighty waters of the Missouri. Mr Say, the geologist, went by land along the course of the river as far as Fort Osage, where he was joined by the steam-packet. Another party was now sent out to survey the country be-

Between the Kansas and the Platte; but they had scarcely passed the Kansas village, when they were set upon by a party of Pawnees, who plundered them, carried off their horses, and obliged them to return. Yet even here the rudiments of settlement were beginning to be formed. The human materials, indeed, consisted chiefly of squatters, back-wood men, and others, who fled before every approach of civilization and neighbourhood. Yet, even of such there had been located, at the junction of the Osage and Missouri, a town bearing the magnificent title of Missouriopolis, to which, perhaps, it is destined one day to correspond. Still higher up is Franklin, another infant city. At several points, and particularly before and after the confluence of Grand River, the steam-vessel had the greatest obstacles to encounter from the rapidity of the current and the numerous sand-bars. It worked its way across them, however; and on the 19th September, having passed the mouth of the Platte river, they arrived near the heights called Council Bluffs, where it was determined to make dispositions for passing the winter. Major Long set out for Washington, to receive farther instructions, and return in the ensuing spring.

The winter was calamitous. The camp was attacked by the scurvy, in its most malignant form; three hundred were ill of it, of whom it proved fatal to one hundred. Considering how completely, in situations much more unfavourable than the present, this dreadful scourge of distant and maritime expeditions has been overcome, it seems impossible to acquit the management of some failure in foresight

and activity. This dreadful malady arose from its common and well-known causes, want of fresh meat and vegetables, and we suspect, of sufficient exercise. It was entirely escaped by the hunters, who pursued their occupation at a distance from the camp.

Major Long returned on the 28th May, with instructions to ascend the Missouri no farther, but to explore the upper course of the Platte, which, notwithstanding its humble and prosaic name, pours in at the junction a mightier volume of waters than even the great river to which it is held as tributary. They accordingly abandoned their steam-boat, and having procured a due number of horses and mules, set forth on the 6th June upon this long land-expedition.

The Platte, in its early course, was found bordered by those large level tracts, covered with luxuriant grass, and scented with wild flowers, but destitute of timber, to which Americans give the appellation of prairie. In ascending, however, they came to that vast and naked plain, bearing almost an African aspect, which extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the borders of the Missouri, and is about 400 miles in breadth. The surface would be a dead level, were it not broken by deep ravines, sunk many hundred feet below the general level, and at the bottom of which meander some streams, skirted with a scanty and stunted growth of pine, red cedar, oak, and willow. The general surface is covered with a soil almost exclusively of sand, and produces no vegetation of any kind, except tufts of dry grass, and such gummy and saline plants as can draw subsistence from

the most arid soil. Among these are several species of the cactus, defended with such horrid and formidable spines, that scarcely any animal will attempt to penetrate the thickets of it, with which large tracts are covered. In many places there were traces of volcanic rocks, and smoke and flame might even be seen issuing from the ground with considerable noise ; but none of these could be considered as forming a real volcano. Although the greater part of these plains presented no vestige of any thing living, yet, wherever there was any slight vegetation, large herds of wild animals were seen roaming, whose numbers increased as they ascended the river. Bisons, with their " unsightly figure, cumbrous gait, and impolitic movements," appeared on one occasion to the amount, it was believed, of ten thousand ; horses of various size and colour scoured over the plains with surprising fleetness ; the elegant and swift antelope, the neat and comfortable figure of that species of marmot which is here called the prairie-dog, the wolf, and the horrid and grizzly bear, made their frequent appearance. In the 102d degree of longitude they found the Platte divided into two forks, each about half a mile broad, of which they ascended the southern. The immense range of the Rocky Mountains now began dimly to appear, rising like a bounding cliff to the ocean of sand extending along its base. It was now remarked, that while the mornings and evenings were extremely hot and oppressive, about mid-day a cool and refreshing breeze sprung from the westward. This seems justly ascribed to the cold air of the mountains rush-

ing in upon the rarefied atmosphere of the plains. Though the thermometer seldom exceeded 80 degrees, the rays of the sun were burning, and very painful to the eyes. On the 6th July, about lat. 39° long. 105°, they reached the point where the Platte bursts out from the interior of its rocky valleys. The mountain face presented an almost perpendicular ridge or wall, from one to two hundred feet high, skirting the base of the chain like an immense rampart. Between this rampart and the main granite range was an interval of about a mile, studded with insulated columnar rocks, some of a snowy whiteness, rising like pyramids and obelisks from amid a number of mounds and hillocks, which seemed to be formed by the disintegration of similar masses.

Mr James, with a detachment of the expedition, now directed his course towards that loftiest peak which had so strongly attracted Major Pike's attention, and had been considered by him as a rival to the loftiest Cordillera. After clearing the sandstone boundary, they came to the first primitive range of coarse red granite, on which there grew only a few stunted trees, with some berries. The red cedar and pine were the trees which, in a dwarf state, reached the greatest elevation. The beauty of the Alpine plants excited their admiration, the colours, especially blue, being deeper and more brilliant than in ordinary situations. The summit, comprehending a naked plain of about ten acres, commanded a grand and extensive, but desolate prospect, consisting of vast ranges of snowy peaks, beneath which appeared the immense expanse of the desert, with

narrow lines of wood skirting the rivers, which occasionally glittered through them like silver. The mercury stood at  $42^{\circ}$ , when at the same hour it stood at  $96^{\circ}$  in the encampment below; and having lost their way, they were obliged to spend the night on a part of the mountain where it fell to  $38^{\circ}$ . The position of this peak was found to have been very erroneously laid down, even in Mr Mellish's map published under authority of Congress. It was there fixed at  $16^{\circ} 42'$  N. lat. and  $107^{\circ} 20'$  W. long.; whereas it was found  $38^{\circ} 53'$  N. lat. and  $105^{\circ} 52'$  W. long. No barometrical process seems to have been employed in ascertaining its height; but a trigonometrical measurement made at Boiling-Spring Creek, about 25 miles distant, gave  $8507\frac{1}{2}$  feet; and having estimated, or, perhaps, rather guessed the height of this encampment at 3000 feet above the sea, they made the entire elevation of the peak to be 11,500 feet. This boiling spring is a remarkable feature. It is a large and beautiful fountain, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid, and which has deposited carbonate of lime in such abundance, as to form a large basin capable of containing 300 or 400 gallons. The water is in a state of constant agitation, bubbling up from the bottom, and discharging every minute about 50 gallons of air and water, in equal quantities. It is clear, grateful to the taste, and produces an exhilarating effect.

As the expedition passed along the base of the Rocky Chain, and the head of the waters which it pours down to the Mississippi, they found only a continuation of the same naked and sandy plain



which they had passed in ascending the Platte. They suffered severely from want of provisions, from the brackish and muddy quality of the water, and from the heat, the thermometer ranging from 95° to 100°. They were annoyed moreover by various insect-tormentors; locusts filled the air with shrill and deafening cries; rattlesnakes and scolopendras crawled about on all sides; and in the room of mosquitoes, a species of wood-ticks inflicted large and painful swellings in the flesh. Large beds of salt here occurred, rendering all the waters of this region brackish, and scarcely potable, till they are mixed with those of their lower tributaries. In descending the rivers they divided, one party following the course of the Arkansaw, while the other meant to descend the Red River; but a fatality seemed to attend every effort to find that river from its head. In its stead they pitched on the Canadian, a southern tributary of the Arkansaw, into which it falls after a course of about a thousand miles. They were confirmed in this belief by a party of 250 Kaskaia, or Bad-hearted Indians, with whom they encountered. They were much dissatisfied with the conduct of these Indians, and especially with learning that they had never till now heard of such a people as their sovereigns of the United States. These Indians were well-formed, and managed their horses with great dexterity; but they were extremely filthy, and some mothers were seen giving suck to their children while both stood erect on the ground. Red Mouse, the chief, informed them that this was the Red River; but perhaps there might not be a very exact understanding of

Neither side of what the word meant. As the parties descended, the pasturage becoming more abundant, gave support to herds of wild animals, from which they derived a supply of food. It was not till they reached the mouth of the Canadian, and found themselves actually in the Arkansaw, that Major Long's party discovered the error under which they had all along laboured. Captain Bell, meantime, in descending the Arkansaw, met with a still more serious disaster. Four soldiers deserted, carrying with them a number of valuable articles, and several of the officers' journals. The most remarkable object discovered upon this river consisted in six chalybeate springs, of which one is so saturated with carbonic acid gas, and the other with sulphuretted hydrogen, that the smell was felt at a considerable distance.

The different parties rendezvoused at Port Smith, on the Mississippi, whence they proceeded to Washington. They brought with them sixty skins of new or rare animals, many thousand preserved insects, of which seven or eight hundred were believed to be new; an herbal of four or five hundred new plants; a great number of river and other shells, among which were found twenty new species; a hundred and twenty drawings of objects of natural history, and a hundred and fifty picturesque views.

Meantime another expedition under Governor Cass, for the narration of which we are indebted to Mr Schoolcraft, was exploring the Upper Mississippi. He proceeded first along the southern coast of Lake Superior, till he came to the bay at its extremity, which the French have called Fond de Lac. Thence

ascending the St Louis River, he came to that large assemblage of what in America may be called small lakes, from amid which the Mississippi derives its origin. The Red Cedar Lake was fixed upon as the original source, and was named Cassina, in compliment to General Cass; but as the branch from Leech Lake is admitted to have a longer course by sixty miles, we should be disposed with Pike to consider it as the principal. The height of this source was estimated at 1330 feet, which, allowing a course of 3000 miles, gives an average descent of only about five inches to the mile.

The Mississippi, for 230 miles of its early course, till it reaches the falls of Peckagama, is about eighty feet broad, flowing with a gentle current of a mile in the hour, and bordered by extensive savannahs, covered with rushes and other aquatic plants. While the party were sitting in their canoes, the rank growth of these plants completely hid from their view the adjoining forests, and they appeared to be lost in a boundless field of waving grass. The extreme monotony of the view was only relieved by the birds and waterfowl, which had chosen this region for their abode. A Frenchman, who had here located himself for the purpose of carrying on the fur-trade, was found reduced to a most calamitous situation. Being caught in a severe snow-storm, his feet were frozen in such a manner, that they dropped off on his return to his wigwam. In this helpless state he was for some time supported by an Indian wife whom he had married, but who then deserted him. For some months he had been fed only by the meagre

charity of the Indians, who threw into his hut some of the refuse of their victuals; and he was now reduced to the most debilitated and emaciated state. Governor Cass furnished him with food, and sent a guide with him to the nearest American factory.

Below the Falls of Peckagama the river presents altogether a changed aspect. Its breadth is now 300 feet, and continually increasing, and it flows at the rate of three miles an hour. The aquatic meadows disappear, and are succeeded by forests of elm, maple, ash, poplar, and, lower down, of black walnut and sycamore. These alternate with what Mr Schoolcraft calls the "dry prairies," of which he draws the most flattering picture, and where the profusion of wild flowers and the sweet-scented Indian grass fill the air with a refreshing fragrance, and delight the eye with the richness and variety of their colours. On these meadows also the buffalo, the moose-deer, and other animals, appear in great numbers. In the course of about 700 miles, the river, by the influx of numerous tributary streams, is widened to 800 feet before it precipitates itself down the falls of St Anthony; but in the course of this space thirty-five rapids and nineteen ripples occur to impede the navigation.

After the Falls of St Anthony, which throw themselves down a perpendicular height of forty feet, the river assumes again a new aspect. The prairies are broken and bordered by ranges of those variegated limestone hills which the Americans call Bluffs, and which rise to the height of between one and four hundred feet. These bluffs, now shooting into spiral

columns, now presenting the fantastic shape of anti-  
quated battlements, and now stretching as far as the  
eye can reach in the form of a perpendicular wall, in-  
terspersed with valleys, prairies, and forests, gave an  
extraordinary grandeur and magnificence to the valley  
of the Upper Mississippi. Swelled now by numerous  
tributaries, particularly the St Peter's, St Croix,  
Towa, Chippeway, and Ouiscousin, it attains, at the  
junction with the latter, a breadth of two miles, and  
rolls southward to obtain still mightier accessions  
from the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Missouri.

The Mississippi had thus been pretty thoroughly  
surveyed; but there was still an outer range be-  
longing to the United States, which remained for  
them a species of *terra incognita*. The most pro-  
minent feature here was the St Peter's, the greatest  
western tributary of the Mississippi above the Mis-  
souri, and which joins the former river immediately  
below the Falls of St Anthony. Mr Keating supposes  
it never to have been visited by any traveller, except  
Carver; but, as already stated, notwithstanding the  
scepticism of Charlevoix, I am persuaded that it was  
the same which Lahontan ascended, under the name  
of the Long River. No other could have afforded  
the length of course which he describes, nor the lake  
which he found at its head. From a contiguous  
source, another river, known under the name of the  
Red River, flowed in an opposite direction, north-  
ward into the frozen regions, and, after spreading  
into the large expanse of Lake Winnipeg, held on its  
course northward towards Hudson's Bay. The line  
of the 49th degree of latitude, which forms here the

northern boundary of the United States, was to be strictly surveyed, and every observation made which could throw light on this region and its inhabitants. In the expedition fitted out for this object, the command was again given to Major Long; while Mr Say was to be zoologist and antiquary, and Mr Keating mineralogist. The two latter were to make the general observations, and to draw up the narrative; but the services of Dr James, as botanist, could not be procured, in consequence of his accidental absence.

The expedition proceeded down to Wheeling, on the Ohio, whence they struck across the head of its tributary streams towards Lake Michigan. In this route they had opportunities of continually observing the Potowatomies, a leading Indian nation in this quarter. They presented the same qualities which characterize the other nations on the lakes. They display, it is said, many of the virtues and finer feelings which adorn mankind in all situations. Their careful tendance of the aged and of the permanently infirm forms a favourable contrast to the practice of those nations who, in such circumstances, abandon or consign to death their aged parents; this barbarous deed being observed among them only in a very few occasional instances. There is a still deeper blot, however, from which the North American nations have been generally believed to be free, but which Mr Keating considers as fixed upon the Potowatomies; not only that they treat their captives with the same frightful inhumanity as the other native tribes, but that they proceed often to the most revolting extremity, that of actually devouring their flesh. The travellers

admit that they have been asked whether they ever were present at such infamous orgies, and have been told, that nothing but ocular demonstration could amount to proof of a fact so horrible. To this it is answered, that the state of peace in which these nations then were afforded no room for such an exhibition; but the fact had been acknowledged by the Indians themselves, by those who had perpetrated the deed, by the interpreters and travellers who had long resided among them, who were connected with them by intermarriages, and were themselves partly Indians, and who declared that they had been present at the time it took place; that individuals could be named who became victims to it, and that names expressive of this custom are given to certain places by the Indians themselves; in short, that the most incredulous of the party were at length compelled to acknowledge that all doubt was removed from their minds. The allegations against the Sioux do not seem to be duly made out; but against the Pottowatomies, Mianus, and Chippeways, it is considered as fully established. It is admitted, however, in many cases, to have sprung only from those dire extremities of hunger to which savages are liable, especially in these severe northern climates, where there can be no regular supply, even of the most coarse vegetable food, and the dependence is placed solely on the precarious product of the chase. In other cases, it seems to take place chiefly in a momentary paroxysm of fury, which prompts them, amid the process of torture, to cut out and devour portions from the flesh of the victim.

The party now passed Fourteen-mile Prairie, which was found to form the dividing ridge between the streams which fell into Lake Michigan and the Ohio. As it was intersected by marshes, boats could often in the wet season pass across to the heads of the opposite rivers. They turned aside to view the mission-house formed by Mr Cary, the great apostle of the Indians. It was now in the management of a Mr McCoy, and appeared to be well conducted. About fifty acres had been cleared, and six log-houses built, one of which served as a school. The principle was to instruct the natives in the arts and knowledge of civilized life before attempting to initiate them in the mysteries of religion. The school was attended by from forty to sixty children, and there was an expectation of raising the number to a hundred. Many Indians, and particularly Ispaneba, their great chief, encouraged and visited the school. These good works, however, are much counteracted by the traders, not so much from their cheating the Indians, though they do so in the most unconscionable manner, as from the introduction of ardent spirits, which produce the most pernicious effects.

Lake Michigan, at which the party soon after arrived, presented a striking change from the green prairies, interchanged with swampy plains, through which they had lately passed. They found themselves on the shore of an ocean. To the north was nothing but a boundless expanse of water, then calm and unruffled like a sheet of ice. To the south the view is abruptly limited by a range of low sand-hills, crowned with a scanty growth of pine and furze, and



beyond which was a wooded plain extended. When the sun shone bright, its reflection from the sand and water was dazzling and painful to the eyes. The sand is loose, and appears to have been blown from the beach by the strong north-west winds which prevail in winter. The beach is strewn with fragments of granite and other primitive rocks, and the bed consists of an immense accumulation of sand and pebbles.

The party, in proceeding to the Mississippi, passed the Rock River, one of its secondary tributaries, which deserves that name only in the upper part of its course. Then a large tract, over which trees were thinly scattered, was followed by an almost boundless prairie, where there was not a tree. In approaching the Father of Waters, however, they found that bold interchange of hill, forest, and valley, which renders this the most sublime and beautiful part of its course. It is said, "the first day's voyage on the Mississippi is delightful to those who have never been on that river before. The magnificence of the scenery is such, its characters differ so widely from those of the landscapes which we are accustomed to behold in our tame regions ; its features are so bold, so wild, so majestic, that they impart new sensations to the mind. The very rapidity of the stream, although it opposes our progress, delights us by conveying the idea of the extensive volume of water which this river carelessly rolls towards the ocean ; while the immense number of islands which it embosoms contribute to the variety of the scenery."

We shall pass the voyage up the Mississippi till the party arrived at the mouth of the St Peter's,

where the real tract of discovery began. Here the Americans had, in 1819, at the junction of the two rivers, built Fort Anthony, in an elevated position, commanding both, and had surrounded it with a stone wall. Being commanded by a greater elevation within reach of cannon-shot, it is of no value in reference to an enemy provided with artillery, but is completely proof against an Indian foe. In this centre of the savage world the garrison enjoyed many of the comforts of civilized life. They had brought under cultivation upwards of two hundred acres, of which twenty being in gardens, supplied an abundance of wholesome vegetables.

The party now began to ascend the river, the banks of which were found to be low and covered with a fine rich vegetation; the immediate border was adorned with lofty trees, which did not extend far into the interior. The bluffs or heights, which bordered the Mississippi, gradually sunk, but reappeared thirty miles up, on a smaller scale. The tumuli, or artificial mounds, were numerous, and some of great extent. At the head of the river, after passing the *Lac qui Parle*, which has nothing appropriate to its name, they came to the long narrow expanse of Big-Stone Lake, which is in close contiguity with Lake Travers, out of which flows the great northern stream of the Red River. The entire course of the St Peter's is about 375 miles; but the navigation is attended with difficulties which it is thought can never be overcome.

The expedition now found themselves in the midst of that region of swamps and lakes out of which

flow all the mighty rivers that water this part of the continent. Those great head-waters of America present phenomena which illustrate the variety in which nature delights, and baffle all the theories which we have been accustomed to hold as to the early direction of river-courses. It is common for the great rivers of a continent, though flowing towards opposite oceans, to rise in the close vicinity of each other ; but it is supposed to be always in a very elevated tract, and separated by a dividing ridge, which bars all communication between them. But the whole of this country is a dead swampy level, without ridge of any kind, and the heads of all the rivers have canals communicating with each other. Canoes pass from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi to the Red River, with fewer obstacles than are encountered in the lower portions of each respective river.

We cannot here enter into the very extensive details given respecting the Sioux or Dacotas, who are not distinguished by any very remarkable features from the other Americans. The expedition now descended the important stream of the Red River, which they found throughout navigable for canoes of two tons burden, and visited the colonies of Pembina and Fort Douglas, founded there by Lord Selkirk. The climate, as compared with that of similar latitudes in other parts of the world, and especially of America, is remarkably favourable. Wheat, maize, and even tobacco, are grown with ease and of good quality. The great disadvantage of the colony seems to be the distance from any market, Pembina being 845

miles from York Fort, a very arduous route both by land and by sea, while it is 2800 miles from New Orleans, and 1900 from Buffalo. Till, therefore, the districts which can supply the same commodities, burdened with a much smaller land-carriage, are filled up, it does not appear that the remote settlement on the Red River can arrive at any magnitude. The population consists of a confused mixture of English, Scotch, French, Italians, Germans, Swiss, combined with Chippewas, Crees, Dacotas, and other Indian tribes; and the intercourse between these parties has given rise to a numerous body of the *Bois Brulé*, a swift, active, black-haired, olive-coloured, cunning and fierce race of mixed European and Indian extraction.

The termination of the Red River brought the mission into the great and winding expanse of Lake Winnipeg, called by the older travellers the Lake of the Assiniboins. It is about 280 miles long, and from 30 to 15 broad. Situated in the centre of America, it receives many of its largest streams, and perhaps no piece of water enjoys such an extensive canoe-communication. It holds a remarkable place in the geological structure of America, as forming the boundary between the primitive rocks on the east and the secondary on the west. Corresponding to this variety is the contrasted aspect of the shores; the western presenting vast prairies, variegated hills, and a fertile soil; while the other exhibits only a scene of austere and naked grandeur.

From Winnipeg Lake they began to ascend

Winnipeg River, which brought them back in the direction of Canada. The scenery on this river surpassed all that they had yet seen of the wild and the sublime. The rapidity and immense volume of the waters, the variety of form in the falls and cascades, and the singular wildness of the dark water-worn granite and primitive rocks which produce them, and whose dark and unchanging aspect contrasts with the continual movement and glitter of the waters;—these features give to the long series of Winnipeg Falls a picturesque effect, compared to which Niagara itself is uniform and monotonous. In what are accounted the lower falls, the river, being received into a basin enclosed by high rocks, assumes the character of a troubled ocean, dashing furiously against the surrounding shores and rocky islands. The upper falls, forming successive cascades of 10 or 15 feet, though not on a great scale, are also very picturesque.

Ascending the Winnipeg, the party came to the Lake of the Woods, an extensive piece of water, about three hundred miles in circumference. The scenery is wild and romantic in a high degree, the shores being faced by precipices crowned with thick foliage, and the surface studded with countless islands. The region, however, bordering on these waters is the most dreary that can be imagined. The climate is so rigorous, the surface so rugged, that it has never been claimed as a residence by man or beast. It is only occasionally that a moose-deer or bear is to be seen, or that a half-starved family of savages endeavour to

pick a scanty subsistence by fishing on some of the water-courses. They are often reduced, however, to dreadful extremities ; and one woman was heard of who had killed and eaten her own husband and children.

From the Lake of the Woods the party proceeded by Rainy River to Rainy Lake, thence by Bad River to Lake La Croix, and afterwards through Cold Water, Muddy and White Fish Lakes, Cat's Tail River, Dog River and Lake, and the Kamenatekivaya River. The whole of this route to Lake Superior is a continued chaos of lakes, islands, and river-channels. There is thus a continuous navigation from that lake to the heads of all the great rivers, and even far into the most northerly region of America. But the accommodation thus afforded is greatly diminished by the immense number of portages, or obstructed points at which it is necessary to drag the canoes over land. Mr Keating enumerates no less than eighty-four between the Red River and Lake Superior. There is a fall on Dog River called Kakkabekka, which was considered to yield to Niagara in breadth only, not in volume of water, pomp of sound, and picturesque effect.

The boundary-line between Britain and the United States runs for some time along this range of waters as far as the Lake of the Woods, after which it cuts America in the mechanical section made by the 49th degree of latitude. This seems scarcely a fortunate arrangement, since it leaves no boundary, either of separation or defence, between these two great rival



**END OF VOLUME I.**

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**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AMERICA.**

1

2

**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AMERICA ;**

**INCLUDING**  
**THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, THE SHORES OF THE**  
**POLAR SEA, AND THE VOYAGES IN SEARCH OF**  
**A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE ;**  
**WITH**  
**OBSERVATIONS ON EMIGRATION.**

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**BY HUGH MURRAY, ESQ., F.R.S.E.,**  
Author of Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, Asia, &c.

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**Illustrated by a Map of North America.**

**VOL. II.**

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**HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AMERICA.**



## BOOK II.

### VOYAGES FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTH- WEST PASSAGE TO INDIA.

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THE preceding Book has exhibited the progress of American discovery and settlement as it took place in all the temperate climates, and in those regions which the emigrants from Europe were destined to cover with great and flourishing nations. But there was carried on, at the same time, beyond the boundaries, as it were, of the habitable world, amid the realms of perpetual ice and snow, a succession of grand enterprises, which, though they failed of their immediate object, presented an extraordinary series of adventure, and included grand displays of naval skill and prowess. These voyages, therefore, interspersed with a few land-expeditions to the same quarter, will furnish an ample and interesting subject for this Second Book.

## CHAPTER I.

## EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES.

*Rise of a Spirit of Discovery in England.—Sebastian Cabot Grand Pilot.—Expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby.—Sir Martin Frobisher—First Voyage—Second Voyage—Third Voyage.—John Davis—First Voyage—Second Voyage—Third Voyage.—Maldonado.—Weymouth.—Knight—His Death.—Hudson's early Voyages—Fourth Voyage and tragical End.—Sir Thomas Button.*

**AFTER** all the splendid scenes which the New World had exhibited, and the fountains of wealth which it had opened, the first object with which Columbus had left the shores of Spain to cross the unknown Atlantic continued ever to glitter foremost in the eyes of Europeans. Another and a shorter passage to the golden regions of the East was, if not the primary, always the ultimate object of those who spread westward the sail of discovery. So long as the idea of an island-group attached to the regions of the newly-discovered world, a passage among these islands might be naturally expected. The illusion was cherished by the delusive ideas, then prevalent, re-

specting the magnitude and relative position of the different parts of the earth. In some of the early delineations America and Asia are found actually conjoined through their whole mass ; and while on one side are Mexico and Brazil, on the other are India and the Cattigara of Pliny. The eager activity, however, of the great maritime explorers had long before the lapse of half a century dispelled these early hopes. Vesputius, Ojeda, Grijalva, had searched all round the Gulf of Mexico, and found it every where enclosed by vast lands ; while to the southward an unbroken mass of continent was found indefinitely extending. In the north, again, the long ranges of coast surveyed, vainly as to this object, by Cabot, Cortereal, Verazzani, and Cartier, chilled the hope of finding, within any temperate latitude, this grand commercial route. The European mind, however, continued still fixed on this long-cherished aim with deep and romantic ardour, which seemed to strengthen in proportion to the obstacles which rose against it. At length the spirit of adventure advanced to a daring height. A race of bold mariners were found, who dreaded not to face all the inclemencies of the polar sky, in climes that lie beneath the sway of perpetual winter. Perhaps at best this could never be any thing but a grand and daring chimera. That the merchant should find a safe and commodious passage, during the short arctic summer, along coasts just loosened from ice, of which mighty mountains still floated around him, could only, perhaps, have been formed in that lofty and excited state of mind which prompts to distant adventure. But man's high exer-



tions afford a reward to themselves in the energies which they create, and the spirit which they diffuse. No sphere of exertion has made a grander display of the prowess and daring of British seamen, for it is with pride we reflect that this career has been almost exclusively theirs. Britain began, carried on, and has now very nearly completed the delineation of these vast unknown boundaries of the habitable earth.

It was under the short but patriotic and popular reign of Edward VI. that the maritime spirit of Britain, which before had emitted only transient sparks, burst into a steady and ample blaze. The northern passage to India was the object which called forth the royal patronage and the national enthusiasm. It was not by America, however, but by the north-east of Asia, that the passage was first sought. A company, said to consist of "grave citizens of London, and men of great wisdom," was formed, under the title of "Merchants Adventurers, for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown." Five thousand pounds were subscribed, and three vessels constructed, in the most careful manner, and with even new precautions, among which was that of covering the keel with thin sheets of lead. Sebastian Cabot, recalled to England, and created Grand Pilot of the kingdom, drew up instructions for the conduct of the expedition. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, whose birth, known prowess, and even his noble and commanding figure, threw a new lustre on the undertaking. They sailed down the Thames on the 10th May, 1553, and as they passed Greenwich,

where the court then resided, attracted the notice not only of the first nobility, but of the whole body of the people, who lined the shore, and even the roofs of the houses. Guns were fired, handkerchiefs waved, and the air rung with shouts of acclamation. The thought of the mighty and unknown seas into which they were to plunge served only, in this moment of exultation, to give an inspiring grandeur to the enterprise. Few probably of those who hailed them as they floated down in this pompous array, suspected that they were victims adorned for the sacrifice, and that so speedy and so dark a fate awaited this brilliant armament.

Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed round the coast of Norway, endeavouring to rendezvous his little fleet at the port of Wardhuys, in Finmark. He was attacked, however, with "flawes of wind and terrible whirlwinds," and sought in vain to reach the land, which he found "lay not as the globe made mention." Thus bewildered, on this dark and stormy sea, and encompassed with danger in every form, he continued yet to press towards his destination. In a few days he descried land, but of a dreary and desolate aspect, either Spitzbergen, or, as some think, more probably Nova Zembla. In either case it could present only one aspect; rocks rising over rocks, with the clouds wrapt around their icy pinnacles; while no sound could be wafted over the waves, but the crash of its falling ice and the hungry roar of its monsters. Willoughby, reluctant to renounce the brilliant hopes with which he had departed, continued to struggle onward; but, instead of obtaining any view of the golden

shores of India and Cathay, he found himself plunging deeper and deeper into the regions of perpetual winter. As his ships began to suffer severely, he deemed it necessary to turn back, and seek for a harbour in which they might winter in safety. After beating about for some time on these unknown and desolate shores, they at length found one at the mouth of the river of Arzina, on the eastern coast of Lapland. It was now only September, but it was here the depth of winter,—intense frost, and tempests of snow driving through the air; while the sun, appearing only for a short period at mid-day, on the edge of the horizon, announced the speedy closing in of the polar night. They were now in the situation described by the poet :

Miserable they

Who here, entangled in the gathering ice,  
Take their last look of the descending sun,  
While full of fate, and fierce with tenfold frost,  
The long, long night, incumbent o'er their heads,  
Falls horrible.

The journal proceeds no farther, and a veil hangs over the varied forms of famine and death which beset them in their last extremity. Some Russian fishermen, who were sailing this way in the following year, found the ships, with all their gallant crews lifeless. By a will found on board, it appeared that Sir Hugh still survived in January, but probably then felt his end approaching.

Chancellor, who commanded one of the vessels of this expedition, was more fortunate. Being separated from the rest, he kept close along the coast, and ar-

rived in the White Sea. An intercourse was opened with Russia, and the merchant-adventurers were henceforth known under the title of Muscovy merchants. But the ardour of the nation for a north-east passage was severely chilled; and one inefficient expedition sent many years after by the Muscovy merchants, under Pet and Jackman, formed the termination of their efforts in that direction. The Dutch East India Company sent three expeditions, one of which wintered in Nova Zembla, enduring the most severe hardships, but all without any result.

When the enterprise of the nation, after being paralyzed under the gloomy reign of Mary, had been fully rekindled, all eyes were turned to the west.

The first English mariner who adventured in search of a north-western passage was Captain, afterwards Sir Martin Frobisher. Forster and others give Queen Elizabeth the merit of fitting him out; but, by the narrative of Best, it is very clear that that princess acted here with all her usual economy. It was in Frobisher's own mind that the idea arose of achieving that which appeared to him "the only great thing that was yet left undone in the world." Having no adequate means, however, to "set forward" the undertaking, he spent fifteen years in conference with his friends, and in soliciting aid from the merchants; but, finding that nothing would make them move but "sure, certaine, and present gaines," he repaired to court, "where all good causes have their chief maintenance," and there laid open to "many great estates and learned men" the projects which he had formed. Here he found a more favourable hearing. Supported

by a patriotic nobleman, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, he collected, by slow degrees, the means of equipping two barks of twenty-five tons, and a pinnace of ten tons, and with this slender armament prepared to brave the tempests of the northern deep. The queen, if she did not contribute her money, gave at least her full countenance and favour to the undertaking.

Frobisher set sail on the 8th June from Deptford, and, on passing the court (at Greenwich,) fired a salute, and "made the best show we could. Her majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand to us out at the window." Mr Secretary Woolly (Walsingham) also came on board, gave strict charges to the crew to obey their commander, and wished them happy success. On the 26th, they passed Foula, the most remote of the Shetland islands, and found themselves launched in the abysses of the northern deep. Steering a course west by north, on the 11th July they had sight of the land of Friesland, bearing west north-west, "rising like pinnacles of steeples, and all covered with snow." This name of Friesland, which Frobisher here copies from Zero, is applied by him to the southern extremity of Greenland. After several vain attempts to land, he steered out into the open sea, in order to avoid the dangers with which the coast was beset. On the 21st they had sight of a great drift of ice, seeming a firm land; and again on the 6th of a land of ice. On the morning of the 28th a thick fog having cleared up, they saw before them an extended coast, which they concluded to be that of Labrador. They sailed about for se-

veral days, unable to approach on account of the continuous icy barriers. On the 1st August they saw a large ice-island, and approached within two cables' length of it; but next day "that great island of ice fell the one part from another, making a noise as if a great clift had fallen into the sea." After sailing for several days, they came to an island, where the captain rowed on shore, with a boat and eight men, to ascertain if there were any inhabitants. They soon saw seven boats, the crews of which at first showed a good deal of shyness; but the captain, by holding up white cloths, and making presents of toys, at length induced the whole party to come on board, "being nineteen persons, and they spake, but we understood them not. They be like unto Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flat noses, and tawnie in colour." Men and women were clothed in seals' skins, and the boats made of the same materials, "with a keele of wood within the skin." Frobisher sailed next day to the east side of the island, which was found also well-peopled, and, by means of a bell and a knife, enticed one of the people on board; but, not wishing to keep him, ordered five of his men to land him at the extremity of a rock. The wilfulness of the sailors was such, that they carried him to the main body of his countrymen, when they were themselves taken, and never allowed to return. Frobisher does not seem to have ventured on any very mighty exertions for the recovery of these lost members of his crew. He, however, approached the shore, fired guns, and sounded trumpets; but no result following, he plied out of the bay, calling it the Five Men's Sound. Next

day he approached the spot, and saw fourteen boats, but without being able to penetrate in any degree the fearful mystery in which the fate of his countrymen was involved. However, by ringing a bell, the English attracted one of the natives, and, in giving him the bell, they took him and carried him to England. His resistance was vigorous; but Frobisher seized and "plucked him with maine force, boate and all, out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain, he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth, notwithstanding he died not thereof." This "strange infidele, whose like was never seen," lived till they came to England, when he died, it is said, of a cold!

The season being now advanced, without any appearance of reaching the South Sea, or the shores of India, Frobisher judged it expedient to direct his sails homewards. He again passed Friesland; but could not approach, "on account of the monstrous ice which lay upon it." After sailing along the coast of Iceland, and by the Orkneys, he arrived in London on the 2d of October.

It had been a primary object with Frobisher's crews to bring home something which might serve as a specimen of the hitherto unknown region discovered by them. "Some brought floweres, some greene grasse;" and one of the sailors having found a large mass of stone, black as a coal, with a metallic glitter, Frobisher, in the absence of any thing better, took it on board. When he came home, all his acquaintances urged him for something out of *Meta Incognita*, as the newly-discovered country had been called; upon

which he broke the large stone in pieces, and made a distribution of it among his friends. It chanced that a gentlewoman, to whom a portion had been thus gifted, let it fall into the fire; where, after having burned for some time, being taken out, "it glittered like a bright marqueset of gold" (pyrites aureus). Being carried to certain gold-finers of London, they declared "that it held gold, and promised great matters thereof," if it should be found in any abundance.

The discovery of this gold became now the foremost object, and facilitated wonderfully the equipment of a new expedition: the queen herself came forward with one of her "tall ships," the *Ayde*, of two hundred tons burden, and Frobisher, from other quarters, succeeded in equipping the *Michael* and the *Gabriel*, of about thirty tons each. He then waited upon the queen, who was at Lord Warwick's seat in Essex, and, having kissed her hand, took leave, "with her gracious countenance and comfortable words."

Frobisher set sail from Blackwall on the 25th May, 1577, and "with a merrie wind," on the 7th June arrived at the Orkneys. This seems to have been almost an unknown land; and when the English first appeared, the natives fled from their "poor cottages with shreikes and alarms," but were soon, "by gentle persuasions, reclaimed." Their mode of living was very rude, their food being oaten cakes and ewe-milk. "The goodman, wife, children, and other of the family, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and their cattle on the other, very beastly and rudely in respect of civilitie." Having now proceeded into the great northern sea, they had, however, the con-



solation of enjoying perpetual day, by which they had constantly, if so disposed, “the fruition of their bookes, a thing of no small moment to such as wander in unknown seas, when both the winds and raging surges do pass their common course.” They were surprised with the large quantity of drift-wood, sufficient to supply Iceland with fuel, and consisting chiefly of fir-trees, which were judged to be “by the fury of great floods rooted up.” As they came within “the making of Friesland,” they began to see great islands of ice, of about half a mile in compass, and rising thirty or forty fathoms above the sea. “Here, instead of odoriferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of sweet birds, which other countries, in more temperate zones, do yield, we tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts, mixed with snow and hail, in the months of June and July. All along this coast ice lieth like a continual bulwark.” They coasted along this land four days, without seeing any sign of habitation; yet little birds, which seemed to have bewildered themselves amid the thick fogs, came flying into the ships; whence they surmised that “the interior was more tolerable than the outward shore made signification.” Mr Settle was much surprised to observe, that this ice was altogether of fresh water, and inferred that it must have been formed entirely upon land, “that the open sea freezeth not, and that there is no *Mare Glaciale* or frozen<sup>s</sup> sea.”

The expedition now sailed across to the coast of Labrador, and came to the large opening into Hudson’s Bay, called Frobisher’s Straits, and afterwards Lumley’s Inlet, which they concluded to be the entrance

into the sea of Sur, and that the shore on one side was America, and on the other Asia. They found these straits, however, "shut up with a long mure of ice, which was a great cause of discomfort;" but Frobisher, who was provided for the purpose with two small pinnaces, left the barks to lie off and on in the open sea, and threaded his way through the narrow inlets between the ice and the land. His survey of the coast was satisfactory, and he found a considerable store of that black stone, once despised, but now become the primary object of search. Having reached a hill, they erected on the top a column, calling it Mount Warwick. On their return a number of the natives hailed them from the top of the hill "with cries like the lowing of bulls." Frobisher answered with similar sounds, and with that of trumpets; at which they seemed greatly to rejoice, skipping, dancing, and laughing for joy. They exchanged, but in a very cautious manner, their commodities for pins, points, and other trifles. They invited the English up into the country, and the English them into the ships; but "neither part admitted or trusted the other's courtesie." Yet the natives followed to the boats, and seemed to part with regret. Frobisher, with his master, then followed, and, having found two of them apart, seized and began to drag them along, hoping, "by toys, apparell, and all arguments of courtesie," to conciliate them and their tribe. The ground, however, being uneven and covered with ice, their feet slipped, and they lost hold of their prizes, who instantly ran, and, having caught hold of their bows and arrows, which were hid behind a rock, com-

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menced a furious attack, when Frobisher and the master instantly took to their heels, and ran full speed to the boats. This precipitate flight of these great captains, before two miserable Esquimaux, does not savour altogether of that lofty heroism which we should be inclined to ascribe to them. Frobisher reached the boats with an arrow sticking in his leg. The crew, thinking there must have been a numerous body of pursuers to inspire such terror, called to arms, and ran to the rescue; but as soon as the enemy heard a shot fired, they ran off full speed; however, Nicholas Conger, a servant of my Lord Warwick, and a good wrestler, overtook one of them, threw him on the ground, and dragged him into the boats.

While these things were passing on shore, the ships without had to abide a cruel tempest among the thickest of the islands of ice, which were "so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had been of force sufficient to have shivered our barks into small portions." Some, in fact, "scraped" them; and the range of open sea was so limited, while the gale was so violent, that, to avoid striking, they were obliged to tack fourteen times in four hours; however, "God being their best steersman," and Charles Jackman and Andrew Dyer, master's mates, being very expert mariners, while Providence furnished "clear nights without darkness," they escaped these dangers, which appeared to them more terrible in the recollection than at the moment, when every hand was called upon to haul ropes, and look out for what was a-head of the ship.

After the vessels had been detained some time at

the mouth of the straits, the west winds at length dispersed the ice, and opened a large entrance. When they were fairly enclosed between the opposite lands, Frobisher, with about seventy of his men, made a small landing on the southern shore, supposed to be America, with ensigns displayed, and marched to the top of several hills, the ascent of which was rendered difficult by their steepness and the ice. Here special care was taken that "they should all with one voice, kneeling on their knees, thank God for their safe arrival in this country, beseeching his Divine Majesty to preserve the queene, and bring them back in safety to their native country." They discovered no sign of people or habitation, and being fatigued by these "unfriendly ways," were glad to regain the boats. Some spirited adventurers proposed to march thirty miles inland, and see what they could find; but Frobisher did not think his time allowed of such an enterprise. He, therefore, landed on the northern coast, supposed to be Asia, and directed all his efforts to the discovery of a store of the black stone, esteemed so precious. He discovered accordingly a very rich deposit, and took on board twenty tons of it; but here so violent a commotion took place among the ice-islands, that they narrowly escaped being squeezed to pieces, and were obliged to row out the greater part of this precious store. As they sailed along the shore they found the bones of a man, and tauntingly asked their captive, whether his countrymen had not killed and eaten him, and licked the flesh from the bones; but he indignantly, by signs, repelled the charge, and intimated, that the man had been devoured by wolves or other savage

beasts. This personage also taught them the use of various objects, which they found on the shore, as sledges, kettles of fish-skin, and knives of bone. As they inquired the use of a bridle of singular construction, he caught hold of one of their dogs, "and hampered him handsomely therein, as we do our horses, and, with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a sled, as we do horses in a coach."

The expedition had now reached thirty leagues from the mouth of the straits, to a small island which, with the sound enclosed by it, they named after "that right honourable and virtuous lady, Anne Countess of Warwick." Here they beheld, to their great marvel, some of the "poore caves" which serve the natives for their winter-dwellings, and of which their description nearly resembles that lately given by Captain Parry. "They are made two fadome under ground, like to an oven, being joined fast one to another, having holes like to a foxe or coney herry, to keepe and come together. They are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the south. They build with whalebones for lack of timber, which, bending one over another, are handsomely composted in the top together, and are covered with seales' skins. They have only one room, having one half of the floor raised with broad stones a foot higher than the other, whereon strawing moss, they make their nests to sleep in." In some of the tents on this shore, from which the natives fled on their approach, they discovered many strange things, dead carcasses and flesh of they knew not what ani-

mals ; but the objects which struck them with wonder and horror were an English doublet pierced with many holes, three shoes for contrary feet, a shirt, and a girdle,—apparel which too evidently belonged to their five countrymen lost the preceding year. A chase was instantly commenced, though said to have been rather in the hope of recovering than of revenging them. Charles Jackman, with a large party, was sent inland to take the natives on one side, while the captain, with his boats, was ready on the coast to receive them. Jackman sought for some time in vain ; but at length, in a deep valley by the sea-side, he discovered some tents, the dwellers of which, to the number of sixteen or eighteen, hurried on board their boats, and pushed out to sea. The English fired their pieces, which served as a signal to their countrymen in the boats, who rowed rapidly to the spot, and began the attack. The unfortunate Esquimaux, enclosed on all sides, ran ashore on a point of land, where, being closely pursued, they defended themselves in the most desperate manner. They took up the arrows shot by the English, and even plucked them out of their bodies, returned them, “and maintained their cause until both weapons and life fayled them.” Some, severely wounded, refused the offered and promised mercy, and cast themselves headlong from the rocks into the sea. The English succeeded in taking only two women and a child. One of the ladies was of an ugliness so singular and appalling as to make the sailors not only conclude with certainty that she was a witch, but even suspect her to be the great enemy of mankind in disguise. It was deter-

mined to ascertain this point by an examination of the structure of the lower extremities : “ she had her buskins pulled off to see if she were cloven-footed.” That grand distinctive character being found wanting, the sailors were content with dismissing her, in order that their eyes might no longer be wounded with the view of her visage. The other young woman being mistaken for a man, had been shot at, and the child whom she carried wounded. They undertook to heal the wound ; but the woman with her tongue licked off all the salves applied to it, till, by continual licking, she had effected a cure. The introduction of this new captive to the man formerly taken produced a scene “ more worth beholding than can well be expressed. At first they held a deep silence, as through grief and disdain ; the woman even turned away and began to sing ; at length the man broke up the silence first, and with stern and stayed countenance began to tell a long solemn tale, whereunto she being grown into more familiar acquaintance by speech, the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other.” During the whole voyage she killed and dressed the dogs, and did all household offices for him ; yet they did not live as man and wife, and observed the strictest decorum in all their proceedings. The man was closely examined, whether the five Englishmen had been killed and eaten by his countrymen ; but this fact he positively denied. He was shown a picture of his countryman carried to England the preceding year, “ when he was upon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, at length began to question with him as with

his companion ; and, finding him dumb, seemed to suspect him as one disdainful, and would have grown into choler, until at last, by feeling and handling, he found the deceit ; and then, with great noise and cries, ceased not wondering, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleasure.”

Frobisher at length came into speech with the natives at the point where he had lost his men, whom they promised to bring back in three days. In three days accordingly there appeared, on the top of a hill, three men with a white flag formed of bladders ; but the English in advancing descried great numbers well-armed lying hidden behind the rocks. Signs were made, that they must approach unarmed and under less dubious guise ; but they only set up new enticements, among which was “ a trim bait of raw meate.” They even brought a lame man, and laid him down as an easy prey. The English were not so deceived, but discharged a gun at the cripple, who was instantly cured, and ran off full speed. The natives then appeared a hundred strong, and let fly their arrows, but without reaching the English, who, however, were now fain to retire, giving up all hopes of recovering their lost comrades. The only object was to regain their home, which they reached at different points, the Ayde at Padstow, the Gabriel at Bristol, and the Michael at Yarmouth.

Although nothing of importance had been effected in this voyage, the country continued still full of hope, both as to the “ matter of the gold,” and the passage to Catay. Frobisher was specially commended by the queen, who also gave such gratifying commendations to the other officers, that they “ have since



spared neither labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter to a prosperous ende." Special commissioners were appointed, "men of great judgment, art, and skill, to look thoroughly into the matter." They reported that both the ice and the passage to Catay were matters of importance, and that they would be much advanced by a colony of chosen soldiers and discreet men sent to Meta Incognita, (the somewhat fantastic name now given, but which has not adhered to the newly-discovered coast). That they might spend the winter in safety and comfort, a strong fort or house of timber, "cunningly devised by a notable learned man," was framed and put on board the vessel. To this "great adventure and notable exploit many well-minded and forward-going gentlemen" readily presented themselves as volunteers. The whole number of colonists amounted to a hundred, of whom forty were mariners, thirty miners, and thirty soldiers. The entire expedition was on a much grander scale than before, consisting of fifteen sail of good ships, of which twelve were to return laden with the imaginary gold, and the other three to remain with the colony. The queen, besides gifts and promises, bestowed on Frobisher a chain of gold, and the other fourteen captains kissed her hand before their departure.

This voyage, set forth with such pomp and on so great a scale, was the most unfortunate of all the three. When they reached the Queen's Foreland at the mouth of the straits, they found them "frozen over from one side to the other, as it were with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, which choked up the passage, and denied us entrance." This

appeared to be owing to the south and south-easterly winds, which had both brought them earlier to this quarter, and driven in the numerous icebergs upon the straits ; the navigation through which was rendered truly dangerous by the continual motion of those huge bodies, two of which would often allow one ship to pass, and then close in upon the one behind. Two vessels, the Judith and the Michael, were separated from the rest, and not heard of for a long time after. The Dennis, a vessel of a hundred tons, on board of which there was a portion of the house, received such a blow that it sunk instantly, though the crew, having given the alarm by firing, were saved by the other ships. All the vessels were forced “to stemme and strike great rocks of ice, and as it were make way through mighty mountains.” Their situation soon became much more serious. After they had passed through a great quantity of ice, having much behind and more before, a sudden and dreadful tempest blew in from the ocean, “bringing all the ice a sea-boorde of us upon our backs, and rendering it impossible to recover sea-roome.” Thus environed with danger, “sundry men with sundry devises sought the best way to save themselves.” Some moored upon a great iceberg, “and rode under the lee thereof ; others, finding themselves shut in and compassed amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice, were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and hung over the sides of the vessels pieces of cables, masts, planks, and such like, to defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice.”

The narrator, however, considers as conducing to the everlasting renown of our nation, the manner in which "the painful mariners and poor miners" met the brunt of these great and extreme dangers. The gallant fleet and miserable men, during the whole night and part of next day, continued struggling without hope of escape. Four, who were outside of the rest, contrived, amid continual danger of being squeezed to pieces, to work out into the open sea. Here, "devoutly kneeling about their main-mast, they gave unto God humble thanks for themselves, and highly besought him for their friends' deliverance." In fact, "it pleased God with his eyes of mercy to look down from heaven;" and next day they were favoured with a west south-west wind, which soon dispersed the ice, gave them ample sea-room, and the comfort of again joining company.

The crews now busied themselves in setting up the masts, mending the sails, and stopping the leaks of their shattered vessels. No sooner was this effected, than the indefatigable Frobisher again "cast about towards the inward," and they had sight of land, but so involved in dark mists and the thick snow which fell in this northern midsummer, that doubts arose whether it was or was not the north foreland, or entrance into Frobisher's Straits. They pushed on, however, and some even imagined they saw Mount Warwick; but this would have placed them quite out of their reckoning. At length Christopher Hall, chief pilot, stood up, and declared, in hearing of the whole fleet, that he had never seen this coast before. Frobisher, it is suspected, soon

began himself to perceive that this was not "the old strait;" however he dissembled and pushed on, curious apparently to see whither it would lead. He found it a more fruitful coast, more verdant, and stocked with a greater variety of birds and fowls, than that before visited. The people were more numerous, had large boats capable of holding twenty persons, and carried on trade in a very friendly manner. At length it was necessary to come out of this mistaken strait; but in their return they were so involved in dark fogs and currents, and beset by a labyrinth of rocks and islands, as to place it beyond the expectation of man that they should ever extricate themselves. However, "God lent us ever at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other;" and even at a time when all hope seemed over, and every man was recommending himself to death, "the mighty Maker of heaven did deliver us;" and they again reached the open sea. Here, in the end of July, they were overtaken by so violent a storm of snow, that "he who had five or six shifts of apparel had scarce one dry threade to his back;" while the sun, occasionally breaking forth, "produced such a breath of heate as if we were enclosed in some bath-stone or hot-house;" and these violent changes had a very injurious effect on their health. However, amid every obstacle, Frobisher pushed on in search of his old station, and where he saw the ice never so little open "he gat in at one gappe and out at another," till, with incredible pain and peril, he recovered his long-wished-for port. Captain Fenton of the Judith, however, became entangled for twenty days among ice, and

never was one day or hour without being beset with continual danger and fear of death. At length they became "cunning and wise to seek strange remedies for strange dangers." They used to fasten the vessel to a firm and broad mass of ice, "and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sails, when the wind forced forward the ship, the ship the ice, and one ice another, till at length they got sea-room, still amid sundry mountains and Alps of ice." The narrator asks his countrymen what they would think of men leaping and shooting on the surface of the sea, and rivers of fresh water running through the ocean a hundred miles from land; yet all this was fulfilled on these mighty mountains and fields of ice.

The vessels being now assembled in port, it was brought into deliberation, whether they could now attempt to form their winter-settlement. Of the house which they had brought out there remained only two sides, the east and the west, the remainder having either gone down as above stated, or been suspended in fragments by the sides of the ships to defend them against the ice, and thereby broken. There were not provisions also for a hundred men; but Captain Fenton boldly undertook to remain with sixty. Hereupon the carpenters and masons were called upon to say in what time they could put together a house on this smaller scale; but they could not undertake it in less than eight or nine weeks, while the expedition had only twenty-six days to remain.

Frobisher now consulted whether they should not attempt to distinguish this voyage, from which so

much was expected at home, by some farther discovery. The captains declared their readiness to undertake whatever their chief might devise; yet this appeared to them a thing very hard and almost impossible. They urged the dark mists and falling snows; the leakage of the drink, which reduced many of the crews to nothing but water; and the danger of a contrary wind shutting them in, when they must all perish. To proceed, therefore, was found "a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning home." This was accordingly resolved upon, and the vessels, though separated by a violent storm, all arrived in safety, some at one port and some at another. The *Busse of Bridge-water*, in being obliged to proceed northward through a channel in which it was involved, found itself in the great north sea (Baffin's Bay), which appeared to it with reason to afford the most favourable prospect of any of penetrating into the *Mal der Sur*. The only large lading of the golden stone was found by Captain Best of the *Anne Frances*, while separated from the rest of the fleet, on a small island, where he found as much as "might reasonably suffice all the gold-gluttons in the world;" for which reason he named it "Best's Blessing."

This third expedition of Frobisher was not followed up by any other,—a failure for which no cause is recorded. It may be presumed, that the dreadful tale of disaster which was brought home damped for a time the zeal of the nation. Of the black stone, which had inspired hopes so brilliant, and given the chief impulse to the fitting out of this large expedition, no

further mention is made; nor has it been noticed by any more recent navigator. A more careful analysis doubtless dispelled the empty visions with which it had filled the minds of the English public.

The spirit of discovery did not long slumber. In 1585, "certain honourable personages and worshipful merchants," both of London and of the west, determined to put down their adventures for another attempt at a north-west passage. Mr William Sanderson, merchant of London, "besides his travaille, which was not small, became the chief adventurer with his purse;" and he recommended Mr John Davis as a fit person to be the conductor of this hard enterprise. Davis was furnished with two vessels, the Sunshine and the Moonshine; but neither of these two great planets was of very ample dimensions, the Sun holding only 23 and the Moon 19 men. On the 7th of June they set sail from Dartmouth, and for six weeks remarked nothing but the vast number of fishes, among which were "great store of whales." On the 19th July they heard "a great whistling and bruffling of a tyde," after which they came into a very calm sea. "Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the sea, as if it had been the breach of some shore;" yet when the Moonshine sounded, it could not find ground in three hundred fathoms. Its boat was immediately sent, with strict injunctions to fire a musket at every glass of sand, so as to insure the ship of its safety. The crew soon found themselves encircled by islands of ice; on mounting which they discovered that all the roaring which they heard arose from "the rowling of this ice." Next day the mists dispersing, showed them the land,

which was "the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous land that ever we saw. It appeared in form of a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight above the clouds ; for that it did show over the fogge like a white list in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow, the shore beset with ice, making such irksome noise, that our captain called it the Land of Desolation." They observed, however, the phenomenon of drift-wood floating along the coast ; among which was one tree fifty feet long, having the root still adhering to it.

On the 25th July, Davis left this dreary land, and directed his course north-west, "hoping in God's mercy to find our desired passage." In four days he came in sight of new land, still to the eastward, in  $64^{\circ} 15'$  (a continuation of West Greenland). He found it to contain many fair sounds and great inlets, inso-much that he judged it to consist of a great number of contiguous islands. The English landed, and, having seen some traces of inhabitants, mounted a rock, where they were descried by the natives, who raised a lamentable noise, with great outcries ; "we hearing them, thought it had been the howling of wolves." Hereupon the English uttered loud sounds, at once inviting the savages and advertising their countrymen on board of their situation. Several of the company made haste to the spot well-armed, and with a band of musicians ; thus alike prepared, "either by force to rescue us, or with courtesy to allure the people." As this last was the primary object, the minstrels began to play, and the seamen to dance, with signs of friendship. This induced ten canoes to approach, and the people spoke "very hol-



low through the throat," but in words not intelligible. At length one of them lifted his hand to the sun, and forcibly struck his breast, repeating this gesture many times ; and " when John Ellis of the Moonshine, appointed by policy to gain their friendship, had several times done the same after their order," their confidence was gained. Next day thirty-seven canoes appeared, and they were soon on the most intimate footing with the English, to whom they readily parted with their canoes, even the clothes from their backs, composed of seals'-skins and birds'-skins, with the feathers on their buskins of fine wool, their hose-gloves of leather, well-dressed and compacted together. " They appeared very tractable people, void of craft and double-dealing, and easy to be brought to any civility and good order." On seeing the value set by the English on furs, they offered, in less than a month, to procure an ample supply ; but Davis, finding a favourable gale, set sail from this friendly shore. He steered directly across the sea or broad strait which bears his name, and came in view of the coast of Cumberland Island. He named different parts of it Mount Raleigh, Exeter Sound, and Cape Walsingham ; while the most southern point was called the Cape of God's Mercy. They had several encounters with the white bear ; and a large band of dogs approached in peaceful guise ; but the English, thinking they came to prey upon them, fired and killed two. Various circumstances encouraged Davis to hope for a passage ; the numerous sounds and inlets, the currents which came through them, the ebb and flow coming apparently from various quarters. The season,

however, was now so late, that he was obliged to return to England.

The accounts brought by Davis appeared on the whole so favourable, that the adventurers hesitated not to send him out next year with a larger equipment. To the Sunshine and the Moonshine were now added the Mermaid of 120 tons and a small pinnace. Nothing remarkable occurred till they came to the former coast, where their old friends soon recognised them, and "hung about the boat with such comfortable joy as would require a long discourse to be uttered." Davis, on seeing their friendly disposition, landed and displayed twenty knives; upon which they leapt out of their canoes, and embraced him and his company with many signs of hearty welcome. He presented to each of them a knife, refusing any return. A familiar intercourse thus commenced, and sometimes a hundred canoes would crowd round the English, bringing various species of skins, fishes, and birds. Several excursions were made into the interior of the country, and some extensive plains discovered, like the moors of England. The natives accompanied them in these excursions, and gave them all the aid they could in mounting and descending the rocks. Davis caused trials to be made at leaping and wrestling. The English decidedly overleaped them; but when it came to wrestling, they showed themselves strong and skilful, and cast some that were accounted good wrestlers. These people are described as "of good stature, well in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, small visages, and small eyes, wide mouthes, the most part unbearded, great lips, and

close-toothed." Some bad qualities, however, began gradually to transpire. They made great use of witchcraft and incantation, "though with little effect, thanks be to God." Their chief experiment of this nature was by taking a round stick, thrusting it into a hole in a board, then forcibly agitating it, "in the fashion of a turner with a piece of leather," with which the magician produced a fire, into which, with many words and strange gestures, he put divers things; he then endeavoured to induce Davis to go into the smoke; but Davis caused one of his sailors to put out the fire, and throw it into the sea, "to show his contempt of their sorcery." By and by, moreover, they were found to be "marvellous thievish, beginning, through our lenitie, to show their vile nature;" they cut the cables, cut the Moonlight's boat from her stern, the cloth where it lay to dry, and seized every article of iron they could; whereat the master and crew being sorely grieved, called upon Davis "to dissolve this new friendship." Davis agreed accordingly to fire first a caliver, and then a falcon, "which did sore amaze them, and they fled;" yet in ten hours they came back, and "we again fell into a great league." All their intimacy was now renewed; "but, seeing iron, they could in nowise forbear stealing;" yet the good-natured captain only laughed, and bid his men look carefully after their own goods, "supposing it to be very hard, in so short time, to make them know their evils." Davis now attempted to penetrate and take a view of the land; but "the mountains were so many and so mighty, that his purpose prevailed not." He then

attempted to ascend a large river, which proved, however, to be only a creek, and the land, not as supposed, an unbroken continent, but "huge, waste, and desert isles, with mighty sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea." He was also astonished by the view of a water-spout,—an object new to him, and described as "a mighty whirlwind taking up the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the air." On his arrival at the ships, the people opened a fearful budget of the sins of the Esquimaux, all which they ascribed to his "lenitie and friendly using." They had stolen an anchor, cut a cable, cut away boats, and "now, since your departure, with slings they spare us not, with stones of half a pounce weight; and will you still endure these things?" Davis bid them be content, and all should be well. Instead of any rigorous measure, he called the natives on board, presented them with bracelets, and used them with much courtesy; but the sun was no sooner down, than "they began to practise their devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonlight." Human patience, even the most enduring, has its bounds. "I changed my courtesie and grew to hatred." Several shots were discharged upon the Esquimaux; but they rowed off so quickly that it was to little purpose. However, next day, when five approached in their usual manner, beating their breasts, and crying, *Yliaont*, one, deemed the chief ringleader of mischief, was allured on board, and, the wind becoming favourable, he was carried off along with the ships. He at first made many doleful signals to his brethren in the boats, but after-

wards became a pleasant companion, and was very joyful at receiving a suit of good English frieze.

On the 17th July they fell in with a large mass of apparent land, with bays and capes, and like "highcliffe land;" but, on sending their pinnace, learned, with horror and amazement, that it was entirely ice,—a thing so incredible that he omits to speak any further thereof. He coasted, however, for several days along this formidable mass of ice, which proved a fixed bar to his progress. The men's strength began to sink, and, in a discreet and orderly, but very solemn manner, they represented that success was now hopeless, that he ought to regard his own life and theirs, and not, through any over-boldness, "leave their widows and fatherless children to give him bitter curses." Davis took the matter into serious consideration, and was much inclined "to regard their estates;" but considered "the excellency of the business, and that it would grow to his great disgrace," if, through him, discredit should be thrown upon it while there remained a hope of success. He, therefore, sought counsel from God, by whom he was inspired with a design, which he hoped should be "to the contentation of every Christian minde." He left behind the Mermaid, his largest vessel, as not being sufficiently "convenient and nimble," and, in the Moonlight alone, with the boldest part of his crew, determined to push forward in search of the desired passage. He steered to the south-east, and came to a land which, however, appeared to be nothing but islands; but these supposed islands were probably only the coasts bordering on the numerous

sounds and inlets leading into Hudson's Bay. He did not enter them, but pushed southwards till he came to a continuous mass of continent, which was Labrador. It was found covered with extensive forests of pine and birch, the sea replenished with cod, and the air filled with numberless seafowl. The inhabitants showed a ferocious spirit, which does not agree with their general character. Five Englishmen having gone ashore, were assailed with a cloud of arrows, by which two were killed and two severely wounded. They had offered neither speech nor parley, but presently "executed their cursed fury." Forster, however, suspects, that these people must have been actuated by the recollection of some wrongs received from other Europeans. The sorrows of Davis were increased by tempest, which blew with such fury as threatened to drive the vessels on shore "among these cursed cannibals, for their prey." Being happily delivered, however, and favoured with a west north-west wind, he lost no time in making his way back to England.

Davis, in a letter to Mr William Sanderson, admits that the enterprise had not yet proved profitable to the adventurers; but he now urges, that, having had much experience of the north-west part of the world, he had satisfied himself that the passage must either be in one of four places or else not at all. That enterprising and substantial person joined in setting forth Davis a third time, with a smaller equipment of two barks and a pinnace. Soon after their departure, they had an alarm in the dark, that the pinnace had run away; but it proved only that the tiller of her helm was broken. This pinnace, which had been much

boasted of by the owners, was found to move through the sea like a cart drawn by oxen. However, it was reported that she would brook the sea, and they trusted that a hard beginning would make a good ending.

On the 14th June they came in sight of the high mountains of Greenland. The natives came, crying, in the usual manner, *Yliaont*, and offering skins. They soon, however, manifested their old thievish propensities. Davis had brought out the materials of a pinnace, which he now began putting together. The natives contrived to carry off two of the largest planks, solely with a view to the nails and other particles of iron inserted into them. Davis caused them to be fired at, aiming at their legs; but, making the planks a bulwark, they retained their legs entire, with which they carried off their bodies to a neighbouring island, where they left the planks, having first plucked all the iron out of them. This trouble was soon driven out of their minds by a more serious one. John Churchyard, the pilot, gave notice that the good ship in which they must all venture their lives had received three hundred strokes as she lay in the harbour. This gave rise to much disquietude, and even doubt whether it was possible to proceed; but Davis, to whom the matter was referred, determined "rather to end his life with credit, than to return with infamy and disgrace; and they all purposed to live and die together." They sailed then onwards to the north, touching at several points, and treating in a friendly manner with the natives. At length they reached the latitude of 72°, the highest which had been yet

attained by any navigator. Yet the sea was still perfectly open to the north and the west. They then left the coast and sailed due west, in which direction they continued for forty leagues without any sight of land. Davis seemed now on the point of discovering his hoped-for passage, or at least of solving the grand problem, whether it existed? But his career was suddenly arrested by "a mighty bank of ice." He endeavoured at first to "double it round to the northward;" but the wind in that direction was opposite, and he was obliged to coast it southwards, which he continued to do for successive days, vainly hoping to find a point at which it could be rounded, and its western side reached. He determined, therefore, "to lye off for some days, hoping that the ice continually beating upon the mass, and the sun with the extreme force of heat always shining upon it, would make quick despatch." When he returned to the coast, through some error of reckoning he found himself on Cumberland Island, near the point which he had formerly named Mount Raleigh. The season being now advanced, he confined all his efforts to the discovery of an open sea to the south. He passed Frobisher's Straits, to which he gave the name of Lumley's Inlet, and afterwards a broad gulf, the same subsequently entered by Hudson, but without attempting to penetrate either of these openings; and finding himself on the coast of Labrador, and the season far advanced, he sailed for England.

Davis on his arrival immediately wrote to his constant friend, Mr Sanderson, boasting, that he had brought the passage to a much more promising point



than at any preceding period. In 72° he had found an open sea, and forty leagues between land and land. Men's minds, however, had taken a turn unfavourable to all farther search. They said, "Davis hath been three times employed; why hath he not discovered the passage?" The death of Secretary Walsingham, the steady promoter of maritime discovery, was a severe check on every such project; and the grand event of the Spanish armada, which took place in the following year, turned all men's views in another direction. Mr Sanderson, however, continuing his steady friendship, caused a chart of Davis's discoveries to be engraved at considerable expense by Molyneux, which is said to be still preserved in the library of the Middle Temple.

This last voyage of Davis was almost immediately followed by a reported one by Laurent Ferrer Maldonado, a Spanish navigator. Maldonado was well known in that age as an eminent and enterprising mariner, and deeply skilled in all the sciences connected with the maritime art. Yet all these merits have not deterred modern inquirers from ranking this narrative with undisputed and scandalous forgeries. Its first aspect is, no doubt, somewhat equivocal. Maldonado describes himself as having first passed through the whole of the strait of Labrador, or Davis's Strait, till he reached the latitude of 75°. He then navigated to the south-west till he came to the Strait of Anian, which separated America from Asia. After passing through this strait, he came to the wide expanse of the South Sea, with the two opposite coasts of America and Asia diverging widely

from each other. He followed the coast of America till he came to lat. 55°, when he pushed across to that of Asia, which appeared rugged and mountainous. He then retraced his steps, following a north-east and northerly course, till he again arrived at the Strait of Anian.

Such is the outline of Maldonado's narrative, which, as implying that he really discovered the north-west passage, and found his way through the Atlantic into the Pacific, is doubtless to be at once rejected. But the question is, whether the incredible portions of the narrative are facts, or whether they are not rather suppositions founded upon facts, which, taken in themselves, are possible and credible? The first part of his voyage is through the Strait of Labrador as he calls it, under which he evidently comprehends both Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay, and in which he reached the latitude of 75°, which latitude he certainly might reach, if, as the narrative states, he arrived at its northern extremity. He then sailed south-west till he came to a strait in lat. 60°, which may be supposed to be Hudson's Strait. This was certainly a very circuitous route from Spain, although he reckons the whole as direct distance from that country; but he was beating about in an unknown sea, and along shores the form and direction of which had never been delineated. He then passes through the Strait of Anian, as he imagines; but the real fact is neither more nor less than that he passed through a strait; and he then concludes that the coast on one side must be America, and on the other Asia. This is a mere inference, and nothing more than Fro-

bisher had formerly made with regard to the strait bearing his name, and discovered by him many years before. Then Maldonado entered the South Sea, sailed a considerable space, first along the western coast of America, and then along the eastern coast of Asia. He labours as it were to shake his own credit by a pompous enumeration of positions on each of these shores, from which he pronounces himself to have been at no great distance: Cape Mendocino, Quivira, Cathay, Cambalu, and the country of the Great Khan. But all this, if narrowly looked into, amounts to nothing more than presumptions. The respective coasts being presumed to be those of Asia and America, he infers that he *must* have been on the way to these different places and kingdoms; but he does not pretend to have reached one of these or any other ascertained points, either on the eastern coast of Asia or the western of America. The real facts amount to no more than that he passed through a strait, entered a wide and open sea, sailed first along its western and then returned along its eastern coast. All this appears perfectly consistent with the supposition of the strait being Hudson's Strait and the sea Hudson's Bay: the latitudes, the distances, the directions, all agree. There is indeed a wild story of their having met a vessel of eight hundred tons burden, coming laden with the products of China and the east; but this, besides its own extravagance, is in such contradiction with the rest of the narrative, which represents Maldonado as the discoverer of the passage, that I have little doubt of its being a clumsy interpolation.

If we find room to acquit Maldonado of imposture, we must assign to him a considerable rank among the discoverers of the northern regions. He would have reached farther to the north than Davis, and nearly as far as Baffin, and have anticipated Hudson in the Straits and Bay, or rather Mediterranean Sea, which bear his name. It appears, both by a date and by an allusion to the discoveries of Quiros, that the narrative was not produced till 1609, twenty years after the voyage was performed; but we seem scarcely authorised to pronounce this an anachronism. It appears as a report which the king and council had called upon Maldonado to make, apparently with reference to some special effort projected in the course of northern discovery. If such was the case, he might be called upon to rehearse his experience, though at a considerable distance of time after the voyage had been performed.

The spirit of discovery, which had slumbered after the failure of Davis, was not long of reviving among the British merchants. Spirited attempts to reach India by the Cape were made under Candish and Lancaster; but this course was beset with dangers which even the best seamen had not yet learned how to avoid; and Lancaster, after an unfortunate passage, was supposed to have written home, expressing his conviction that the best route was still by the northwest. It was not difficult to rouse the zeal of the English merchants, especially of the Muscovy and Levant Companies, the most wealthy and enterprising of the commercial bodies in that age. They fitted

out two "fly-boats," the *Discovery* and the *God Speed*, of 70 and 60 tons, and placed them under the command of Captain George Weymouth, assisted by a great traveller and learned minister, Mr John Cartwright. Weymouth set sail on the 2d of May, and in the beginning of June was among the Orkney Islands, through which he was piloted by one of the fishermen. On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, he came in view of the southern part of Greenland, whence bearing north-west, and then west, on the 28th he came in view of the land of America. He descried an eminence, which appeared to him to be Warwick's Foreland, and round which were several hills and islands, all white with snow, and scarcely to be distinguished from islands of ice. Here Weymouth encountered several heavy gales, and was involved among large banks and islands of ice, on one of which he had nearly struck, having approached almost close to it amid the fog. To avoid these dangers he was obliged to stand out to sea. He had again, however, approached the coast, in lat. 63°, when so violent a wind arose from the north-east, that he had great difficulty in clearing both the ice and the land. The wind continued to blow with violence, and the fleet was involved in a thick fog, from amid which they heard a great noise "as though it had been the breach of some shore," and on examining closely, found it to be "the noise of a great quantity of ice, which was very loathsome to be heard." The fog becoming so thick that they could not see two ships' length, orders were given to take down some of the sails; but it was with no little dismay that they

found both the ropes and sails so hard frozen that they could scarcely be moved ; “ which did seem very strange unto us, being the chiefest time in summer.” This was still more remarkable next day, the moisture continuing to freeze upon them ; and thus not only was their course impeded, but a deep dependence seized the minds of the mariners. So strongly did it operate, that they formed a resolution to bear up the helm for England. Their first plan was to have seized the captain, as he lay asleep in his cabin ; but having notice of their design, he succeeded in preventing it. The helm, however, was borne up, and the resolution of the men continuing unalterable, the captain called the leading persons before himself and Mr Cartwright the preacher, demanding of them the motive of this mutinous conduct. They delivered a long written explanation, stating it as a matter “ builded upon reason, and not proceeding upon fear or cowardice.” They represented, that to winter in this dreadful climate was not only most perilous, but quite useless, since they could not expect to unmoor their vessels till next May, by which time they could easily reach these latitudes from England. If, however, he chose to attempt any discovery between 57 and 60 degrees, they yielded their lives to encounter any danger. Weymouth found their determination so fixed, that he could not make head against it, though, having afterwards regained his authority, he made use of it to punish pretty severely the ring-leaders. He now spent the rest of the season in sailing along the coast of Labrador, looking into the different bays and inlets, particularly one in lat. 56°,

which appears to be that on which the Moravian settlement of Nain was afterwards formed, and from which he conceived hopes which were not fulfilled. In this run they met with several striking phenomena. Having approached a large island of ice, and the sea being calm, they sent their boats to bring off such a portion as might yield them a supply of fresh water. As they were labouring to break it off, "the island of ice gave a mighty cracke, two or three times, as though it had been a thunder-clappe, which was like to have sunk both our boats." "Farther to the south there rose up a great storm to the west, and presently the winde came out of that quarter with a whirle, and blew so extremely that we were forced always to run before the sea." The tempest continued for two days with increasing violence; "but when we were in our greatest extremities, the Lord delivered us, his unworthy servants." Having now obtained a fair wind, they took leave of the coast of America, and arrived at Dartmouth.

In 1605, the Muscovy merchants sent out *John Knight*, who had been employed along with Gotske Lindenau and James Hall, in several voyages to Greenland. This was a tragical expedition. Knight set sail on the 18th April from Gravesend, and on the 12th May, from Margaret's Sound or Hope, in Orkney. Near the middle of next month he found himself involved among ice, the great and deep flakes of which were driving to the southward, while the small ice was carried before the wind, as it varied from point to point. After continuing for some time moored to one of the frozen masses, he attempted

with oars to work his way through them, but was soon "so compassed about and distressed, and so bruised between mighty islands of ice," that the crew expected every minute to be crushed in pieces. At length, on the 19th, they descried the land of America, rising like eight islands. On the 24th, in the morning, there blew so violent a gale from the north, and "such a suffice of the sea," with so much ice, that their rudder was driven from their stern, and they were forced to run into the bottom of a cove, where they found the ship half full of water. All hands were now at work to save clothes, furniture, and victuals, to stop the leaks, and to construct a shallop. At this critical moment the captain's narrative closes, and the pen is taken up by Brown, one of the seamen. Knight, it seems, set out in the boat, with his mate and a few of his best hands, to a small island, distant about a mile, in hopes of finding there a harbour, where the ship might be refitted. He landed with three companions, well-armed, and went over a hill, leaving Brown and another in the boat, desiring them to wait for him. They waited from ten in the morning till eleven at night. One then repeatedly sounded his trumpet, and another fired his musket; but all in vain,—the three never returned. The others came back with these blank and doleful tidings, "which did strike all our men into a great feare, to thinke in what extremity we were, because we did want our master and three of our best men, and our ship lay sunke." An armed expedition was prepared, to search for their lost captain and comrades; but it could not cross on account of the ice;



and they then, perhaps somewhat too soon, gave up hopes, and began to consider only of their own deliverance. Indeed the most fatal conclusion became soon but too probable. At one in the morning, while it poured torrents of rain, the steward and boatswain, being on watch, saw a great body of men advancing, who, as soon as they perceived the boatswain, discharged a cloud of arrows. The alarm was immediately given, and before those sleeping in the tent could be awakened and mustered, the shallop was occupied and filled by about fifty savages. The crew could produce only eight men and a large dog; yet they determined rather to die attacking their savage enemy, than to be attacked by them. They advanced therefore, placing the dog in front, and fired; upon which the enemy leaped out of the shallop, and hastened away in their boats. They were not pursued, but having stuck among the ice, were fired at repeatedly, and heard "crying very sore." They are described in the usual manner, as small, tawny, and flat-nosed; to which it is added, of course without any authority, that they are eaters of men.

The crew, after this alarm, dreading a fresh attack by superior numbers, employed themselves all day in carrying every thing on board the crazy vessels. They had next to cut through the ice, which did not allow a space for either ship or boat to ride in. At length "it pleased God that we got her out;" but having nothing in the nature of a rudder, they were obliged to row her laboriously amid the floating and driving ice, with only a faint hope of regaining their native land. The carpenter, however, set to work,

and with two pick-axes, and by taking the iron bands of the chests, contrived to make up something like a rudder, affording them "some steerage, though it was but bad." The water rushed in so copiously, that the vessel was on the point of going down, if there was half an hour's cessation from perpetual pumping. It was necessary, therefore, carefully to visit every part in search of so serious a leak. They found many, but not the main one, which was at last discovered between the timbers, where it could not be fully stopped up; however, by an external application of oakum, it was much mitigated. They had still, however, hard rowing and pumping, when "they could scarcely stir, but that they must perforce." They contrived, however, to work their way to Newfoundland, where they were kindly received and aided by the fishing adventurers; and having repaired their crazy vessel, they reached in safety Dartmouth, whence they sent an account to London of the doleful issue of their voyage.

*Hudson* was the next adventurer, and was destined to outstrip all his predecessors in this daring career. Although all his efforts were directed to the north, and a northern passage to India, his early attempts were made in a different direction. His first aim was nothing less than to sail to the Pole, and reach India across that grand boundary of the globe. In fact, he discovered and surveyed Spitzbergen or East Greenland, and reached beyond the latitude of 80°, much higher than any former, and which has scarcely been passed by any subsequent navigator. His second voyage he directed to the discovery of a north-

east passage, but was unable to reach beyond Nova Zembla. The third, performed in the Dutch service, was only distinguished by the discovery of the coast of New York, and of the great river which bears his name. The fourth voyage, set forth by Sir John Worsenholme, Sir Dudley Digges, and some other gentlemen, was directed solely to the north-west passage. Hudson was furnished only with one vessel, of the very inadequate bulk of 55 tons. The Company appointed for him as an assistant, one Colburn, who, if we might believe Fox, was a more skilful seaman than Hudson; but that commander not brooking the restraint and divided authority which this appendage appeared to imply, sent him back from the mouth of the Thames, and undertook the entire command himself. Passing along the islands of Orkney and Shetland, he touched first at Iceland, thence steered across to the eastern coast of Greenland, which he found much encumbered with ice. Here he passed what he supposed, apparently by mistake, to be Frobisher's Straits, and turning Cape Farewell, "raised the Desolations" on the western coast of Greenland. From Cape Desolation he steered westward, and on the 4th July came in sight of land to the north, but immediately lost it again. It appears to have been part of the northern shore of the broad strait entering Hudson's Bay, and by steering to the south he came upon the opposite coast in about 59 degrees. He now steered constantly to the westward, naming successive points, Isles of God's Mercies, Magna Britannia, King James's Cape, Prince Henry's Cape, &c. They had to work their way

through much ice, with which at length they were so beset, that, if we may trust the somewhat doubtful testimony of Habakkuk Pricket, Hudson fell into despair and expected to perish. This made him take the imprudent step of referring it to the company, whether they would proceed, yea or nay. The proposal gave rise to much discussion, some being willing to give all they had, so that they were at home, while others were inclined to proceed on their discovery. "After many words to no purpose, to work we must on all hands, to get ourselves out." They took their course, however, north and north-west, thus continuing to push forward. They continued to beat backwards and forwards, coming always to land on each side, and being often almost enclosed with ice, yet ever working their way through. At length they came to a channel closely enclosed between two capes, which, after his chief patrons, Hudson called Digges and Worsenholme. Here two of the officers having gone ashore, found such an immense profusion of feathered game, that they besought the master to take up his permanent quarters here; but Hudson, bent on farther discovery, lent a deaf ear to this overture. He sent forward a boat, which returned with the animating intelligence, that beyond the southern point of land there was a large sea. The vessel instantly stood in between the two lands, entered the sea, and Hudson sailed alternately north and south, curiously investigating the shores on each side. At length November approached, the nights were long and cold, and the earth covered with snow. It was time to seek winter-quarters. By the first of No-

vember they found a convenient spot, where their ship might be hauled aground, and by the tenth they were frozen in. They seemed no longer to have any cause of fear, except that their provisions should fail. But movements were already at work, which were destined to bring this grand expedition to a dark and fatal issue.

The seeds of mutiny and dissension had been sown in this unhappy crew from the moment of their departure. Hudson had taken with him a young man of the name of Green, of good talents, both natural and acquired, and every way calculated to render himself serviceable ; but, “ for religion, he was cleane paper ;” and his life had been so irregular and dissolute, that his friends had entirely cast him off. Hudson, however, hoping he might reform and render himself useful, took him on board, not as a seaman, but to live on board ; and, after a long negotiation, his mother gave four pounds to furnish him with clothes. Green, by his talents and address, soon became “ very upright and inward with the master,” who was accused of being too slow in listening to the heavy complaints which were lodged against him from various quarters. Thus, when a violent dispute had arisen between him and the surgeon, which proceeded to blows, Hudson only observed, that “ the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had.” To the influence of Green was imputed in a great measure a violent quarrel with Ivet, the mate, whom, in the middle of the Straits, Hudson displaced, and appointed Robert Billet, or Bylot, in his stead. In a paper,

however, found in the desk of Thomas Widhouse, student of mathematics, it is stated that Ivet had been guilty of highly mutinous conduct, which several of the company "deposed to his face upon the Holy Bible;" that he had used various desponding expressions, which easily took effect upon the timid, putting them often into "a fray of extremity, by jesting at our master's hope to reach Bantam by Candlemas." Bylot, on the contrary, "always showed himself honestly respecting the good of the action." Thus, however, a party was formed decidedly hostile to Hudson, and ready to take the most violent part against him; and this spirit was hourly fomented during the hardships and extremities of the following winter. We lie under great disadvantages in having no narrative except that of Habakkuk Pricket, whose own conduct made him liable to much suspicion. He evidently shared to a great extent the hostile feelings prevalent against Hudson, who appears to have been somewhat of a rough seaman, subject to violent gusts of passion. From the first the state of their provision was such as to place the crew in an anxious and agitated state; for it was evident that, without an abundant supply of those precarious resources which the air and water afforded, they never could get through the winter, or reach England. As to fowls, for three months "Providence dealt mercifully with them;" and they killed upwards of a hundred dozen of white partridges, besides sundry other birds, "making all fish that came to the net." As spring approached, the birds disappeared, and the fishery became their only resource; which

was at first pretty ample, but afterwards they could not take above fourscore in the day,—“ a poore relief to so many hungry bellies.” They were now reduced to a fortnight’s bread, which, to prevent the current complaints of partiality, Hudson distributed at once in equal portions to each man,—not a very happy measure, as many among this ill-conditioned crew knew not “ how to govern it.” The boatswain ate his whole fortnight’s allowance of bread in one day; thus, amid this dreadful approaching famine, making himself sick of repletion. As they verged daily closer on the last extremity, the mutinous spirit, which had been continually fermenting, became always more active. The circumstance most fatal to Hudson was, that Green, his favourite, and the person of greatest abilities on board, placed himself at the head of his enemies. No sufficient reason appears to be given. Pricket mentions only about a gray coat which Green had purchased, and wished to borrow the money from Hudson, who fell into a passion, and applied to him “ many words of disgrace, telling him, all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he?” when “ the devil out of this so wrought with Green,” that he became the most active agent in the dreadful plot which was now impending.

On the 21st June, while Pricket was lying in bed, Henry Green and another came down to him, and announced their determination to put out Hudson and all the sick part of the company into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves. Pricket represents himself as having adjured them not to commit

“so foule a thing in the face of God and man,” and which would banish them for ever from their native country, their wives, and children. Ivet came next, who, because he was an ancient man, was expected to have shown some reason, but he was worse than Henry Green. Then came John Thomas and Michael Perce, “as birds of a feather,—but because they are not living, I will let them go.” Much urgency, and even threats, are said to have been used with Pricket to remain at least passive, and he at length took an oath, for which he says he has been most unjustly condemned, the words being merely these:—“You shall sweare truth to God, your prince, and country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man;” but the avowed design of the administrators afforded an ample comment on this hypocritical verbiage, and rendered the proceeding more atrocious. The time was now come for fulfilling the deed of darkness. The carpenter, the most zealously attached to Hudson of any on board, was kept in talk by Green and another, while three of the conspirators went down to the cabin, seized Hudson, and began tying his hands behind his back. On his asking what they meant, they told him he should know when he was in the shallop. As they carried him out, Hudson called upon Pricket, who declares, “on his knees he besought them to remember themselves,” but he was desired to be quiet, and go down to his cabin, which order he prudently obeyed. The carpenter, however, though allowed the option of remaining,



determined to share his master's fate. The sick and helpless were then, with a barbarity almost unexampled, driven out of their cabins into the shallop, some disputes only occurring as to the selection of the objects. When all, to the number of nine, were on board the shallop, it was cut away from the stern of the ship, which stood out to the open sea, Henry Green assuming the command. "Never," says Forster, "was the heart of man possessed with ingratitude of a blacker dye than that of the infamous Green. Hudson had rescued this wretch from perdition, had cherished him with the greatest kindness, and had but with too much weakness taken his part when guilty of the greatest misdemeanours; yet this outcast of society had the wickedness to stir up the rest of the crew against their commander, and to expose his benefactor and second father without clothes, arms, or provisions, in a small boat, to the open sea, in an inhospitable region, inhabited only by savage beasts, and men still more savage." No tidings, not even the faintest rumour, ever reached Europe respecting the fate of Hudson and his much-wronged and unfortunate companions; but the helpless and dismal condition in which they were left on this distant shore leaves room only for one inference, and of the most fatal nature. But dark as their fate might be, it could not exceed in horror that which a righteous Providence reserved for the authors of the crime.

The mutineers were not long of becoming sensible of the critical situation into which they had brought themselves, "beginning to talk among themselves,

that England was no safe place for them." Green, however, declared that he would keep the sea till he obtained a pardon under the king's hand and seal. Much dispute arose as to the direction in which they were to seek for deliverance; Bylot advising to steer along the northern shore, while Ivet and the greater part of the company would have looked to the south. At length they reached their main object, being the place called by them "the Cape where the fowls breed." Having opened a friendly intercourse with the savages, they spread on all sides to collect food, and Green was more confident than all the others, "God blinding him so," that he would see nothing of the imminent danger with which he was surrounded. While Pricket was sitting in the boat he suddenly saw a leg and arm beside him, and, on turning round, perceived a savage with uplifted knife, who struck three successive blows; but Pricket, though severely hurt, at length succeeded in seizing the knife, and wrenching it out of his hand. Meantime those on shore, attacked at every point, threw themselves down from the rocks, and came tumbling into the boat. Here, however, they did not find safety, the savages continuing to discharge their arrows without intermission. Green was the first who received a mortal wound, and his lifeless body was thrown overboard, seemingly with much unconcern. Three others, chief actors in the late bloody tragedy, died in the course of the two next days, among whom was William Wilson, "swearing and cursing in most fearful manner."

It was now left to the wounded and sickly remnant

of this unhappy crew to seek their way across the Atlantic. They caught about three hundred fowls, and, having burned off the feathers, salted them, and allowed half a fowl in the day to each man. This small allowance became always more and more dry, till they cast their eyes on the candles; with which Bennet the cook fried the fowls, and each of the crew received his weekly allowance "as a great dainty." Ivet, unable to subsist on such scanty fare, died,—the last of the ringleaders in the death of Hudson. At length the last fowl was in the steep-tub; the sailors could not stand at the helm, and did not care which end went forward, or whether the foresail or mainsail flew up to the top. The master was giving up all for lost, when "it pleased God in this extremity to give us sight of land." This was the north of Ireland, where they reached a harbour which is here called Berehaven. They complain that they by no means met with that hospitable reception of which they stood so much in need; and it was only by mortgaging their vessel that they procured a supply of food and a passage to Plymouth, from which they proceeded on to Gravesend. Notwithstanding the many doubts which floated in the minds of the public, it is remarkable, that no inquiry was made into the transactions of this voyage, which began with an important discovery, but closed with such a dreadful series of crime and calamity.

The important discovery of the Strait or rather Sea of Hudson, notwithstanding its tragical accompaniments, acted strongly on the national mind in England, and it was determined to lose no time in fol-

lowing it up: the same company which had planned the former voyage sent out next year, Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Button, with two vessels named, like those of Cook, the Resolution and Discovery. It is hoped that instructions were given to search after Hudson; but, in the meagre narratives of the voyage which have been transmitted, no mention is made of this circumstance. Bylot and Habakkuk Pricket, notwithstanding the cloud which rested on them, were taken out, that Button might have the benefit of their experience. He proceeded direct to the Straits, and, on reaching their western opening, put together a pinnace, the materials of which he had brought from England. Then entering the sea, he sailed onward till he touched a point on the southern coast of Southampton Island, to which he gave the name of Carey's Swan's Nest. He continued his course directly to the westward, passing through such a wide expanse of open sea, as inspired the most sanguine hopes that the first land reached would be the eastern coast of Asia. Deep then was his disappointment, when, in lat. 60°, he fell in with a long range of coast running north and south, and barring his farther advance. He despondingly gave it the name of Hope Checked. Farther evils then assailed him. The arctic winter, with its accompaniments, thick fog, tempest, and floating ice, was now closing in. Attacked by a violent storm, he found it necessary to seek a bay in which he might pass the winter. Button, in this trying situation, seems to have conducted himself with great discretion. He took care to have the crew continually employed, as the best means of averting mutiny and despondence.

So diligent were they in the use of the gun, that they brought down, in the course of the season, 21,600 wild fowl, and thus kept themselves abundantly in fresh provisions. He talked familiarly with his men on the plans and prospects of the voyage, allowing the humblest to give his opinion, and thus kept up a constant and lively discussion. Yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, and that of keeping up constantly three large fires, it was impossible to prevent a number of the company from perishing with cold, against which they had not learned to take those effectual precautions which have succeeded so well with Captain Parry. So well-chosen, however, was his station, to which, from his pilot, he gave the name of Nelson's River, that it has since become the principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company.

About the middle of June, Button extricated himself from his enclosed position among the ice, and proceeded on his search. After mature consideration, the north appeared to him to afford the fairest promise, and he proceeded up that great opening, which has since been named Roe's Welcome. After reaching, however, lat. 65°, and finding the channel diminishing into a strait, or even a bay, he gave up hopes, and returned to the southward. He touched at and named various points on Southampton Island; then proceeded through the straits, and reached England, after a passage of sixteen days, in the autumn of 1613. It is remarkable that no original narrative of this voyage has ever been published, and that it is not even mentioned by Purchas, who made it his business to collect accounts of all the voyages made at this era.

In the same year that Button made his voyage, another company fitted out James Hall, who, in the employment of the King of Denmark, had already made, with reputation, three voyages to Greenland. He went, however, merely to the western coast of Greenland, and seems to have had in view rather the discovery of some mineral treasures, which were found altogether worthless, than of a passage to India. Hall, when sitting in his boat, was stabbed by a Greenlander, in supposed revenge of some wrongs sustained from him in a former voyage. The crew performed his obsequies, and returned to England.

The Company, in the result of Button's voyage, saw nothing to damp their ardour. Next year they sent out Gibbons, a relation of Button, who had accompanied that commander in his last voyage, and been highly esteemed by him, to make a farther effort.

This voyage, however, was a total failure; Gibbons, prevented by the ice from entering Hudson's Bay, ran into an inlet on the coast of Labrador, the same where the Moravians formed afterwards their settlement of Nain. Here he remained blocked up till the season for navigating the northern seas was passed. To this icy prison the sailors in derision gave the name of "Gibbons's Hole," and he returned to England covered with ridicule, having totally failed in his object.

The perseverance of the adventurers was truly wonderful. Forthwith, the very next year, they had a new expedition equipped, the command of which was given to Bylot, who had accompanied Hudson,

and was now of great experience in northern voyages. He had for his pilot Baffin, a navigator of rising reputation, especially for nautical observation; and who had even invented a mode of discovering longitudes by the relative position of the sun and moon. They took the usual course by Cape Farewell, which they passed on the 6th of May, and soon after descried a most lofty island of ice, rising 240 feet above the surface of the waves, which, at the usual estimate of 1-7th, would give 1680 feet for its entire elevation. Proceeding westward, he entered Lumley's or Frobisher's Inlet, and beat about the whole season among the intricate entrances to Hudson's Bay, and the floating ice with which they were encumbered. At one place they saw great numbers of dogs running backward and forward, with such a howling and barking as seemed exceedingly strange. After prayers, a boat was sent on shore to examine into this mystery. They found canoes and five tents covered with seals' skins, among which were running about forty large mastiffs, of a brindled black colour, looking almost like wolves. They were mostly muzzled, and had collars and other furniture fitting them to be yoked in sledges. No people were seen till they reached the top of a hill, whence was descried a boat with fourteen men; but, though courteous salutations were exchanged, neither party chose to trust themselves within reach of the other. The crew were also in great jeopardy near what they called Mill Island, on account of the dreadful grinding of the pieces of ice against each other. When on the east side, the ice came "driving with the tide of flood with such swiftness,

that it overwent our ship, heaving all our sails abroad," and drove them in among narrow sounds and channels. Here the eddies running one way, and the stream another, caused such a rebound of water and ice as would have exposed them to dreadful distress, "had not God, who is stronger than either stream or ice," preserved them from harm. After much sore toil and peril they emerged from all those straits, and came in view of a fair cape or headland, beyond which it was reported, by a boat sent to reconnoitre, that a strong current was coming down from the north. This, with the finding of a depth of 140 fathoms, caused them to give to this point the name of Cape Comfort; but, alas! this name was premature. Scarcely had they turned the point, when "their comfort was quailed." They beheld a coast "pestered with ice," and running to the westward, so as, in their apprehension, to form an enclosed bay. This conclusion was erroneous; for they were now on the eastern coast of Southampton Island, though it is not very probable that they could ever have worked round to the strait of the Fury and Hecla. However the master, fully persuaded, tacked and turned the ship's head homewards without farther search.

The worshipful adventurers, after learning the issue of this voyage, gave up altogether the idea of penetrating to Asia through the narrow and encumbered channels leading to Hudson's Bay. They determined to look to that wide and open sea to the north, which, with little propriety, had been named Davis's Straits. They drew up a set of instructions, conformably to which Bylot and Baffin were to push



directly to the north, along the coast of West Greenland, till they came to lat.  $80^{\circ}$ , after which they were to direct their course south-west towards the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$ , and were then to steer directly for Yedzo, to the north of Japan; their reaching which is not made a matter of doubt. Then they were to guide themselves according to their judgment, or as wind and seasons might render necessary.

The two navigators set sail from Gravesend, on the 26th March, in the *Discovery*, with a crew of only seventeen men. The narrative of this important voyage is written by Baffin, who, though still only pilot, was now, from his skill in navigation, considered quite as the leading man; but he has written it in a manner singularly meagre and unsatisfactory, which Purchas accounts for by his wanting the art of words. It is so much more imperfect, however, than any of his former narratives, that Mr Barrow cannot believe it is really his own. However we have no other, and must make the best of it. Nothing particular occurred till they came to Sanderson's Hope, the farthest limit of Davis's discoveries. They reached next a cluster of islands, where all the men were absent; but there were numerous females, from fourscore downwards, whence they gave them the name of Women's Islands. They carried on a friendly intercourse with these dames, exchanging European goods for the flesh and skin of the seal, on which the natives subsisted almost solely, eating the former raw and clothing themselves with the latter. In lat.  $74^{\circ}$  they met with other islands, which bore marks of habitation, but were now deserted. The ice was now so

thick, that they were obliged to stand in for the shore, and wait till its dissolution, which was proceeding very fast, should be so far advanced as to allow a passage. Here they were visited by forty-two of the inhabitants, from whom they received various teeth, horns, and bones of the sea-unicorn and sea-morse; whence they named this "Horn Sound." Setting sail in six days, they found a wonderful change, the ice having all disappeared, and twenty leagues of open sea appearing to the north. Then again they were obliged to ply to and fro amid much scattered ice, snow falling every day, and even at midsummer the shrouds and sails were so frozen that they could scarcely be handled; however the cold, though extreme, was such as could be endured. In  $76^{\circ} 35'$  they saw a fair cape, named after Sir Dudley Digges, and a fair sound, with an island in the centre, making two entrances, which they called Worsenholme; thus honouring the two chief promoters of the expedition. They were next embayed in a large sound filled with whales, which, if duly provided with instruments, they could easily have struck, and called it Whale Sound. Steering out of this, they passed an isle which they called Hackluyt, and entered another sound still larger, reaching to beyond  $78^{\circ}$  north, to which they gave the name of Sir Thomas Smith. It appeared admirable to Baffin, as presenting the greatest variation of the compass any where known, being  $56^{\circ}$  to the westward, so that "north-east and by east is true north." The whales here were equally abundant. They now stood to the westward, and passed another large sound, to which they gave the name of Alderman Jones. Their

course was then south, and in  $74^{\circ} 20'$  they found another large opening, called Sir James Lancaster's Sound. Baffin seems to have bestowed very little attention on this future grand entrance into the polar basin. He says, "here our hope of passage began to be less every day," and to the south there was a ledge of ice along the shore, within which he could not penetrate. Along the exterior of this ledge he was obliged to move till he came to the latitude of  $65^{\circ}$ , within the indraft of Cumberland's Isle, "where hope of passage there could be none." A number of men being sick of the scurvy, and one having died, he steered across for Greenland, where he found an abundance of scurvy-grass, which, being boiled in beer, soon re-established the health of his men; then, sailing direct for England, he arrived at Dover on the 30th August.

Baffin returned with a very strong impression against the probability of a north-west passage. Mr Barrow charges him as almost appearing not to wish to find one; and certainly there was something very supine in his disregard of so promising an opening as that of Lancaster's Sound. He sought, however, to direct the attention of his employers to other objects. In his address to the worshipful master, John Worsenholme, Esq., he says there is no passage nor hope of passage in the north of Davis's Straits, "we having coasted all or near all the circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other than a great bay." He conceives, however, that a most profitable voyage might be afforded by the whales, which he calls Grand Bay Whales. Not being accustomed to attack from man,

they were seen in vast numbers "lying or sleeping aloft in the water, not fearing our ship or aught else." This hint was soon improved, and Davis's Straits has ever since been one of the most important seats of the whale-fishery.

The voyage of Baffin completed the early exploration of the American coast, in which no farther progress was made, till a more recent period, first by land-journeys from Hudson's Bay or Canada, and lately on a greater scale by the important expeditions sent out by the British government. Before treating of these, however, it will be expedient to take a view of the discoveries on the western coast, which, beginning from Mexico, were gradually extended along that vast range of shore till they reached the Icy Cape, within the precincts of the arctic ocean.

## CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF  
AMERICA.

*Expeditions by the Spaniards from Mexico.—Cortes—His Letters to Charles V.—Hurtado.—Mendoza.—Cortes's own Expedition.—Ulloa.—Report of the Seven Cities.—Coronado.—Alarchon.—City of Quivira.—Cabrillo.—Viscaino.—Juan de Fuca.—Da Fonte.—Russian Expedition under Behring and Tchirikoff.—Cook and Clerke.—Meares.—Inhabitants, &c. of Nootka Sound.—Vancouver.—Kotzebue.*

WHEN the Spaniards had established their dominion in Mexico, their attention was soon attracted to the seas and regions beyond it. The vast and ambitious mind of Cortes, not content with the conquest of that rich and celebrated empire, viewed it only as a step to some still more vast and opulent acquisition. This he hoped to find in the wide space which separates America from India, in the bosom of the great South Sea, which the voyage of Magellan had proved to exist, though its range and dimensions were yet very imperfectly known. Another sentiment strongly impelled Cortes into this career. A fortune so brilliant

as his made him too great in the eyes of his imperial master, who dreaded to intrust him with uncontrolled sway; and Cortes held only a divided power in Mexico, the reality being chiefly vested in Mendoza, the viceroy. By new discoveries he hoped to retrieve his greatness, and silently to reproach his master for this jealous ingratitude. In his letters to Charles V. he announces the most magnificent schemes. He was to have the whole coast from Panama to the Gulf of Florida examined in search of a passage to the South Sea, the existence of which, in that imperfect state of knowledge, appeared still possible. He was then to penetrate to the Baccalaos, (Newfoundland), beyond which he doubted not to find a strait which would afford a much shorter route to India and the Moluccas, and thus connect together all his majesty's vast dominions.\* But his main hope was from two brigantines which he was fitting out on the western coast of Mexico; by means of which he trusted to make Charles master of more kingdoms than were known in Spain to exist; nay, he would take care that nothing should be wanting to render his majesty ruler of the whole world. Charles was abundantly alive

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\* *Tengo per mui cierto que con ellos siendo Deos nuestro Senor servido, tengo de ser causa que vuestra Cæsarea magestad sea en estas partes Senor de mas Reinos i Senorios que los que hasta oi en nuestra nacion si tiene noticia; pues creo que con hacer yo esto no le quedara a Vuestra Excelsitud mas que hacer para ser Monarcha del Mundo. Carta 19. ap. Barcia, Historiadores del Nuevo Mundo, I. p. 148.*

to any scheme for the extension of his dominions, but he devolved upon Cortes the whole expense and hazard of these mighty undertakings, granting to him only a proportion of the treasures which he might bring to light. There is no record of the proposed voyages for the north-west passage, all his resources being absorbed by the armament preparing on the coast of the South Sea. Cortes, indeed, complains to Charles of the enormous funds which had been swallowed in this undertaking, and of the immense expense of transporting anchors, sails, cables, pitch, tar, and other materials, across a country of such stupendous elevation, broken by steep rocks and great and rapid rivers. The entire cost, he says, amounts to 800 pesos of gold, without including other extraordinaries. Then, after these materials had been transported at so enormous an expense, a fire broke out in the arsenal, which consumed the whole, with the exception of the iron-work. So great a disaster seems to have cooled the ardour of this daring adventurer; but, being called upon to do something in fulfilment of his lofty promises, he at length contrived to equip two brigantines, and sent them to the northward, under Diego de Hurtado. The result was disastrous. One of the crews mutinied and returned to Xalisco; Hurtado himself was never more heard of. Cortes, however, immediately ordered two other ships to be built at Tehuantepec, and went thither in person to hasten their progress. In 1534 he sent them out under two captains, Grijalva and Mendoza. The ships were separated on the very first night, and never again met. Grijalva

sailed three hundred leagues, till he came to an island, which he called Santo Tome, and which is supposed to be situated near the north point of California; after which he returned as he went. Mendoza, by his haughty and fiery disposition, exposed himself to that mutinous spirit which formed the scourge of the naval expeditions of that age.—Ximenes, his pilot, having entered into a conspiracy, murdered him in his sleep, with several of his officers. Ximenes, not venturing then to return to Mexico, pushed his way northward, and seems to have first touched on the coast of California. Having landed, however, he was attacked by the natives and killed, with twenty of his men. The survivors brought the vessel back to Chiametla, reporting that they had found the coast tolerably good, and that it particularly abounded in pearls.

Cortes, dazzled by this first glimmering of wealth, and imputing these heavy disasters to the misconduct of the commanders, determined to prepare a larger expedition, and to take the command of it in person. He equipped at Tehuantepec three vessels, which were brought round to Chiametla, whence the whole set sail. They were immediately dispersed, however, by a violent storm, when Cortes put back, but was joined only by one of his ships. He then set out in search of the rest, which he at last found stranded and in a miserable condition. Some of the sailors had perished of famine, and several more died of too hasty repletion when he supplied them with provisions. Cortes, still not discouraged, set out on farther discovery; but disturbances having broken



out in Mexico, a vessel was sent requesting him to return,—a summons which, beset as he was with so many difficulties, and hopeless of achieving any thing brilliant, he was perhaps not unwilling to obey. Francisco de Ulloa, whom he left behind, was soon obliged to return by the want of provisions. All this did not satisfy Cortes. He sent Ulloa back with three vessels, to prosecute the career of discovery. Ulloa spent a year in examining the coasts and seas, till, in lat. 32°, he discovered the Vermeil Sea, or the Sea of Cortes, as it had been called, to be a bay similar to the Adriatic; but he returned without any report of those golden realms, the hope of which had been so fondly cherished and so confidently vaunted.\*

The disastrous result of these enterprises chilled the ardour for discovery in the mind of the Spaniards in general, and of Cortes himself, whose hopes and spirits began to sink under disappointment and neglect. Suddenly, however, a new impulse was given. In 1537, arrived, as formerly related, Alvaro Nunez, after his shipwreck and long pilgrimage from the coast of Florida. The relation of his extraordinary adventures, including the imaginary miracles which he had achieved, excited a singular interest in the Mexican capital. The relation was also considered, though it does not exactly appear on what grounds, as exhibiting many tempting objects to be found in

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\* Gomara *Chronica de la Nueva Espana*, cap. 187-8-9. Venegas, *California*, part ii. sect. 2.

these northern regions. In the following year, Mendoza sent a monk, Fra Marco da Nizza, who, with the aid of our Lady the most Holy Virgin, and of our Father St Francis, undertook to inquire what was to be found in the extensive regions northward of Mexico. Furnished with such Indian guides as could be procured, he was recommended to the good offices of Vasquez Coronado, governor of New Galicia. The journey of discovery began from Culiacan, then the most northerly settlement which had been formed by the Spaniards. He proceeded first through plains rendered almost waste by the causes already reported by Alvaro Nunez, the natives being exposed to the continual inroads of the Spaniards, who plundered them of every thing, and carried off numbers as slaves. Some Indians, however, were met from the island discovered by Cortes, (California), which they certified to him, though falsely, was really an island, and not, as some asserted, a part of the continent. On showing them pearls, he was assured that there were many and of large size in their country. After travelling several days through an uninhabited region, he came to a nation of Indians, who, having never seen any Christians, received them most hospitably, and called them men from heaven. They reported, moreover, that at the distance of thirty or forty days' journey, after passing the steeps of the mountains, they would come to an extensive and fertile plain, in which were many cities, inhabited by a people more numerous, more wealthy, and more polished than themselves. As the father pressed onward in search of the tempting objects thus

reported, he met a party whom he calls Pintados, or painted Indians, who came from these cities, and who, on being eagerly interrogated, confirmed all the former favourable accounts. On being shown the specimens of valuable articles which he carried with him, they immediately pointed to gold, the most precious of all, as that with which their cities abounded. So ample was the store, that it was not only suspended as an ornament from the nose and ears, but domestic utensils of the most common and humble description were fabricated from this precious metal. Turquoises also were described as so plentiful, that the doors were ornamented and in a great measure constructed with them. Cevola, or Cibola, the nearest of these cities, was as celebrated in these regions as Termititlan was in Mexico. It was spacious, and consisted of houses of stone, six or seven storeys high, the access to which was by moveable wooden stairs. These cheering reports encouraged the father to proceed on his journey, which he made agreeably, through a fertile territory, and among friendly Indians, who all confirmed to him the averments respecting the greatness and wealth of Cibola. As he approached, an arrangement was made, it does not precisely appear on what grounds, that Stefano Dorante, one of his companions, should go forward with an escort of three hundred Indians, to prepare the way for the rest. As Da Nizza, however, was following a few days after, he met an Indian, from whom he received the most doleful tidings. Dorante, on approaching, sounded bells, waved white plumes, and made other signals of peace and friendship; instead

of accepting which, the citizens seized him and his companions, imprisoned them in a large house without the city, and stripped them of every thing that they had either brought with them or received on the road. On their attempting to escape next morning, they were pursued with clouds of arrows, Dorante himself killed, and only a few escaped to tell this disastrous tale. Father da Nizza was immediately urged to retrace his steps with all speed; but he declared his resolution not to return to Mexico without seeing Cevola, and two of his principal attendants consented to go along with him, all *incognito*. In this guise they actually reached the city, of which he had the opportunity of taking a full view without being discovered. He found fulfilled all that had been reported of the splendour of Cevola, which appeared to contain twenty thousand houses of the same lofty description described by the Indians. The inhabitants were well clothed in cotton and hides, and slept on beds. They had jewels of many species, none of which they esteemed so highly as turquoises, with which they really ornamented the doors of their houses. Gold and silver were their only metals, and were in greater abundance and more familiar use than in Peru. Notwithstanding his perilous position, the father contrived to take possession of the country, by setting up a small cross, on which was inscribed the name of Mendoza, the viceroy, and he called it the kingdom of St Francis. He now hastened home, receiving a much less welcome reception from the Indians, who were plunged in grief on account of their lost countrymen; however, he arrived without molestation, first

at Culiacan, and then at Compostella, where he wrote a full narrative of the above particulars.

These tidings of the great city of Cevola, its lofty mansions, and its utensils of gold and silver, filled all Mexico with hope and exultation. Nothing else was talked or thought of; another Peru, more brilliant than that which Pizarro had conquered, seemed only to wait for the fortunate hero who should march to its conquest. The achievement belonged justly to Cortes, in virtue of the commission by which, amid the privation of other power, that of discovering unknown regions and shores was specially intrusted to him. But Mendoza could not allow so magnificent and so sure a prize to be carried off by a competitor towards whom he stood in many unfriendly relations. Disregarding the claims of Cortes, he assumed to himself the entire conduct of an expedition which was to add to Spain a third empire, rivalling in splendour Mexico and Peru. Cortes remonstrated in vain, though loudly, against this injustice, and even appealed against it to the tribunals. But he found, that he had there a very different conflict to maintain from that in which he had been accustomed to decide the fate of empires; solicitors and counsellors, backed by the ruling powers, presented a front more formidable than the countless hosts whom he had vanquished on the plain of Otumba. While he was prosecuting his fruitless lawsuit, the viceroy was busy carrying into effect the expedition by which he hoped to immortalize his name and eclipse the glory of his rival.

Mendoza fitted out two ample and well-provided armaments, one of which was to proceed by sea and

the other by land. The command of the former he conferred on Fernando di Alarchon ; the latter, consisting of a thousand chosen men, he at first intended to command in person, but was afterwards induced to intrust to Vasquez di Coronado.

Coronado, with his troops, set out full of the most sanguine hopes, and proceeded for some time cheerfully along the difficult and mountainous route which led to Cevola. The Spaniards were animated by the prospect of arriving at that level and fertile tract, along which a great part of their route had been described to extend. At length they reached this promised land ; but here they met with a severe disappointment. The region wore the most dreary and rugged aspect ; it consisted only of mountains so steep that their horses could scarcely be led across them ; there was not a single field of grain ; and a few clusters of miserable cottages formed the only sign of human habitation. Grievous murmurs arose among the soldiery, not only on account of their actual sufferings, but of the doubt which they could not but entertain, that the future portions of the route might bear a similar correspondence to the description given by the Franciscans, as the present manifestly did. Coronado's own mind began to mis-give him ; but he put the best possible face upon the matter, telling his troops that the Seven Cities were the real objects of their pursuit, and that nothing in the intermediate space was worthy of their regard. They continued, therefore, to labour on through these rugged and desolate tracts, in which many of the horses perished ; and several of the party, reduced

by want to feed on unwholesome herbs, also died. Doubts likewise increased as to the fidelity of the reports to which they were trusting, when they came to a place which had been described as only five leagues distant from the sea, and found it to be fifteen days' journey. However, they still went on, and, after a long and dreary journey, and passing some mountains still more rugged than before, came in view of a plain covered with grass and watered by fresh streams, which put them in mind of Castile. This was the plain of the Seven Cities. The first Indians whom the Spaniards met received them with signs of friendship; and Coronado, wisely instructed to employ every means of conciliation, sent them to the city with valuable presents, and with assurances of the most pacific and amicable intentions. Various suspicious circumstances, however, occurring as they advanced, he hastened to take possession of a strong mountain-pass leading to the place. The Cevolans soon appeared in great force; and though they retreated on seeing the pass held by the Spaniards, they began and continued to discharge their arrows. Coronado long resisted the urgent desire of his troops to retaliate, till three horses being killed, and two men wounded, there appeared no longer to be any choice left. A discharge of fire-arms induced the enemy to retreat, and throw themselves into the town. Open hostilities were thus commenced, and the extreme scarcity of food under which the Spaniards laboured could only be relieved by forcing an entrance without delay. Coronado led on his men to the assault. The resistance was desperate, and the Spaniards were

assailed not only by showers of arrows, but by great stones, thrown with extraordinary force. Coronado himself, rendered conspicuous by his gilded armour, was pierced by three arrows in his face and leg, twice struck to the ground with large stones, and was thus obliged to leave the field. At length the disciplined bravery of the Spaniards prevailed over the rude though fierce valour of their antagonists, and they made their triumphal entry into the golden city.

Coronado, soon recovered from his wounds, had leisure to survey this much-desired possession, and compare it with the descriptions of Da Nizza. The relation of that worthy father then proved to be a string of lies from beginning to end. Instead of any thing which could be compared with the capital of Mexico, he saw only somewhat of a large village, of about 400 houses, several storeys high indeed, roughly built of stone, and ascended by moveable wooden stairs; but the gold and silver, which had been the main object, could nowhere be found; and the jewels were merely different species of pebble and rock-crystal. The country composed an elevated plain, tolerably productive in grass and maize, but subject in winter to extreme cold. Since he had reached the city, he would take possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but it could never fulfil any of those brilliant hopes, under the influence of which he had been led to undertake so painful an expedition.

Fernando de Alarchon meantime was proceeding up the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, to co-operate with the grand expedition. After several ad-



ventures, he came to the mouth of a large river, which flowed with a strong current, and which seemed likely to be near the point on which he was intending to operate. A numerous band of people soon appeared on the banks, and their numbers hourly increased. They were well-armed with bows and arrows, and, having their standards unfurled, made the most threatening signals to the Spaniards that they should advance no farther. Alarchon, carefully instructed, it should seem, to follow the most conciliatory course, took his sword, laid it at the bottom of the boat, and stood upon it; then took a flag and laid it down, causing his companions to do the same. He then held out several of those articles, destined either for presents or barter, which were most tempting in the eyes of the Indians. Hereupon one of them, an old man, took a staff, stepped into the water, and presented it to Alarchon, who immediately embraced him, and offered presents of beads, paternosters, and other spiritual toys. The Indian immediately returned to his countrymen, who began to look at the Spaniards, and to speak with each other; after which they approached in a large body and in the most amicable manner. Signs were made that they should lower their standards, and lay down their arms at a certain distance from the bank; and, as their numbers still appeared formidable, it was added, that they should approach only by tens; to all which they acceded. The successive divisions were saluted with great kindness, and received various presents. Having thus established a good understanding, the Spaniards proceeded up the river, where they soon met with an

Indian who understood one of those whom they carried along with them. Through this medium it was immediately communicated to the natives, that the Spaniards were children of the Sun, who had been sent by their father to be the lords of the Indians, and to put an end to the wars, which had caused such desolation among them. The natives showed every disposition to receive this ; though, in sifting it to the bottom, they put some questions that were rather puzzling. They asked why, since the Sun was sending his children, he had delayed so long this beneficent errand, and allowed so many fatal events to take place ; and they wondered why, in sending the Spaniards on such a mission, he had left them entirely ignorant of the language of those whom they were to instruct and rule over. The Spaniards got up such answers as they could to these difficulties, and the Indians were at last satisfied. They assisted the Spaniards, therefore, in continuing to ascend the river, where they at length found an Indian, who could tell something about Cevola. He even knew the particulars of the first expedition thither by Father da Nizza. On being asked the cause of the very hostile reception then experienced by the Spaniards, he ascribed it to the imprudence of Dorante, who, on being asked if he had many brethren like himself, replied that they were infinite in number, well provided with arms, and at no great distance. This report alarmed the Cevolans, who thought no time should be lost in crushing such formidable visitants. Cevola was stated to be ten days' journey distant, and across a very rugged country. Alarchon was anxious to have opened a

communication with his countrymen, who must have by this time been in its vicinity; but none of his companions would venture to undertake such a journey. He saw then no further motive for continuing the laborious ascent of this difficult stream, and determined immediately to run his bark down to the sea. The Indians, however, were equally surprised and displeased with this movement, asking how it could be reconciled with their having been sent by the Sun to govern and civilize them. The Spaniards do not seem to have known well what to answer, but did not the less hasten down to the sea, which they reached in two days and a half, after having spent fifteen days in ascending. Alarchon continued for some time to beat along the coast, but without being able to hear another word of Cevola, or seeing the least prospect of opening an intercourse with his countrymen; and his armament becoming exhausted and sickly, he returned to Mexico.

Meantime Coronado, anxious not to return without having done or discovered something, began to make earnest inquiries respecting the country beyond the Seven Cities. All accounts pointed towards Quivira, a maritime city, as the most flourishing in this part of America. Coronado reached it without difficulty across a route of three hundred leagues, through a country level, though not populous. Quivira was found really to be a city more considerable than any of the seven, of which the fame had been blazed so widely. The country round was fertile and luxuriant, though a peculiar breed of cattle constituted its sole wealth. Quivira was henceforth the grand

landmark of the Spaniards in their enterprises of northern discovery; but no city under that name or site was ever recognised. It has been ascertained, however, that this coast is populous, and inhabited by a race somewhat superior in arts and civilization to the other native tribes of North America. There seems therefore no ground to suspect any thing fictitious in the very moderate celebration which is given to it. There is indeed a report of ships seen along the coast, having their prows adorned with images of gold and silver birds, of which it is difficult to know what to make. However, Coronado, finding nothing to detain him longer, returned to Mexico; and two monks, who went afterwards to Quivira, were involved in a quarrel with the natives, and killed.\*

The viceroy, Mendoza, frustrated of all those airy and splendid hopes, in the pursuit of which he had made such vast preparations, and even broken the ties of honour and justice, determined upon a further effort to effect something which might throw lustre on his period of viceroyalty. He prepared two expeditions to navigate the Pacific, one westwards and the other towards the north. The latter, with which alone we have at present any concern, consisted of two ships, commanded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese seaman of courage and reputation. The narrative of Cabrillo's voyage is far from copious. After passing the limits of California, he came to a

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\* Ramusio, III. 297-303—Venegas, California, part II. sect. 2.

succession of capes, and gave them the names of various coasts, which they have not retained. In thirty-six degrees he was informed of a people living in the interior, who wore clothes; and in the latitude of about  $40^{\circ}$  descried two mountains covered with snow, between which a bold cape projected into the ocean, to which, from his employer, he gave the name of Cape Mendozino. Cabrillo sailed four degrees still farther north; but, finding the cold becoming intense, as well as provisions beginning to fail, he judged it advisable to return to Mexico. There he gave it as his opinion that vessels of a greater strength and burden, as well as more amply equipped and provisioned, would be necessary to engage in the difficult and dangerous navigation of these northern coasts.\*

In 1596, the Conde de Monterey, then viceroy, in pursuance of instructions from home, sent an expedition of three vessels to California and the South Sea, for the joint purposes of settlement and discovery. They were placed under the command of Sebastian Viscaino, an officer who had distinguished himself both in the sea and land service, and was considered eminent both for valour and discretion. Viscaino sailed first along the western coast of Mexico, till he came to the mouth of the Gulf of California. He then steered across this ample opening, till in five days the expedition came in view of the wished-for land. Having found a secure bay and port, which was called the St Sebastian, but afterwards La Paz,

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\* Venegas, *ut supra*.

they immediately sought to open a friendly intercourse with the natives. The latter came in crowds; a naked race, armed with bows, arrows, and wooden javelins hardened in the fire. They readily met, however, the friendly overtures of the Spaniards, and exchanged presents. Viscaino now thought it time to take possession of the country in name of his Catholic Majesty, which he did by hoisting standards and firing cannon,—proceedings the import of which was little understood by the natives. They crowded to the spot, and showed the delighted admiration natural at the view of such novel objects, and which the Spaniards chose to interpret as signs of homage. The friars, of whom four accompanied the armament, then asked them to bring their children, of whom a certain number were collected, though it is admitted that the time was too short to give them any sufficient instruction. Indeed, it seems admitted, that the only symptoms of conversion consisted in admiration of the splendour of the service, particularly of the mass; their views respecting which were shown by asking if they were the children of the Sun, and offering to worship them.

The expedition were not long on this coast, when they found that a capital error had been committed in the slender stock of provisions with which they had been furnished. The soldiers, reduced to a small plate of maize in the day, pronounced it impossible that on such short allowance they could venture into the depths of an unknown ocean. The chiefs and officers having held a council, decided that it really was impossible to proceed farther, and that all they could do was

to send the Almirante, one of the vessels, with a boat, to survey the eastern coast of the peninsula. This vessel proceeded accordingly for a hundred leagues, holding intercourse with the natives where their disposition appeared friendly, and immediately re-embarking where it was found otherwise. After having sailed about a hundred leagues in this manner, they came to a point, where they landed fifty men, who, not judging themselves well received, turned back to the boat; but the Indians, displeased with this conduct, let fly some arrows, and wounded several of the Spaniards. The latter immediately discharged their pieces, and killed two or three Indians, who thereupon hastened back, and brought with them about five hundred of their countrymen. The boat unfortunately was too small to convey more than half the number at a time; so that twenty-five were obliged to wait its return. This took place just as the Indians had commenced a general discharge of arrows. The Spaniards would have been fully competent to defend themselves; but most unhappily, amid the agitation of this attack, the boat was upset, and they fell into the water. Their arms were so wet as to be rendered useless; and the water being deep, they could not stand firm, or use their weapons with any effect. They stood thus a helpless mark to the showers of arrows and stones which were poured upon them; nineteen perished miserably in view of the ships, which could not approach to aid them; and only five saved themselves by swimming. After this gloomy adventure, the Spaniards did not attempt to proceed farther, but carried back the report, that many of the dis-

tricts appeared tolerably fertile, and that there was a pearl-fishery of considerable value. On their return, Viscaino no longer hesitated in steering for Acapulco.

Considerable discouragement seems to have been felt from the tenor of this voyage, and no fresh attempt was made at the time; but, in 1602, Philip III. sent out fresh instructions to the Conde de Monterey to set on foot exploratory voyages both to the west and the north. The latter was to be along the exterior western coast of America, of which a complete survey was to be made as far as Cape Mendocino, in 40° of N. latitude. The special reason was, that many vessels from the Philippines, in consequence of the direction which they were led to take by the trade-winds, came first in view of America near this point, and were exposed to danger from their ignorance of the coast. It was, besides, intimated that his Majesty had good information of a vessel which had sailed from Baccalaos, (Newfoundland), through the Strait of Anian, and discovered there a very rich city. The expedition might, therefore, endeavour to follow the reverse of this route, and sail through the Strait and Newfoundland to Spain. The Conde de Monterey lost no time in obeying this order, and fitted out three other vessels, which he placed again under the command of Viscaino, whose knowledge of this coast as well as his general prudence and capacity seemed to point him out as the best qualified person. Viscaino accordingly sailed from the port of La Navidad, and reached first the islands of Mazatlan at the mouth of the gulf, remarkable for a visit paid to them by Sir Thomas Cavendish. Here he



steered across to the opposite side, and refreshed for some time in the port of La Paz ; where, finding his stock of provisions now ample, he sailed out to the exterior coast along the ocean. Here they were overtaken by heavy fogs, in one of which all the three were separated, the Capitana having entered a spacious bay, while the Almirante kept out to sea, and the smallest one, called the Tender, lagged behind. The Capitana and the Tender soon joined each other ; but twenty-eight days elapsed, till, on entering a bay in the island of Cerros, they descried their lost consort, to the extreme joy of all the three. Yet a second separation took place, and lasted for twelve days, till they met again in the bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. By this time they had passed California, and come upon the coast of New Mexico. The Indians here were somewhat more civilized than in the former country, and carried on a considerable intercourse with the interior, where they reported that there was a people well clothed and living in large houses ; whence it was inferred, either that there was a country of civilized Indians, or that some of the Spaniards settled in New Mexico had become known to these natives. In proceeding along the coast, the Spaniards came to an excellent and spacious harbour, to which they gave the viceroy's name of Monterey, which it still retains. A disease, the same to which the ships from China were liable, (the scurvy) now spread through the fleet. Its symptoms, swelling and eruption over the whole body, the teeth loosening and dropping from the gums, extreme languor and sudden death from mere debility, appalled the Spaniards, who, ignorant of its now well-

known cause and cure, imagined it to arise from the violence of the cold, or some pestilential quality in this northern air. The narrator judges, that he must be extravagantly fond of life who can wish to preserve it after being attacked by so cruel a malady. They saw no remedy, therefore, but to send back the *Almirante* with all the bad cases of sickness, while the *Capitana* endeavoured to prosecute the train of discovery. It proceeded, accordingly, till it came opposite to a cape supposed to be that of *Mendocino*; but the disease spreading rapidly, rendered the condition of the crew every day more calamitous, till there were not above six men in a condition to keep the deck. A new panic then struck them, that they might not have strength sufficient to navigate the vessel back to Mexico. There was judged then to be no alternative but to place the vessel before the wind, which happened to be favourable in the direction of *Acapulco*. The frigate, meantime, which had again lost its consorts, pushed on to the north, till it came to the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$ , where it passed a large cape, which it called *Cape Blanco*, and found a broad and deep river bordered with noble woods, and which was inferred to be the strait, by which it is said the Dutch had passed from the northern to the southern sea, and found a magnificent city, supposed to be *Quivira*. The great river thus identified with the strait of *Anian*, though placed in too low a latitude, cannot well, it should seem, be any other than the *Columbia*.

The *Capitana*, in its return, happily enjoying a continued and favourable wind from the north-west,

proceeded rapidly and prosperously. Thus, with scarcely any effort, they guided the ship to the port of Mazatlan, at the mouth of the Californian gulf. Here, arriving in the most miserable state, they were received with the utmost hospitality, and, being plentifully supplied with fresh meat, vegetables, and acid fruits, they recovered health with a rapidity which appeared to them miraculous. In the course of nineteen days, all who still lived had completely recovered, without even a trace of such a dreadful distemper. They then sailed for Acapulco, where their appearance caused the most agreeable surprise. The Almirante had arrived there in the most evil plight, with only three men in any tolerable health, and after having lost twenty-five. Its condition, with the report it brought, and the interval which had elapsed, had led to the conclusion, that the Capitana must not only have suffered much more severely, but probably have perished with all her crew. It was a wonderful sight, therefore, when they appeared in the most flourishing health, without a trace of having suffered under disease of any description.

Viscaino, not discouraged by the sufferings endured by him in this voyage, solicited permission to make a fresh attempt, at his own expense; but even this, under the arbitrary and zealous sway of Spain, could not be done without royal permission. This he found could only be obtained by repairing to the mother country; where, on laying the proposition before the council of the Indies, he found so much delay, indifference, and irresolution, that he left Spain in disgust and despair. The Spanish court, however, soon changed its views on the subject; and, in 1606, a

royal rescript was sent out, instructing the viceroy, who was now the Marquis de Montes Claros, to find out, if possible, Viscaino, and employ him in a fresh voyage, as similar as possible to the preceding one. Viscaino was found, and undertook with alacrity the proposed expedition; but when just about to sail he was seized with an illness, and died; after which the affair was entirely dropped, and no farther steps taken to carry the intentions of the king into effect.\*

The annals of Spanish discovery here close, and record no farther attempts to reach the northern latitudes of America. Yet there is some reason to think that others may have been shrouded in that veil of timid mystery which that nation afterwards so anxiously threw over all her American transactions. One of these transpired in a very singular manner. Mr Lok, an English gentleman, very curious in these matters, fell in at Venice with an old pilot, a native of Greece, named Juan de Fuca, who gave him a narrative of his naval adventures. One of these, of which he retained a deep recollection, was the having been in the ship plundered by Captain Candish off Cape California. The other was, that, in 1592, he had accompanied a voyage for the discovery of the Strait of Anian. In this voyage, he stated that, on the coast turning to the north and north-east, he came between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude to this supposed strait, and sailed twenty days through it, the land now turning west and north-west, till he

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\* Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, book v. ch. 45-58.

emerged into the spacious expanse of the North Sea. Having thus, as he apprehended, completed the object of his expedition, he turned back towards Acapulco. He long solicited from the viceroy a reward adequate to the service, and which might compensate for his former losses; but, after suing for two years, he obtained only an advice to go to Spain and apply to the king himself. To Spain accordingly he went, and was welcomed "with words after the Spanish manner;" but never having arrived at any thing else, he was now on his return to his native country. If, however, he were allowed a hundred pounds for the expense of transporting himself to England, he was ready to afford to that nation his utmost services for the discovery and navigation of this important Strait. —England, it appears, could not muster so enormous a sum; but Mr Lok, always hoping that it might at last be drawn from the court and treasury, kept up a correspondence with the old pilot, till at last, receiving no answer, he had reason to believe that he had sickened and died. Lok is quite a respectable person, and known as the translator of Peter Mastyr's *Decades*, which treat of American discovery. Candish, too, really makes mention of an old pilot found on board the Spanish prize which he captured. But, as Mr Barrow observes, the strongest confirmation of all, is that afforded by the discovery since made of a strait and long channel in the precise latitude described; for Vancouver's criticism that there is a difference of one degree is of very little weight. This channel is that since called Queen Charlotte's Sound, and which opens, at its farther

extremity, not as De Fuca supposed, into the Atlantic, but into an ulterior portion of the Pacific; however, according to the imperfect knowledge and ideas of that age, this was an error from which he could scarcely escape. The maritime public, therefore, in giving to this Strait the name of De Fuca, seems to have admitted his claim of being its first discoverer.

Another voyage, which has made a still greater noise in the world, but does not at present enjoy so high a reputation, is that of Admiral de Fonte. The only narrative of it which has yet appeared is that inserted, in the year 1708, in an English miscellany, entitled "*Memoirs for the Curious*," without any very distinct account of how it got there. According to this relation, De Fonte had been despatched from Mexico, with the never-ceasing object of the North-West Passage. He sailed to the north of California till he came to the 53d degree of latitude, when he found himself among numerous islands, separated by narrow channels, which formed a sort of labyrinth, and which he called the Archipelago of San Lazaro. Here, in the course of various turnings and windings, we find him in a large river, filled, however, with cod and other sea-fishes, and which led into a very extensive lake, called Belle, abounding with islands, and extending 160 leagues in length and 60 in breadth. This was explored by Captain Barnarda, the second in command, who in vain endeavoured to find a passage into Davis's Strait, and on sending forward several of his men, was informed that this western sea terminated in a lake thirty

miles in circumference, in the 80th degree of latitude. Meantime the Indians gave notice that a European ship, the first ever seen in those latitudes, was lying in a bay of the Lake Belle. De Fonte immediately went to the place, where he found Senior Gibbons, the commander, and Captain Shapeley, the pilot. They proved to be exceedingly intelligent and well-informed men, and stated that they came from a large town in New England, called Boston, where they were persons of consequence, and intimately related to the governor. De Fonte gave them warning that their presence here was exceedingly irregular, his government considering as intruders all who came into those seas, especially with any view to the northern passage ; however, as he wished to act a friendly part, he would consider them as having for their aim only fishery and the trade in furs, and would wink at having found them where they ought not to be. De Fonte finally returned with the report, that the passage which he had been deputed to search for had no existence. While the genuineness of the voyage of De Fuca is generally admitted by the public, and by the highest authorities of the present day, that of De Fonte is branded as a palpable fiction, for which the world is solely indebted to the invention of Petiver, editor of the miscellany in which it appeared. I confess that I pause in coming to this conclusion. It appears to me very incomprehensible what motive Petiver could have for getting up so singular a fable. It is a dry perplexed narrative of facts and positions, without any thing which seems meant or can tend to amuse the public, or to excite their wonder. If

his object was to raise a sensation on the subject of the North-West Passage, this would surely have been attempted by representing that passage as performed, or at least as possible; whereas he repeatedly states, that it was found impracticable. The circumstance which particularly weighs with me is, that at or near the latitude of 53 degrees there does exist a labyrinth of isles, channels, and narrow passages, through which it cost Vancouver so much time to thread his way, and which correspond exactly with the described Archipelago of San Lazaro. The part of the coast thus marked being then entirely unknown in Europe, it seems inconceivable how Petiver could have divined its existence. The extensive woods and the profusion of berries agree exactly with the report of Meares and other modern navigators. If we sift even the improbabilities and mistakes of the narrative, we shall find them not unnatural in one who was tracing his way through such a labyrinth of sounds and passages. The river abounding in cod and other sea-fish might be only a long inlet; and even the great mystery of the Lake Belle seems solved without much difficulty, by supposing it to be the inland sea, enclosed by the American continent on one side, and on the other by the Queen Charlotte, and the other large exterior islands of the Archipelago. This would give us the dimension of the lake, and its character of being studded with numerous islands. It is admitted, from a passage in Witsen's *Oost-Tartarie*, that there was such a naval commander as De Fonte employed by the Spanish government in making discoveries; and it seems vain



for that nation to insist that if there had been such a voyage, they must have had some record of it, since they had confessedly none of that by De Fuca. In short, the above correspondence in the character of the coast appears so striking, that it can be invalidated only by the most decided inconsistencies and improbabilities. Of such there appears to be only one, which is the very *mal-a-propos* appearance of Senior Gibbons and his pilot, at which we do not wonder that De Fonte should have been a little astonished. It would be rather painful to suggest a corruption of the text, though this might not be inconsistent with there being a genuine foundation. But there is one question which does not seem quite decided. The narrative nowhere asserts, though all its commentators suppose so, that this vessel came by way of Davis's Straits or Hudson's Bay. The narrator, in fact, never could have meant to intimate what, by his own report, was an absolute impossibility. But is it absolutely impossible that a vessel from Boston, or perhaps one from England after touching there, might have made its way round by Cape Horn? It was now half a century since this coast, as far as California, had been rendered familiar to British navigators by the voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.

As the Spaniards ceased to navigate the seas, to whose coasts they made the most pompous pretensions, another power, hitherto unknown to science and navigation, began to appear in them. Russia had overrun with surprising rapidity the whole north of Asia, and established stations in Kamtschatka, on the shores

of the Pacific Ocean. She was still in the dark, however, as to her relations with those extremities of the western continent, to which she thus became much nearer than any other power. There was even a question whether the two continents did not actually join at these their two most remote points. Behring and Spangberg, in 1725, were instructed, if possible, to bring this question to a decision by rounding the north-eastern extremity of Asia. Spangberg was not successful; but Behring, in 1728, succeeded in reaching the Asiatic side of the straits which bear his name. He did not see America; but as Asia appeared stretching to the westward, he considered himself as having established its entire disjunction from any other great portion of the globe.

The Russian government, meantime, now quite alive to this class of objects, was anxious, since the two continents were not joined together, to discover where America was. In 1731 an expedition was organized for the purpose of sailing direct across to that continent, ascertaining the position of its shores, and discovering, if possible, the long-sought northern passage. No expedition of discovery had ever as yet been so amply provided, as to science. Three members of the Imperial Academy at St Petersburg, De Lisle de la Croyere, Gmelin, and Muller, undertook to accompany it; they were afterwards joined by Steller the botanist, and embarked on these icy seas. The naval command was again confided to Behring. The preparations at St Petersburg, however, and the building of the ships at Petropaulowsk, employed several years, and it was 1740 before the whole party had

made their dreary journey across Siberia, and were ready to embark. Spangberg had, in the meantime, made a voyage in which he discovered the northern coast of Japan ; but, as he reported it eleven or twelve degrees west of Kamtschatka, contrary to the ideas of the age, which placed it under the same meridian, his report was viewed with strong though unmerited scepticism. Several coasting voyages were also undertaken along the eastern limit of Siberia ; in one of which Gevosdew reported himself to have reached a coast directly opposite to that of the Tschutki, and which must have been America, though it was not recognized as such.

On the 4th June, 1741, Behring sailed from Petropaulowsk with two vessels, one of which was commanded by Captain Tchirikow. They sailed first to the south-east, misled by a Portuguese map, which placed in that quarter "land seen by John de Gama, in going from India to New Spain." This slender indication was found to be erroneous, and they then turned to the northwards, till they reached the fifteenth degree, when they prepared to steer directly across for America. Here, however, the ships were separated by a violent fog and storm, and never met in any subsequent part of their disastrous voyages. Behring reached the American coast in lat.  $58^{\circ}$ , and, as appeared to him, fifty degrees of longitude west of Awatcha. The boat, being sent to approach the shore, discovered a bay with good anchorage ; and on landing they found some empty huts adorned with carvings, which gave an idea of the natives as not plunged in total barbarism. They found also good

store of fresh salmon, smoked fish, and vegetables, with a whetstone, on which it appeared that copper knives had been sharpened. The natives had fled; but to prove that in so doing they had judged uncandidly of their unknown visitors, presents were left of kettles, knives, beads, and toys. The Russians did not remain more than six hours on shore, which, however, enabled Steller to collect a considerable number of plants, which were afterwards classed and described.

Behring now proceeded northwards, intending to push on as far as the latitude of  $65^{\circ}$ ; but this aim was defeated by his finding the coast tend to the west, and even to south-west. It was determined hereupon to stand out to sea, to avoid the numerous islands and often heavy surf, by which their course was obstructed and often endangered. On the 30th July they passed Tumannoi Ostrog, or Foggy Island, and on the 29th August came to a numerous group, which they called the Schumagins. While they stopped here to take in water, a cry was heard from the shore, and two boats, similar to those used by the Greenlanders, came rowing towards the ship. They understood the American calumet, and exchanged it as a sign of peace; but nothing could induce them to come on board the ship. Behring, however, sent a boat on shore, into which they would not enter, but invited the Russians to land. Lieutenant Waxel, who commanded the boat, sent on shore three men, one of whom was a Koriak interpreter, who was in no degree understood by them, but from his similar aspect was regarded as a friend. At length one ventured into the boat, and was presented with a glass

of brandy ; but, instead of the expected relish, he was evidently affected with the most painful sensations, spit it out violently, and made loud cries to his countrymen on shore, apparently indignant at the wanton cruelty with which he had been tortured. Needles, beads, pipes, were in vain employed to appease him ; and he insisted on immediately leaving the boat. Waxel now recalled his men ; but this movement was opposed by the natives, who even took hold of the ropes, and endeavoured to pull the boat on shore. This enterprise the Russians baffled by cutting the rope ; but the interpreter, who was still left on shore, loudly besought them to extricate him. For this purpose they discharged two blunderbusses, the sound of which, echoed by the mountains, so alarmed the natives, that they fell flat on the ground, and the interpreter got on board ; though they soon rose, and showed great signs of anger at his escape. This did not prevent them from soon after coming out to the ship, which they would probably have been induced to enter, had not a breeze sprung up, and caused the Russians to sail onward.

Winter now approached, and the navigators held an anxious and difficult course along these extensive coasts, no point of which had ever been before seen by any of the crew. Contrary winds blew from the west ; heavy fogs set in, through which they could neither see the sun by day nor the stars by night ; and they encountered a storm of unusual severity and continuance. Through these obstructions the middle of October had arrived, and they were still on the American coast ; while the scurvy began to break

forth under its most aggravated symptoms. A council was held to consider whether they should attempt to reach Asia, or should seek a home for the winter, even on this inhospitable shore. The first and worst advice prevailed; and they steered due westward in hopes of reaching Kamtschatka. On the 29th October they came to two small islands, which they took for part of the Kurile group, whereas they in fact belonged to that of the Aleutians. Through this most fatal mistake they quitted the direct course to Awatcha, which they were actually upon, and steered northward. Their distress now increased every day; the continual rains changed into hail and snow; and, obliged to work in the cold and wet, under despondence and depression, disease made rapid progress, and the whole crew were in the most infirm state. The steersman could not go to the helm without help; they durst not raise any press of sail, from fear of not having strength to take it down. They looked long and vainly for Kamtschatka; but at length there appeared an unknown coast, lofty, dreary, and white all over with snow, yet on which there was yet judged to reside their only chance of life. They were fortunate enough, after much difficulty, to cast anchor near the shore; but the hoisting out the boat in their present state was a most arduous task. They had neither materials nor power to build any thing like a house; but the impulse of necessity drove them to a sand-hill broken by a rivulet into several ditches or ravines, over which they spread sails, and formed a sort of miserable shelter. The question was now to move all the sick who were able to stand;

but several were in that fallacious state, when movement appears easy, but proves fatal ; and they dropped down dead on deck, in the boat, or on their arrival on shore. Behring himself was carried to the land in a barrow by four men. This eminent commander was so far overcome by the disease, that he had lost all the strength of mind for which he had been remarkable. He declined exercise, and distrusted all about him ; and thus his illness, continually increasing, terminated his life on the 8th December. He was already almost buried alive, the sand having fallen down the sides of the ravine, which, on account of the heat it afforded, he would not suffer to be removed till it came up to his breast ; and he was obliged to be dug out, in order to obtain a regular interment. Thus perished, on a solitary island, in a distant ocean, the most eminent of the Russian navigators, whom his government long sought in vain to replace.

The party left on shore were now alarmed by an apprehension of scarcity of food, only a limited daily allowance of which was carried to the different ditches. This circumstance was perhaps fortunate, as it drove them to seek a supply among the huge finny tribes which abound on this shore, and whose flesh, though not very palatable, was, when compared to their salt allowance, almost a cure against the scurvy. The sea-cow or manati made the most agreeable food ; but the sea-otter, though very tough, was more plentiful ; and a large whale cast ashore served as a magazine in the absence of all other food. A violent storm loosened the ship from her cables, and drove her on shore, and as she could not be moved, it was necessary

to take her down, and construct a new one on a smaller scale, with which they set sail on the 10th August, and on the 27th arrived at Petropaulowsk, where they found an end of all their distresses.

Meantime Tchirikow, after the separation, had reached the American coast nearly in the same latitude with Behring. Seeing the shore bold, rocky, and without any point at which his men could approach, he sent on shore Abraham Dimentieu, with ten of his best sailors, to treat with the natives. The boat was seen rowing into a small bay, and gave the appointed signals; but several days elapsed, and the men appeared no more. The Russian commander then sent Sidor Sawelew, the boatswain, with the small boat, and with a carpenter to repair any damage which might have occasioned the delay of the large boat. They were seen to reach the shore, from which a great smoke was observed continually to arise; but neither large nor small boat ever returned. The Russians saw indeed two boats coming out, which they thought their own, and made joyful signals for departure; but they were natives, who called out, Agai, Agai, and seeing the deck covered with the Russian sailors, speedily turned back. Tchirikow regretted he had not shown only two or three of his men, by which the natives might have been allured on board, and some tidings obtained. The Russians now looked with hopeless eye on the coast, unapproachable to their large vessels, and to which they had no longer a boat to send. After being driven off by a westerly gale, they returned and hovered round in impotent anxiety for several days, when the recovery of their



comrades being considered as altogether hopeless, a counsel of officers was held, and they determined to return to Kamtschatka. They had a very hard voyage, and suffered severely by scurvy, to which twenty-one of the crew fell a sacrifice.\*

The spirit of discovery in England was never more active and effective, than under the auspices of his late Majesty, George III. and when intrusted to the genius and enterprise of Cook. That most illustrious of exploratory navigators, in his two first voyages, nearly completed the survey of the central and southern hemisphere, and solved the grand problem of an Austral continent. As nothing seemed able to resist his energy and perseverance, he was now instructed, from the east and from the remotest tracts of the Pacific, to attempt the great standing object of a northern passage. America, north of Cape Mendocino, was an almost entirely unknown shore. Behring and Tchirikow had made only very partial surveys of it; and the relations of De Fuca and de Fonte, if they were received, exhibited vast openings, inspiring hopes which they were not to fulfil.

Captain Cook sailed out by the Cape, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Otaheite, and the Sandwich islands. Steering then across to America, he came to Nootka or King George's Sound, in about 50° N. lat. He made interesting observations on this coast, and on the remarkable people who inhabited it; but we

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\* Muller, *Voyages from Asia to America*, transl. Jefferys, London, 1761.

shall not enter into the details of so well-known a voyage: these particulars will afterwards be found more fully observed by Captain Meares. He had been instructed, we know not exactly why, to abstain from any minute search till he came to  $65^{\circ}$  of N. latitude. He sailed on, therefore, without penetrating deep into any of the bays or inlets, and found everywhere a continuous coast, till he came to Cape Prince of Wales, which appeared and proved to be the most westerly point of America. Cook then sailed across to the country of the Tchutchi, and made some observations on this people, who differ strikingly from those on the opposite coast of America. He now seriously began the task of discovery, and, proceeding through Behring's Straits, soon found himself amid the well-known phenomena of the arctic seas; large islands and fields of ice, the huge form of the sea-horse or walrus, and frequent storms of snow. He reached nearly to the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 41'$ , but found an unbroken wall of ice, reaching across from continent to continent. Here, seeing a bold cape much encumbered with ice, forming apparently the north-west corner of America, he called it Icy Cape; and till Captain Beechey's recent voyage, it remained the boundary of European knowledge in this direction. Considering the season, though only the end of August, to be now too far advanced, he delayed till next summer the attempt to penetrate deep into the northern ocean.

Captain Cook returned to the Sandwich islands, where that fatal contest occurred in which this great commander lost his life. Captains Clerke and King,

who succeeded in the command, left the Sandwich Islands on the 15th March, and stood direct for Behring's Straits. On the 3d July they saw East Cape still covered with snow, and in the evening the high-peaked hill forming Prince of Wales's Cape came in view, and they beheld at the same moment these grand extremities of the two continents. They proceeded nearly as far as Captain Cook had done, and beat about for some time from north to south, and from continent to continent, but a continued and connected field of ice rendered all their efforts fruitless. At length it was resolved that they should return, when it is admitted that joy brightened the countenance of every individual, and that they abandoned with delight a navigation of which they were heartily sick, and, after a dreary absence of three years, felt already as if they were in view of the Land's End.

The accounts brought by Captain Cook's expedition awakened the enterprise and hopes of a number of leading mercantile characters in Bengal, and particularly in Calcutta. They hoped to find there a copious supply of valuable furs, for which a sufficient market would be found in China, where, in the southern provinces, fur to a certain extent is a favourite article of dress. They fitted out, therefore, two vessels, the *Nootka*, under Captain John Meares, and the *Sea-Otter*, under Lieutenant Walter Tipping. As profit was the prime mover in this enterprise, it was impossible to resist the proffers made, first of three thousand rupees for the *Sea-Otter* to carry a cargo of opium to Malacca, and then of the same sum for the *Nootka* to convey the Paymaster-General to

**Madras.** The ships were, therefore, sent forthwith on these lucrative destinations, and to take the chance of meeting on the north-west coast of America.

Captain Meares, whom we are to follow, after depositing his charge, sailed direct to Malacca, but found the *Sea-Otter* already departed and on her way to America. He followed without delay. His principle seems to have been, after clearing China and getting into the Pacific, to steer directly north for the Aleutian isles, and navigate along them to the American coast. He passed near the islands of Japan without seeing any of them, and it appeared to him that he passed the sites of islands laid down in the map without seeing any; but so thick a fog continually involved him, that he could scarcely judge of any thing. After they had proceeded far to the north, and the fog was still thick around, they were alarmed by the sound of a loud surge beating on a rocky coast, of which the mist allowed them only dim glimpses, showing it to be elevated and covered with snow. They immediately drew off in an opposite direction, but two hours after were alarmed and repelled by a similar sound. Thus they were long tossed about, feeling that they were in the midst of fatal shores, but not knowing how to escape. At length the fog dispersing justified their fears by showing land of tremendous height, two-thirds covered with snow, and faced with lofty perpendicular rocks, amid which they were so situated as to make it appear almost miraculous that they should have escaped. However, the wind favouring, they made their way through the straits between Unamak and Oonalashka, against a

current that was running seven knots an hour. Russian officers, they learned, came to these islands in galiots of fifty tons, and were relieved every eight years; during which time they amused themselves as they best could with hunting and fishing. The natives were obliged to deliver up all their choicest furs to government, receiving in return a little snuff, with which they were perfectly content. The houses, both of the Russians and natives, consisted of holes dug in the earth, and entered from the top by steps cut in a post. The first officer and surgeon, in taking a walk through the fields, were much surprised when they sunk, and found themselves in the midst of a crowded household, who fled with screams of alarm.

The Nootka now sailed across to America, and reached Prince William's Sound; but symptoms of winter were commencing, and the weather had become so tempestuous, that it was at their utmost peril to proceed farther along this steep and dangerous shore. Their only other alternative was to reach the Sandwich islands; but that was a quarter so excessively agreeable, that the sailors, who were beginning already to show symptoms of insubordination, would, it was feared, never leave it; and Captain Meares conceived it due to his employers to winter amid these huge and dreary rocks of the north. For some time they fared very tolerably; the natives were friendly at least from fear, and brought supplies of delicate mutton; they were well stocked with game, and salmon in abundance was either caught by the seine or knocked on the head with clubs. By the 5th of November, however, winter set in with all its rigour;

the immense mountains were white with snow to the water's edge; the ducks and geese, which had so plentifully supplied their tables, were seen in regular flights winging their way to the south. The sun at noon being only six degrees above the horizon, while the mountains to the south were twenty-two degrees, they enjoyed only a faint and disastrous twilight. Their health remained unbroken during November and December; but in January the scurvy began to appear under its most terrible symptoms, and before the end of the month four had died. There was no food except salt beef and pork, of the very sight of which the sailors were sick. The only remedy consisted in the juice of the pine, the steady use of which was effectual; but it was so nauseous and even difficult to retain on the stomach, that the sailors rejected both it and exercise, declaring their resolution rather to die at their ease. In May the crew was greatly thinned, and the survivors in the utmost distress, when Sheneway, King of the Sound, came and informed them that two English ships were in sight, which proved to be those commanded by Captains Portlock and Dixon. They were welcomed as guardian angels with tears of joy; but it is complained that they drove an excessively hard bargain for the somewhat scanty supplies which they afforded. Portlock, considering them as rivals, made it a condition that they should not trade on the coast. Captain M., therefore, on the 21st June, left this dreary sound, where he had buried twenty-three of his people, and sailed for the Sandwich islands, where their health

was soon recruited, and whence they returned to India.

The natives of this Sound were about five or six hundred, who wandered continually from place to place, without any fixed town or village. They were a strong, raw-boned, rather tall race, and had the usual American and Tartar features, flat face, high small cheek-bones, and small black eyes. Their savage aspect was wonderfully heightened by the use of various ornamental processes, such as the red paint with which they besmeared their faces, the numerous pieces of bone and shell which depended from their nose and ears, and a large slit made in their under-lip parallel to the mouth, and resembling a lower mouth, and into which they stuck pieces of shell in imitation of teeth. They showed the usual savage pride in the endurance of bodily pain. A native having had his foot severely cut by pieces of broken shell thrown out of the ship, the sailors were applying themselves earnestly to cure the wound; but he and a companion laughed at their care, and began cutting their legs and arms with the shell in every direction, to show that nothing of the kind could affect them. In traffic, iron was their favourite article, especially when its form made any approach to that of a spear; after which ranked glass beads.

The disasters of this voyage did not deter Captain Meares from a second attempt. In January, 1788, he, in conjunction with several East India merchants, fitted out two vessels, the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*, of 230 and 200 tons. We shall pass over his voyage and

his stay at the Philippines and the Sandwich islands. After many vicissitudes, he came in view of King George's Sound, where he discovered Friendly Cove, a commodious harbour. The natives came down in crowds, and an interesting scene was now to take place. Comekela, one of their number, had been brought away in the former voyage; and he prepared to exhibit himself to his countrymen with all the brilliant appendages derived from his intercourse with the civilized world. The following passage gives a lively illustration of the different value set upon objects in the different states of society :—

“Comekela now arrayed himself in all his glory. His scarlet coat was decorated with such quantities of brass buttons and pieces of copper as could not fail to procure him the most profound respect from his countrymen. At least half a sheet of copper formed his breastplate, from his ears copper ornaments were suspended, and he contrived to hang from his hair, which was dressed *en queue*, so many handles of copper saucepans, that his head was kept back by the weight of them in such a stiff and upright position as very much to heighten the singularity of his appearance. For various articles of his present pride Comekela had been in a state of perpetual hostility with the cook, from whom he had contrived to purloin them; but their last and most desperate struggle was for an enormous spit, which the American had seized as a spear, to swell that magnificence with which he was about to dazzle the eyes of his countrymen; and, situated as we were, this important article of culinary service could not be denied him. In



such a state of accoutrement, and feeling as much delight as ever fed the pride of the most splendid thrones of Europe or the East, we set out with him for the shore, when a general shout and cry from the village assured him of the universal joy which was felt on his return."

Comekela was immediately invited to the palace, where a magnificent feast of whale's flesh and blubber was prepared, which was devoured by the great nobles with the most eager avidity ; but Comekela's vitiated palate could no longer do full justice to these elegant luxuries.

The report of the arrival of the English, it appears, soon spread over the coast, and in a few days a sound of loud but pleasing melody was heard along the waters. Presently twelve war-canoes, with eighteen men in each, were seen entering the cove. The warriors were arrayed in full pomp, with most beautiful sea-otter skins, their hair powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces bedaubed with red and black ochre. After they had twice paraded round the ship in musical pomp, a canoe came alongside. On board were the two chiefs, Maquilla and Callicum, already known by the report of Captain Cook. Their appearance immediately gained the confidence and attachment of the crews. On receiving some presents of copper and iron, they took off their sea-otter garments, and threw them in the most graceful manner at the feet of their guests, remaining themselves in a purely natural state. This mutual cordiality was continually augmented in the course of several weeks, which were employed in repairing

and refitting the vessels, in which the natives most cheerfully assisted. Callicum, in particular, is represented as displaying all that refined elegance of mind and conduct which could adorn the most civilized circle. Yet, when we consider that this elegant and amiable chief slept nightly on a pillow of human skulls, from which there was some ground to surmise that he had eaten off the flesh, we cannot but feel our admiration and sympathy somewhat abated. It appears, that afterwards, when the Spanish vessels, under Don J. S. Martinez, came off the coast, Callicum went on board the *Princessa* with a present of fish ; but, not being received in a manner which appeared to him respectful, he went away with some indignant and threatening expressions. This was so far resented, that a ball was discharged from the ship, which pierced him through the heart, and he fell into the sea. His son presently came out, entreating permission to search under the ship for the body of his unfortunate father ; but it was not till after a large present of skins, that the Spaniards would grant this melancholy boon.

During the continuance of the vessels in this sound, an event occurred which occasioned the most painful sensations. A boat from another part of the coast came in, and, after some of the ordinary forms of traffic, a human hand, dried and shrivelled, was tendered for sale. Scarcely had the sailors recovered from the shuddering horror occasioned by this offer, when it was heightened by discovering, suspended from the ear of one of the men, a seal belonging to Mr Millar of the *Imperial Eagle*. That unfortunate gentleman

was already known, in 1787, to have been sent to the coast in a boat, which perished under the most dreadful circumstances. At these sights the minds of the sailors were worked up almost to a state of frenzy, and they could scarcely be prevented from proceeding to the utmost extremities against the crew; yet they were assured by Callicum and Maquilla, that these horrid articles had been received merely in the way of barter from the natives of a bay called Queenhithe, which had been the real scene of this dreadful tragedy.

During the stay of the expedition in St George's Sound, it was visited by Wicananish, a chief who stated himself, and was admitted to be, more powerful than Maquilla, and capable of furnishing sea-otter skins and valuable furs in greater abundance. Captain Meares therefore could not hesitate to accept his invitation to visit him in his cove. On the 11th June they took leave of their friendly chiefs, with mutual presents, and proceeded to the southward. On the 13th they espied a large fleet of canoes, which proved to belong to Wicananish, who undertook to pilot them to his capital. He conducted them to a roadstead, diversified with numerous inlets; over one of which appeared a village nearly three times as large as that of Maquilla, and behind which there appeared an immense and unbroken forest. The people came out with a stock of fish, onions, and berries, and on landing they were admitted to the house or palace of Wicananish. The interior presented a singular scene of spacious and savage magnificence. It consisted of a large square, raised by

huge planks to the height of twenty feet, and bordered by a bench, on which the family of the chief, to the immense number of eight hundred, sate, ate, slept, and performed all the functions of life. Enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported by gigantic images, formed out of huge blocks of timber. So vast were these images, that the mouth of one of them formed the door, and though sufficiently large to fulfil its function, did not appear disproportionate to the other parts of the figure. At one end was a raised platform, occupied by the chiefs and other natives of rank, filled with large chests containing the royal treasure, and adorned, even beyond the rest of the apartment, with festoons of human skulls, studiously arrayed in an ornamental manner. In the centre were wooden vessels filled with water, in which were placed pieces of whale and other fish, made to boil by red-hot stones put into them. Before each person were placed dishes of whale, fish-oil, and fish-soup, which were devoured in enormous quantities, and with extraordinary rapidity. As soon as the party had finished this elegant repast, Captain Meares drew forth his gifts, which consisted chiefly of blankets, and two copper tea-kettles ; which last were accounted so precious, that they were immediately deposited in the royal coffers, consisting of large chests adorned with human teeth. Fifty men then came forward, and presented each a sea-otter skin six feet long, and jet black ; which were received by the English with joy, as forming a most ample return for their own slender donations. At the close of the banquet, un-

expectedly appeared the ladies, in several of whom native beauty, enhanced by an air of modesty, predominated even over the oil and ochre with which they sought to embellish it. Happily there remained a few beads and ear-rings, which being presented to these royal damsels, made a grateful close of their visit.

The English complain of the extreme keenness of traffic among the North West Americans, and how impossible it was to avoid being overreached by them; but, considering how ill apprised the one party was of the real value of the articles, the other, we suspect, made exceedingly good bargains. Having in exchange for bits of iron, copper kettles, beads, powder, and a few pistols, obtained all the valuable skins and furs which Wicananish possessed, or could negotiate from his neighbours, they stood to the southward in search of more. They came to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which they entered, and took possession of in name of the king of Great Britain, though the very title implies a belief that neither they nor any English had been the first discoverers. It was lofty, crowned with immense forests, and lined with a rocky beach, against which the sea dashed with tremendous fury. The awful force of the south-easterly winds blowing across the whole Pacific was made evident by entire forests which had been overthrown, and were lying, with their roots and branches intermingled, in a long line to the north-west. The channel being filled with rocky islets, and affording no shelter, they stood out and proceeded southward. With awful sensations, they dis-

covered the bay and river of Queenhithe; but a thick and gloomy mist hid the village from their view, and as they passed, neither canoes nor inhabitants were seen, and a deep silence reigned. But they could plainly descry Queenvitell, consisting of a number of houses scattered over the face of a high perpendicular rock. Destruction Island cheered them with some aspect of verdure; but, in their attempt to weather this island a heavy sea drifted them in upon it, and they were frozen with terror at the idea of being cast upon this fatal shore.

The English continued to sail to the southward, along a bold coast, studded with numerous villages; and there appeared even a succession of bays, which afforded the most favourable promise of harbours; but a nearer approach always dispelled this flattering appearance, and their feelings were expressed by the names of Shoalwater Bay, Deception Bay, and Disappointment Cape, given to these successive points. Farther on, however, the face of the country entirely changed; many spots were covered with the richest verdure; spacious bowers and hanging woods everywhere met the delighted eye. But while the gloomy and dreary crags of the north were faced with numerous hives of human beings, not a mortal appeared to inhabit the fertile slopes of New Albion. They had no opportunity of tracing how this singular fact happened, and whether, as seems most probable, the habitations might not be situated in the interior. After another disappointment in attempting to explore Quicksand Bay, the vessel turned back to its northern station. In repassing the Straits of De

Fuca, they sent up the long-boat to examine it; but the absence of the crew lasted so long as to occasion considerable anxiety, which was at last relieved by the appearance of the boat with all her men, but in a very wounded and shattered condition. In approaching the land, they had been assailed by two canoes of forty or fifty warriors, while the body of the people lined the shore, and poured upon them continual discharges of stones and arrows. For some time they fought for their lives; several were wounded in the head, leg, and even near the heart, and the rest were bruised in a terrible manner with stones and clubs; while the boat and awning were pierced with a thousand arrows. The chief, however, was struck through the head with a ball, and the rest fled, without having inflicted any deadly wound. The English, in descending the strait, met a boat of Wicanish, from which were held up for sale two human heads, still streaming with blood; and the disgust and horror which they manifested at this spectacle were met by shouts of savage exultation.

On the return of Captain Meares to Nootka Sound, a still more serious affair occurred. Strong symptoms of mutiny, which had made their appearance in the early part of the voyage, broke out afresh, and were suppressed with great difficulty. The offenders, as a punishment, were turned on shore; and Maquilla and Callicum, after a friendly offer of putting them to death, were sanctioned in their proposal of taking them into their household,—a plan which turned entirely to their benefit. The mutineers were stripped of all their valuable clothes, and being reduced to the

state of slaves, were employed in the most menial offices, and fed only with the refuse of fish. These prodigal children, reduced to such miserable husks, soon transmitted expressions of the deepest contrition; and were, after reiterated entreaties, allowed to return in a humbled state, and to be kept under strict *surveillance*.

During his stay on this coast, Captain Meares purchased spots of ground, both from Maquilla and Wicananish, on which he erected factories, capable of defence against any rude attack which the natives could make. He built also, from the copious materials afforded by the country, a vessel called "the North-West America." Having returned to China with an ample cargo, he formed more extensive connexions, and revisited the coast in the following years with additional vessels, and with ample cargoes of toys, iron, copper utensils, and cast-off clothes, fitted for this savage market. In May, 1789, however, a Spanish squadron under Don J. Martinez arrived, and captured all these vessels, under the pretence that Spain held the sovereignty of the whole of this coast as far as the 60th degree. This outrage, being submitted to the British parliament, produced a warm discussion between the two nations, and, under the threat of war, the Spaniards were compelled to lower these lofty pretensions, and to confine their claims within the actual limits of New Mexico, terminating in the 40th degree at Cape Mendosino.

The whole of this part of America presented a coast of the most elevated and rugged aspect. The



mountains, which rose to a great height, were covered with one unbroken forest, whose gloomy monotony was only varied by pinnacles of perpetual snow. There was not the least attempt at culture ; but the ground yielded spontaneously, and in the greatest abundance, berries similar to ours, gooseberry, strawberry, and raspberry, the last of which was extremely delicious. It was to the sea, however, that the Nootkaers looked for their most regular supply, both of food and luxuries. All the finny tribes, from the whale to the herring, swarm to an extraordinary degree ; and battles were often seen among these huge tenants of the deep, the noise of which filled the air. The smaller fishes were taken by the inferior ranks,—a task very easy, for which it was often only necessary to draw through the sea a rake with long and pointed teeth. But the chiefs undertook the nobler task of combating the whale, the sea-cow, and the sea-lion. Their canoes, capable of holding fifteen or twenty persons, were constructed and even ornamented with great skill, though only with stone-utensils ; and all their fishing-implements displayed great ingenuity. The harpoon, though composed only of bone and muscle-shell, was made extremely sharp, and admirably performed its function. The seal was attracted by putting on wooden masks framed to so exact a resemblance of his head, that, mistaking it for a brother-seal, he unwarily approached so near as to be easily killed. The fatty and oleaginous flesh of these animals affords to the Nootkaers the richest and most delicious fare. Their ornamental clothing is furnished by the sea-

otter, an animal which seems peculiar to the shores of the northern Pacific. Unlike the coarse tegument of other marine animals, his skin or fur, in richness, softness, and beauty, rivals that of the ermine itself. The natives are almost in continual chase of him, which is carried on with great difficulty, as he moves with a rapidity with which no boat can keep pace. But he is subject to the fatal necessity of coming up at short intervals for respiration; under favour of which occasions he is surrounded and struck. The young cubs have only a coarse white hair, which gradually improves till, at a certain age, it arrives at perfection, and then is of a deep rich black colour, with streaks of silvery white; but as the animal grows old, the colour changes to a dingy brown. The chief object of European trade is for these skins; the demand for which in China is almost unlimited, though the Chinese are extremely fastidious as to their quality.

By these resources a population is supported, which, though it cannot be compared with that of a civilized society, is much more dense than that of the interior districts. The subjects of Callicum were estimated at 10,000; those of Wicananish at 13,000, while Tatootche ruled an island containing 3000. The government appeared nearly absolute; and Maquilla ruled the outer villages by vice-queens, consisting chiefly of his own relations, his mother, grandmother, and sisters. The lower class were little better than slaves, being employed in humble and menial offices. They presented the usual American features, flat visages, high cheek-bones,

and small eyes ; but their complexion, as formerly noticed, instead of the deep imbrowned red which prevails over the New World, was almost as fair as that of Europeans. This indeed could be ill discerned when they were in full dress for war, festival, or the pursuit of the whale, when their visages, besmeared with large stripes of red ochre, streaming with fish-oil, and sometimes glittering with a species of black sand, became perfectly hideous ; but when they could be caught in any species of dishabille, which, with the ladies especially, was rare and difficult, they were by no means devoid of some personal attractions. The female sex behaved with a modesty and propriety which is very rare, especially in Western America. This particularly appeared, when, as a large party of them rowed past in a boat, a rash young man leaped into it ; upon which they all, with one movement, threw themselves into the sea, and swam to land. In these tribes was strikingly observed the usual phenomenon of savage manners,—mildness and even amenity in domestic intercourse, combined with the fiercest and direst enmity against all whom they viewed as national enemies. Yet the belief that they actually fed on the bodies of their slaughtered foes has been perhaps too hastily formed. The exhibition of mangled limbs for sale is doubtless abundantly horrid ; but the very circumstance of these being sometimes presented in a dried and shrivelled state appears to imply, that they were destined rather as savage trophies than for the darker purpose suspected. It is, however, said to have positively been confessed by Maquilla, that, for the mere gratification

of his palate, he monthly killed and ate a slave, caught by running blindfold among a circle of these unfortunate victims; but if we must really believe this, perhaps it may be considered rather as a mad caprice of this much-extolled chief, than as a general custom of the nation.

Though the voyage of Captain Meares had not the North-West Passage at all for its object, and he had no instructions to make any inquiry into that celebrated question, he has annexed to his narrative a memoir which revived in England the idea and expectation of its being actually found. The whole of this high north-west coast, as observed both by him and by those who sailed under his direction, was found to present no sort of continuity, but to be everywhere broken by large islands and by deep sounds and channels. The impression thus arose, that it was not a continent at all, but formed part of an immense archipelago of islands; and it appeared not improbable, that the whole space to Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits might be of the same character, and that through these numerous channels a passage might open from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The discoveries made by Hearne, with some other observations transmitted from Hudson's Bay, tended to fortify this impression.

Swayed by these considerations, the British government determined to fit out a fresh expedition for the purpose of thoroughly exploring North-West America in reference to this grand object. The command was very judiciously intrusted to Captain Vancouver,

an officer trained in the school of Cook, whom he had accompanied in his last voyage, and thus possessed already an extensive knowledge of the coasts which he was appointed to explore. He was also intrusted with the subsidiary object of resuming possession of the forts which had been seized by the Spaniards, but which, by recent treaty, they had agreed to cede.

Captain Vancouver sailed from Britain in 1790, and in the following year reached the Sandwich Islands. Several years were spent by him between these islands and the north-western main; the whole line of which he examined in the most complete manner that perhaps any coast was ever surveyed. Instructed not to encroach on any point where the Spaniards had formed settlements, or to which they seemed to have a legitimate claim, he began his survey from Cape Mendicino, in about  $41^{\circ}$ . The natives of this coast appeared to have little that was savage, either in appearance or behaviour. Their colour was light olive, and their features almost European. Vancouver sailed northward to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, a space of 219 leagues; during which he never lost sight of the surf which dashed on the shore, took daily either one or two observations of meridional altitude, and noted the position of all conspicuous points. He was thus enabled to lay down with perfect accuracy a coast, the form and direction of which had hitherto been almost conjectural. He sought in vain any opening which could afford to his vessels the slightest shelter; the whole coast presented a close impenetrable barrier against any

approach from the sea. Vancouver then entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and in the course of his voyages ascertained that it was the entrance into a long narrow channel, having the continent on the east, and on the west an extensive island, in which were situated both Nootka and the territory of Wicananish. To this island were given the joint names of himself and of Quadra, a Spanish navigator then employed in a similar survey. The sound, which received the name of Queen Charlotte, opened, at its north-western extremity, into the wide expanse of the Pacific, and offered no prospect of a passage across America.

The greatest part, however, of Captain Vancouver's time was employed in exploring that labyrinth of islands, sounds, and inlets, which extend between the fiftieth and sixtieth degrees of latitude — Queen Charlotte, Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and Admiralty Islands; Cross Sound, Duke of York's Sound, Admiralty Inlet, &c. None of them could escape the diligence of our navigator, who traced all to their head, and ascertained that the coast was throughout continuous. Still farther on he ascended Cook's River, as it was called, and found it to be a close Sound. His observations, now combined with those which he had made in company with Cook, effected the survey of this coast, and established that there was in it no opening or passage by which it was possible to penetrate into the western waters. Vancouver found at home some reluctance to receive his testimony, and complains of the enthusiasm of modern *closet*-philosophy, which refused to admit the best-ascertained facts militating against

its theories ; but the accuracy of his report is now universally acknowledged.

Russia, from the time when Behring and Tchirikow discovered the extreme coasts of North-Western America, laid claim to that coast as a portion of her territory. She even began early to attempt forming settlements there ; but when Cook was on these shores, all her efforts, through the enmity of the savage natives, had been unsuccessful and even disastrous. They have since renewed these under more favourable auspices ; and their claim to a large extent of this angle of America has been recognised in the diplomacy of civilized Europe. Not only, however, did they leave to the British flag the glory of exploring nearly the whole extent of the coast, and fixing its bearings and its boundaries, but also more especially the search on this side of the world for a North-Western Passage. At length, Russia began to feel that this was her proper province. An expedition was prepared, not, however, by the government, but by a patriotic individual of vast opulence, Count Romanzoff. That nobleman fitted out Lieutenant Kotzebue, son to the celebrated dramatic writer of that name, with a small armament ; destined, however, not to cross the difficult and encumbered tract of Siberia, but to make the circuit by Cape-Horn ; for Russia must more than circumnavigate the globe before she can reach by sea that distant extremity of her shores. To accomplish this extensive voyage, Kotzebue was sent with an equipment more commensurate with the infant efforts of modern navigation, than with the grand scale

on which naval discoveries have since been conducted. The whole array consisted of the *Rurick*, a vessel of a hundred tons, and twenty-two men, among whom were a surgeon and botanist. The *Rurick* touched at Plymouth, which it left on the 15th October, 1815. It then proceeded by the Atlantic round Cape-Horn, and, after touching at Easter Island and some other detached spots, but not at any of the great groups of the Pacific, arrived on the 19th June, 1816, at Awatcha. Kotzebue soon pushed to the northward, and on the 30th July had passed Behring's Straits and Cape Prince of Wales. He found himself on a low shore, covered with luxuriant herbage, and seemingly well-peopled. The natives had tolerable wooden houses; which, however, they abandoned on the approach of the Russians, and whenever they were seen, appeared fierce and hostile, making hideous grimaces, with menacing gestures and attitudes: their appearance, like that of all the inhabitants of this shore, was filthy and disgusting.

Kotzebue, on the 1st August, saw on his right, in about lat. 68°, a broad passage, with a rapid current running into it, which inspired him with the hope that he might be at the mouth of the great and long-sought-for passage. He accordingly entered, mounted a hill, and, looking to the eastward, saw nothing but sea within the utmost scope of the eye. He devoted a fortnight to making the complete circuit of this great Sound, to which, by just title, he affixed his name. No opening, however, of any consequence was found, except one in a quarter which made it almost certainly appear to communicate with Norton



Sound, on the Pacific coast, and which was thus of no significance in reference to the question of a passage to the Atlantic.

The Russians had scarcely entered this inlet, when they received a visit from the natives. These last were in five boats, each of which had eight or ten men, and in their first approach uttered loud cries ; but, seeing the Russians approach in friendly but cautious guise, they squatted down in a large circle, and with looks of mingled distrust, curiosity, and astonishment. Kotzebue entered into the circle, and made a distribution of tobacco ; when, to his great surprise, these people, who were supposed strangers to all the habits of civilized life, drew out their pipes, and showed themselves fully initiated in all the mysteries of smoking. This they had learned from the Tchutchi. Their delight rose to its highest pitch on the presentation of knives and scissors ; the last of which, being quite a new article, was passed from hand to hand, and its temper tried on the hair of each of the party. They were found to belong to the remarkable race of the Esquimaux, who occupy the whole of the shores of Arctic America, everywhere braving the frightful rigour of its climate, clothing themselves in the skins and feeding on the fat and blood of the huge amphibia with which nature has so profusely stocked those seas,—a dirty, merry, good-humoured, flat-faced, ugly race, not destitute of curiosity or intelligence.

Before Kotzebue emerged from this Sound, he found that the best part of the season had been, perhaps injudiciously, consumed in its examination.

He thought it now too late, or at least did not attempt, to penetrate farther to the north ; but, crossing to Asia, spent some time among the Tchutchi, whence he proceeded to Oonalashka, and then to winter along the Coral Islands of the Pacific. He returned next season to Behring's Straits ; but found his health so much impaired as to render him unfit to stand the rigours of the Arctic Circle, in consequence of which he turned back, and directed his way homewards.

## CHAPTER III.

## DISCOVERIES MADE IN AND FROM HUDSON'S BAY.

*Voyage of Fox—of James—Settlement of Hudson's Bay—the Hudson's Bay Company—Voyage by Knight—by Middleton—by Moor and Smith—Hearne's Journey to the Northern Ocean—Mackenzie's Journeys to the North and the West.*

THE report of Baffin, on his return from his last voyage, seems to have strongly impressed the public with the belief, that nothing further could be hoped from the great bay or sea which divides its name between him and Davis. The chief attention was now directed to Hudson's Bay; but this soon came to be as much at least in the view of settlement and commerce as of discovery. Before any decisive steps, however, were taken with these last objects, another spirited attempt was made to reach the Pacific through the yet unexplored channels of this immense bay. Luke Fox, a bold and enterprising sailor, with some rather misplaced pretensions to literature and wit, was seized with an enthusiastic zeal in the cause, and, through the influence of Sir Thomas Roe,

Sir John Worsenholm, and other gentlemen, who had never ceased to be the patrons of northern navigation, he obtained from Charles I. the use of a vessel, being even desired to make a choice of any which would best suit his purpose. He pitched upon the *Charles*, a pinnacle of eighty tons and twenty men, and went out provided, not with the ship only, but with ample stores,—beef, beer, wheaten bread, Iceland ling, sack, aquavitæ, spices, sugar, syrups, gums, plaster, and purging pills; the whole being reckoned a sufficient supply for eighteen months. The king, moreover, in parting, presented him with a map of all his predecessors' discoveries, and with a letter to the Emperor of Japan.

Fox left Deptford on the 5th May, 1631, and on the 20th June arrived at the opening of Lumley's Inlet. Through these straits and the obstacles which they presented he pushed with extraordinary ardour. One of his officers asking, why he was in such furious haste? he replied, "It fared with him as with the mackarell-men of London, who must hasten to market before the fish stinke." In fact, there was little time to lose before the closing of the short arctic summer. As soon as he had reached Salisbury Island, and the sea began to open upon him, he remarked the extraordinary aberration of the compass which, he observes, "doth almost lose his sensitive part," and respecting which he forms some rather fanciful theories. It may be owing, he supposes, to "the sharpness of the air interposing between the needle and his sensitive point;" or elsewhere he conjectures, "here may be some mountains of the one side or the

other, whose mineral may detain the nimbleness of the needle's moving to his respective point ; but this I leave to philosophy ;" which, after all, cannot say much more on the subject. Under the titles also of " henban and petit dancers" he describes the brilliant coruscations of the aurora borealis, with which the northern skies were lighted.

Fox, about the beginning of August, found himself on the eastern coast of Hudson's Bay, and in that great northern opening called the Welcome. The tide, which here came down from the north, led to the well-grounded presumption, that there must be an open passage through which it came ; but, instead of acting upon this just view of the subject, he, for very insufficient reasons, was induced to move southward. He entered Nelson's River, where Button had wintered, and explored several other inlets, till he became satisfied that nothing of what he sought was to be found in that quarter. He then again steered northward across the bay, till he came to Carey's Swan's Nest, on the southern point of Southampton Island. He then sailed along the eastern shore of that great mass of land, through the large opening which from him has since been named the Fox Channel ; but, on reaching a point which he designated by the name of " Fox's Farthest," the season was found too much advanced to admit of his proceeding farther in such a latitude. Hereupon he drew the conclusion, " that he had made a scurvy voyage of it," and gave up farther thought of northern adventure. Yet he had already twice, first in the Welcome, and then in his

own channel, been in a fair train for important discoveries, if he had not allowed himself to be unseasonably drawn off in other directions.

Meantime the merchants of Bristol, always ambitious to rival London, and regarding America somewhat as their peculiar sphere, fitted out a separate expedition, and gave the command of it to Captain James. They asked only from the king, and obtained without difficulty, a letter to the emperor of Japan. The two expeditions seem, however, to have been more ambitious to rival than to aid each other. Fox, who met James near the mouth of the Welcome, holds somewhat light of his attainments. He admits him, indeed, to have been a practitioner in the mathematics, who understood the art of calculating and observing; but the merchants, in his apprehension, had not shown much wisdom, when, on account of these speculative qualities, they selected a man who knew not how to steer a ship, especially through such perilous latitudes. James very coolly, however, told Fox, that he was going to the emperor of Japan with letters from his majesty; to which the other replied, not without some good ground, "But you are out of the way to Japan, for this is not it." Soon after, James was overtaken by severe gales, and being unaccustomed to, and unskilled in steering his way through the huge masses of ice which were tossing about in every direction, he could not preserve the ship from repeated and severe shocks, which made her more than once be given up for lost; however, without much skill or activity on his part, some seasonable circumstance always occurred to re-

lieve her. Moving continually to the southward, he came at last to the bay bearing his own name, which forms the most southern extremity of Hudson's Bay; and here the crew, hopeless of returning to Britain, made up their mind to winter on what is now called Charlton's Island. On this spot, in lat.  $52^{\circ}$ , several degrees south of Edinburgh, they suffered an extremity of cold the most severe almost of any on record. Very little either of skill or knowledge appears to have been employed in warding off its effects; yet the facts seem sufficient to establish the very great difference of temperature between the old and the new continents. The sailors were frozen all over, faces, hair, and apparel; noses and fingers became suddenly as white as paper, and blisters were raised as large as walnuts. The plasters froze at their wounds, and the sack in its way to their mouths. All their liquids at length became solid, and were cut with a hatchet: the ice reached within a yard of the fire. This severe cold, with the other disadvantageous circumstances, produced in spring the usual effect of a severe attack of scurvy; and the death of the carpenter greatly damped their prospects of being able to refit the vessel. However, in April it was necessary that all hands should go to work, and, proceeding with commendable activity, they made her ready for sea on the 1st of July. Much was suffered from ice in navigating the bay, and, on approaching the mouth of the straits, all on board concurred in the opinion that no time was to be lost in bending their way homeward. On this judgment they forthwith acted, and on the 23d October arrived at Bristol, when they made the most

gloomy report as to the possibility or comfort of any arctic navigation to India.

It had not hitherto, unless in the abortive attempt of Frobisher, been made an object to colonize these extreme northern shores of America. The boldest settler shrunk from the view of this desolate region, where life could scarcely be maintained against the dreadful intensity of cold, and where the soil, under no culture, could be made to yield either luxuries for commerce, or even necessities for the subsistence of any considerable body of emigrants. Nature, however, who studiously compensates her good and ill, had here provided a home for vast crowds of the animal creation, and had fenced them against the climate by a covering, the splendour and rich softness of which art cannot rival. The furs of the north, without any aid from art, afford to man at once his most comfortable and magnificent attire. The fur-trade, therefore, offered a fair promise of wealth. The French, who were then masters of Canada, seemed the people within whose sphere it naturally lay ; and Grosseliez, an enterprising individual, undertook a voyage, and landed in Nelson's River, where he found, it is said, a few settlers from Boston, reduced to a very miserable state. Having made a survey of the country, he drew up a statement, which he laid before the French court, representing the great advantages which might be derived from a settlement upon this coast. The French cabinet, prepossessed by the doleful narrative of James's sufferings, treated the project as visionary, and turned a deaf ear to his repeated and urgent representations. But Mr Montague, the English mi-



nister at Paris, took a different view of the matter, and sent Grosseliez with a letter to Prince Rupert,—an enterprising individual, always ready to patronize any public-spirited scheme. Prince Rupert, representing to the king the fair promise of this undertaking, obtained the grant of a ship with which Captain Zachariah Gillam, accompanied by Grosseliez, set sail in the summer of 1668. Gillam, in September of that year, arrived in Hudson's Bay, and, entering a river to which he gave the name of Rupert, erected a small stone fort, which he named *Fort Charles*, but which did not ultimately become a leading position. Next year the Prince obtained from Charles a charter in favour of himself and nine other persons, conveying an exclusive right to form settlements, and carry on trade in Hudson's Bay. This corporation, formed upon principles then prevalent, but which have been renounced in most other instances, remains in its utmost force, and continues to shut this part of the dominions of Britain against the great body of her people. Forster alleges, that the Company have made a most inordinate use of their privilege; that in exchange for the value of £4000 of British goods exported, furs and other articles have been received from the Indians which sell in England for £120,000, making a profit of three thousand per cent. According to other accounts the one sum is not quite so small, nor the other so enormous; and the profits have been probably diminishing from the effects of rivalry and of the knowledge gradually acquired by the Indians. After allowance is made for the expenses of forts and shipping, and for the mismanagement to which all such

associations are liable, it becomes very credible, that the clear proceeds may be by no means of an enormous magnitude.

This Company, by their charter, were taken bound to use their most strenuous exertions for the discovery of the Strait of Anian and the north-west passage; notwithstanding which it has been confidently averred, that all their efforts were devoted to the prevention of any such discovery. Hearne, however, alleges that Dobbs, Robson, and other zealots in this cause, threw indiscriminately upon the Company the blame of every failure, however inevitable. They certainly did something, though not always with the best grace. John Knight, who had been governor of one of their forts, having heard of a rich mine of copper on a navigable river to the northward, came over to England, and solicited from the Company an expedition for the purpose of discovering this mine and the Strait of Anian. The Company were found extremely cold on the subject; but Knight, animated by enthusiastic zeal, warned them of his determination of appealing to the crown, and even bringing their charter into doubt, if they refused to fulfil this part of its terms. The Company were thus at length impelled to apply themselves to fit out an expedition, which they did, in 1721, on a very liberal scale. It consisted of two vessels, the naval command of which was committed to Barlow and Vaughan; but the entire direction of the expedition, with a view to its objects, was intrusted to Knight. A year elapsed without any tidings; but as they had been provided with a portable house, and a good store of provisions, it was not

at first thought possible that any serious accident could have befallen them. Another year, however, elapsed, and, notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of some that they might have passed into the Pacific, and be coming round by Cape Horn, serious alarms began to be felt. Captain Scroggs, of the *Whalebone*, was sent out to seek traces of them; but he arrived late, and is alleged not to have made a very strict search: certainly he learned nothing whatever. Upwards of forty years elapsed, and then the sad secret of their fate was disclosed. In 1767, two whale-fishing boats, which had been sent to Marble Island, near the entrance of the *Welcome*, discovered a new harbour there; and on landing, the ground appeared strewn with the memorials of that dreadful catastrophe,—guns, anchors, cables, bricks, and many other articles, which, being of no use to the natives, had been lying there ever since. They even traced some remains of the house, and at length discovered the bottoms of the two ships lying under water. Two years after, Hearne met here a party of Esquimaux, several of whom, being very old, remembered all the particulars of this sad tragedy. The English had arrived late in the year, and with the ships apparently much damaged; but on landing they immediately began putting up the house. They were again seen in the following spring; but their original number of fifty had been greatly reduced by severe sickness. They were, however, very busy, the natives knew not well in what; doubtless in endeavouring to refit their vessels; but they do not appear to have succeeded; for at the end of the summer they were still found on the same

spot, and their number, by sickness and scarcity, reduced to twenty. During the winter the Esquimaux lived near them, and often supplied them with their own coarse provision of train-oil and blubber. In spring the natives removed to another part of the coast, and did not return till summer, when they found only five survivors, reduced to the last extremity of famine. Having purchased from the Esquimaux some seal's flesh and blubber, they began to eat with such imprudent eagerness, that three died in consequence. The remaining two lived many days longer, and frequently went to the top of a neighbouring rock, where they gazed long to the south and the east, in hopes of some succour appearing; and when none was discovered, they sat down close together and wept bitterly. At length one died, and the other, in attempting to dig his grave, fell down and expired above him.

After so gloomy a close of this expedition, the spirit of discovery slumbered till 1737, when it was rekindled by the ardent zeal of Mr Dobbs, a gentleman of property and influence, intimately connected with government. In that year he prevailed with the Company to fit out two small vessels; but no account was ever published of their proceedings, and they are said not to have reached beyond lat. 62°, which would place them only at the entrance of the Welcome. Captain Middleton, however, an officer long in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, now entered into a correspondence with Dobbs, and stated many reasons which convinced him of a passage being practicable. Dobbs hereupon denounced

the Hudson's Bay Company as persons who were using their utmost efforts to prevent free navigation in any part of the Bay, lest it should lead to the breaking up of their monopoly. He represented them as even renouncing the produce of rich mines and fisheries, lest that produce should be shared by their countrymen. He besought therefore the Lords of the Admiralty to take the matter into their own hands, and to fit out an expedition, in which the Company should have no share or influence. After much solicitation, the Admiralty at length granted him the Furnace bomb-ketch to be employed in this service; and it was placed by Mr Dobbs under the command of Middleton, in whom he reposed the most implicit reliance. Though much was afterwards said and written on Middleton's expedition, the public has never been favoured with any very distinct or connected narrative of its progress. He could not, it appears, get out of Churchill River, where he had wintered, till the 1st July, 1742. He then proceeded directly up the Welcome, in lat. 65° 12', when he discovered a bold headland, within which was found what he calls a river, but evidently a sound called the Wager, six or eight miles wide. He ascended it fifty or sixty miles, partly in the ship and partly by land, but found no large opening, and no tide except what entered with himself from the east. As black whales, however, which had not been seen at the mouth of the Sound, appeared here, the surmise arose, whether these must not have come from a western ocean. The lieutenant and master were therefore sent to explore an inlet, which

branched out northward from the main channel. They spent four days in this search, and explored Deer Sound, so called from the abundance of those animals, and Savage Sound, from a party of the natives there met with; but without being able to trace any opening, or any tide but that which came in from Hudson's Bay. Middleton now determined, perhaps somewhat hastily, to give up the search in what he still continued to call the Wager, and to steer for the open Welcome. He had not proceeded far, when another "fair Cape" appeared, with the land beyond it, bending to the north-west. The most sanguine hopes hence arose, that this might be the north-eastern point of America, and that beyond these might be free passage to the northern and then to the Pacific ocean. They called it therefore Cape Hope; but by twelve next day their hopes were blasted, and the name belied by the discovery. They were in a wide bay enclosed on every side, to which the disappointed commander gave the name of Repulse Bay. His attention was then drawn to a strait to the eastward, which, crossed by ice from side to side, was denominated the Frozen Strait. On a survey taken from the highest mountain in the vicinity, it appeared to be from four to seven leagues broad, and sixteen to eighteen long, full of large and small islands and shoals, which were all united to each other by masses of ice. Through this strait there came a strong tide, which Middleton, however, believed to be only that which entered by Hudson's Straits, and which, being brought by this circuitous channel into the Welcome, appeared there as a dif-

ferent and even contrary tide to that which, from the same original quarter, came through the bay into the Welcome.

With this report Middleton returned to England, proclaiming that every chance of discovering a passage to India through Hudson's Bay was completely at an end. Dobbs, however, was ill disposed to acquiesce in this account of the matter, and wrote several letters, urging that, by pushing farther north, a passage might still be found. Middleton argued, that "if there was, it must be impassable for the ice, and from the narrowness of any such, in 67° or 68° degrees of latitude, it can be clear of ice only for a week in the year, and many years not clear at all." However willing to give every aid, he declared his determination "not to venture himself that way again." Doubts and suspicions, however, still filled the mind of Dobbs, and they were blown into a flame by an anonymous letter received from two individuals, who told him, "all nature cried aloud there was a passage;" that this "script" was intended to open his eyes and show him "the discoverer's pranks." They could not bear that so glorious an object should die through the mercenary baseness of its conductor. They were ready to venture their fortunes, their lives, their all, in another attempt, and they assured him that "they were no inconsiderable persons." Dobbs soon sought them out, and they proved to be the surgeon and clerk of the vessel. He held a conference with them, and found their views too congenial with his own not to be embraced with the utmost ardour. Middleton was arraigned as a traitor

who had received a bribe of £5000 from the Hudson's Bay Company, and had set out with a full resolution to stifle the discovery. It was asserted, that at the table of the governor of Churchill Fort he said, in presence of some of his officers, that "he would make the voyage, and none on board should know whether there was a passage or not, and that he would be a better friend to the Company than ever." The Wager was pointed out as the channel in which there might be the greatest hopes; yet, when some of the officers doubted Middleton's obstinate conclusion of its being a river, "he rated the clerk as a double-tongued rascal, would cane the lieutenant, broomstick the master, and lash any others" that should hazard such doubts. He was also said to have refused to bring home, or to hold any intercourse with two Indians who came on board, and from whom some of the officers gleaned interesting notices respecting the Coppermine River and the sea to the north, and even procured a map showing the way thither.

There seems to have been much falsehood, or at least exaggeration, in these charges against Middleton, whose observations have been generally confirmed by subsequent navigators. He appears only to have used some imprudent expressions, and to have betrayed rather an immoderate anxiety, that, after such a navigator as he had failed, no one else should attempt to follow in the same track. Dobbs, deeply prepossessed on the subject, adopted with the most ardent zeal all the opinions most hostile to Middleton, and proclaimed, that "the demonstrations of there being



a passage are as strong now as they well can be without actual passing it." He succeeded in inspiring the public with the same belief, and in kindling a zeal which had never risen so high on any former occasion. Parliament voted a reward of L.20,000, equal to L.50,000 at the present time, to be paid to the undertakers in case of their discovering the passage. A committee was formed to raise L.10,000, in shares of L.100 each ; and when there was some deficiency in the amount, it was made up by the members. With this was fitted out the *Dobbs* and *California*, of 180 and 140 tons respectively, which were placed under the command of Captains Moor and Smith. The officers and men were encouraged not only by extra pay, but by the promised reward of L.500 to the captains, L.200 to the mates, and proportional sums to other *grades* in case of success.

The expedition sailed on the 20th May, 1746, and on the 18th June had cleared the Orkneys. Four days after they had a dreadful alarm of fire, which caused them, Ellis says, "to hear all the varieties of sea-eloquence, cries, prayers, curses, and scolding, mingled together." The fire being in the cabin, close to the powder, kept them in dreadful alarm, till it was happily extinguished. In the Straits they had to make their way through dreadful mountains of ice, which, with other obstructions, prevented them from reaching Marble Island till the 2d August, and the season being so far advanced, they determined to make south, and winter in Nelson's River. The cold of this station seems to have fallen little short of that experienced by Captain Parry in his Arctic winters.

According to Ellis, all liquors under spirit-proof were converted into a perfectly solid mass, and broke the vessels, even of copper, which held them. Brandy and spirits of wine were converted into the consistence of oil. Though they kept a fire-place six feet long, and threw into it a horse-load of wood at once, they could not prevent the walls and windows from freezing; and in the morning they found themselves often frozen to their beds. If a door was opened, the cold vapour rushed in, and was converted into snow. When the fingers were applied to any species of metal, they immediately froze, and left the skin adhering to it. A servant having applied his finger to stop up a bottle, was obliged to have the part cut off which he had so imprudently used as a cork. However, by building lodges in the forest, by warm clothing, and other wise precautions, they escaped those dreadful consequences under which Captain James's party suffered so severely. Their chief affliction was from the scurvy, "that foul and fatal distemper," which is ascribed chiefly, but perhaps rather too hastily, to the allowance of two casks of brandy for the celebration of Christmas. All unctions and fomentations were found of no avail, and relief was afforded only by fresh provisions and tar-water; but Ellis learned, that by the mere copious use of spruce beer, the forts escaped almost wholly this destructive malady, and out of their population of a hundred, would sometimes not bury one in seven years.

A party of Esquimaux were met with during this season, and are represented under exactly the same

colours as we shall find them more fully painted by the recent expeditions,—ugly, good-humoured, friendly, well-clothed in seal and deer skins, and living on fat and train-oil, which they preferred to all other food. Even a boy, who had been bred at one of the forts from his early years, and accustomed to European food, on seeing a seal cut, eagerly licked the oil as it flowed, exclaiming, “Oh what a fine country is mine, where I could have this in plenty!” The Indians in the neighbourhood of the fort appeared to Ellis a corrupted and stunted race, ruined by an inordinate use of the brandy supplied to them by the traders. They were meagre, small, and indolent; while the inland Indians, who will not taste brandy, are a tall, robust, and active people. Their attachment to their relations appeared very striking, yet seems not very consistent with the practice of putting their aged parents to death; but this is said to be an act of obedience which the latter require from their offspring. “The grave of the old person being dug, he goes into it, and after having conversed and smoked a pipe, and perhaps drank a dram or two with his children, signifies he is ready; whereupon two of the children put a thong about his neck, one standing on one side and the other opposite, and pull violently till he is strangled; then cover him with earth, and over that erect a kind of rough monument of stones.”

The expedition began to move from their winter-quarters in the beginning of June, but it was nearly the end of that month before they could get into the open sea. Before July had closed they were at the mouth of the Wager, and made it their first task

to explore thoroughly that great inlet. About ten miles from the entrance it narrows into a strait, through which the tide rushes like a sluice or cataract. They ascended it 150 miles, and found it still as salt as the sea; but at length it was traced up to two rivers, neither of which was navigable. After this failure, a council was held to deliberate what step they were next to take. Several, among whom Ellis particularly ranks himself, urged, that the season not being yet quite passed, they should push on, and endeavour to effect something corresponding to their costly equipment and the highly-raised expectations of the public; that the strong tide which came down the Welcome had much appearance of being derived from the Polar Sea; that Repulse Bay had not yet been thoroughly examined, and that other openings might be found by careful examination. Other arguments prevailed with the majority, who, Mr Ellis suspects, "began to be tired of so much labour and hardship, and were inclined to put an end to the voyage as soon as they could." They merely, therefore, examined more carefully one or two of the Sounds connected with the Wager, and then determined to bend their way home, where they arrived on the 14th October. I find no record how they were received by Mr Dobbs, or by the public. It appears abundantly clear, that nothing done by them had brought to an issue that grand question which they had been commissioned to solve, and respecting which the public felt such intense interest; yet no measures were taken to renew or complete the search. The high-raised hopes of the public seem by

this disappointment to have been thoroughly chilled; and the whole question of a North-West Passage for a considerable time sunk into oblivion.

If, as is alleged, the Hudson's Bay Company felt for some time an unworthy jealousy of any attempts to explore the coasts which they had assumed as their own, their sentiments seem ultimately to have become much more liberal. Hearne declares, that he never saw any thing among them but the most cordial zeal to promote these objects. He was commissioned by them, in the year 1769, to undertake a land-journey to the northward, with a view of tracing the famous Coppermine, of observing the numbers and economy of the Indian tribes, and, finally, of the old question, whether there was a passage across the continent? Hearne was furnished with two Europeans, who proved to be of very little use; and his chief dependence was on Captain Chawchinahaw, and eight or ten northern Indians, who undertook to be his guides and providers. He carried with him nothing but one change of clothes, some necessary implements, and an outline map, which he was to fill up with a delineation of the country through which he passed. He soon, however, found himself reduced to a very uncomfortable dependence on his Indian guides, who did not conduct themselves with much discretion. Though by no means unskilful in hunting, they were impelled to it only by the most urgent necessity; and, even when a good quantity of game had been brought down, they had such enormous appetites that two or three meals converted the greatest abundance into a famine. "It was all feasting or all

fasting." Such a regimen ill fitted him to withstand the rigour of the cold, which increased as he proceeded into the interior, and against which the Indians carefully protected themselves by tents and warm clothing; but they viewed with the most calm philosophy the sufferings of the British. Moreover, both they and all their countrymen whom they met besought Hearne incessantly for iron-tools, powder, and tobacco, as if he had carried the Company's warehouse along with him; and it was vain to represent how impossible it was for him to bear on his single person what would supply all the Indians of the north. Sometimes they proceeded to more serious extremities. A party of Indians began a regular work of plunder, conducting it with the most cool deliberation. "They entered my tent, and first asked me to lend them my *skippertogan* to fill a pipe of tobacco. After smoking two or three pipes, they asked for several articles which I had not, among others a pack of cards. One of them then put his hand on my baggage, and asked if it was mine. Before I could answer, he and his companions had all my treasure spread on the ground. One took one thing, and another another, till at last nothing was left but the empty bag, which they permitted me to keep." By these disasters, and by the severity of the climate, Hearne was twice obliged to return to the fort after he had made some progress northwards. The guidance of Chawchinaha was exchanged for that of Con-ne-a-queueze, without any benefit resulting. At length there occurred a leader named Matonnabbe, who showed much more of intelligence

and courtesy than the rest of his countrymen, and who undertook to guide him to the Coppermine River.

On the 7th December, 1770, Hearne again began to journey over the great northern plain, and was safely and faithfully conducted by Matonnabbe. As, however, the same system of irregular hunting and improvident devouring of its produce still continued, they were liable as before to severe temporary famines. After Matonnabbe had eaten what to an ordinary man would make six full meals, he was quite astonished to find his stomach not in perfect order, and would ask Hearne if he could explain the cause; but when the latter ventured to hint at the enormous repast which had preceded, this solution was always repelled with some indignation. The consequence was, that severe want began to be felt, and it pressed heavier on the mind of Hearne, from his thoughts dwelling on the plentiful fare spread at this season on the tables of his friends in England, the refuse of which would have sufficed to deliver him from all his misery. Occasional supplies came in; but Matonnabbe deeply commiserated the case of our traveller in not being provided with wives, without whom, he argued, it was impossible to traverse with any comfort these northern wilds. In fact, this fair part of the creation among these tribes are viewed completely as beasts of burden; and the capacity of carrying enormous weights is the principal charm in the eyes of a northern wooer. Beauty is a very secondary object, and, even after marriage, good temper; for the Indian husband has methods

which he hesitates not to employ, by which the most stubborn and the most pliant are soon placed completely on a level. Hearne, however, seeing the chief possessed of seven or eight wives, suggested the great expense of their maintenance amid those frequent dearths; but Matonnabbe intimated, that, according to Indian ideas, the mere licking of their fingers in the process of cooking ought to suffice for their maintenance; and, in fact, whenever famine became severe, the poor women fell the first victims. A wife, however, is a precarious possession. Any Indian who confides in his strength can challenge the husband to a wrestling-match, and, on his being thrown, the wife becomes the prize. Hearne, a frequent spectator of these contests, viewed with interest the various manner in which the object of them was affected, while her lot was first in suspense, and then decided. Sometimes, attached to her former partner, she uttered loud screams, and was dragged away only by force; at other times, some feigned tears evidently concealed real satisfaction. With the exception of these wrestlings, the northern Indians have few violent contests with each other. Though there exists no law or punishment against murder, an indelible brand is affixed on the murderer. Cannibalism, of which they have been accused, seems to take place only in those dark extremities to which their mode of life exposes them, and which have impelled even civilized man to this dreadful mode of relief; and even then the persons guilty of it are ever after viewed with horror, and shunned.

Hearne and his party proceeded directly north-



wards to the west of the great northern expanses of the Athapescow and Slave Lakes, but passed along others of smaller size, to which he gives the names of Cossed, Snow-bird, Pike, Peshew, and Cogead. He came now in view of what he calls the Stony Mountains, which appeared at first sight to be absolutely inaccessible, being merely a congeries of loose stones, piled confusedly over each other; but the Indians showed him a path by which, scrambling upon hands and knees, it was possible to get across. Then he arrived soon at the object of his search, the Coppermine River; but it appeared little correspondent to the descriptions of the Indians, who had represented it as navigable even for large vessels; here it could barely float a canoe, and was interrupted by shoals and waterfalls. Before proceeding downwards, he was doomed to witness one of those scenes which present savage man under so dark and dire an aspect. The Indians learned, that at some distance there was an encampment of Esquimaux, whom they considered as the deadly enemy of their race. A plan was instantly formed to surprise and murder them. The moment this diabolical purpose was conceived, a strict union was established between the Indians, all their private quarrels were forgotten, and one soul seemed to animate the whole party. They moved in silence and haste, only taking care to paint their faces black and white, and to delineate on their shields the figure of the sun, the moon, or some bird or beast, which each had chosen as his guardian power. In this frightful array they rushed at midnight upon the unhappy Esquimaux, while they

were buried in slumber. The massacre was complete, and perpetrated with every circumstance of the most wanton barbarity. Hearne in vain entreated, especially for a poor girl who clung to him for life ; but the Indian, after giving her repeated stabs, disdainfully asked him if he wanted an Esquimaux wife ? When this butchery had been completed, seven Esquimaux tents were descried on the opposite bank of the river ; but the Indian canoes having happily been left at some distance above, all they could do was to fire across. The poor creatures, quite strangers to musketry, took up the balls as presents that had been sent to them, till one was wounded in the leg, when they ran off and effected their escape.

Hearne now proceeding on his survey, very soon reached the mouth of the river, and had a full view of the Arctic ocean. The tide was out during the short time that he remained ; but the marks which the waters had left, and the quantity of whale-bone and seal-skin in possession of the Esquimaux, left no doubt of its really being the sea. This discovery formed a grand era in the geography of America ; for all the delineations made at this time showed it as an unbroken mass of land stretching towards the pole. The unexpected discovery, that there was here an ocean, threw an entirely new light on the structure of the continent, and inspired those grand schemes of discovery and navigation which were afterwards so extensively acted upon.

Hearne having now effected the main objects of his mission, bent his way back to Hudson's Bay. On his return he was shown the copper-mine of which Indian

report had raised so great an expectation. It bore very little correspondence with its fame. The ore was found in lumps among pebbles ; but after a search of four hours, they found no piece of any consequence, except one, which indeed weighed four pounds. The mine had probably been exhausted by the natives, who, being originally acquainted with no other useful metal, had exchanged it with some reluctance for the iron of Europeans.

The party, in their return, took a more westerly route by the Athapescow Lake ; after passing which they found themselves in a level country abounding in game. Here having seen the track of a strange snow-shoe, they traced it till they found a handsome young Indian woman, who had lived solitary for seven months in a hut which she had built for herself on the shores of the lake. The Athapescow Indians, who murdered her father, mother, and husband, had taken her prisoner. She had contrived to hide her infant, but, on reaching her place of captivity, it was discovered and killed by one of the Athapescow women. Unable after this to endure living among this tribe, she effected her escape, but was unable to find her way home, and winter surprised her on the banks of the lake. In this circumstance she had shown amazing activity and ingenuity. With snares made of the sinews of rabbits and deer she had procured a sufficiency of game ; she had built a wooden hut, and even sewed a neat suit of clothes out of the skins of animals. Her story and her accomplishments excited so much interest, that numerous wrestling-matches

were necessary to decide the happy mortal who was to carry her off as his wife.

Along with the other information collected by Mr Hearne, he communicated that of the great breadth of the American continent, and the distance of the Pacific, which had been generally supposed to be only two or three hundred miles west of Hudson's Bay. He had been five hundred miles westward, and had met with Indians who had gone a much greater distance further, without even hearing of any termination of the land. This observation, at that time new, was soon amply confirmed by the discoveries of Cook.

While the Hudson's Bay Company were slumbering over their charter, another company, from a much less favourable quarter, and without any privilege or public support, succeeded in almost supplanting them. The French, while in possession of Canada, had been at great pains to form communications with the Indians for the carrying on of the fur-trade. For this purpose they penetrated to and formed stations on the interior lakes, to which the Indians, from very distant quarters, began to resort and exchange their furs for European goods. The French easily adopt the habits of any people among whom they are thrown; and man seems more easily to exchange civilized for savage habits than the reverse. There sprang up a race, called *Coueurs des Bois*, who assimilated themselves wholly to the Indians, followed them into the depth of their immense deserts; and returned annually laden with rich skins, the produce of which enabled them to spend a short interval of riot and jollity. They were justly anathematized by the

church, which even refused them the sacrament, on account of their selling brandy to the natives. By degrees they were succeeded by a superior class, consisting chiefly of retired officers, who, under the sanction of government, carried on the trade in a more respectable manner, and penetrated far into the interior of North America. They were attended by missionaries, who exercised their important functions, it is said, with laudable zeal, but with very slender success, and left scarcely any trace of their operations.

This great connexion was broken up by the treaty of 1763, which vested the sovereignty of Canada in Great Britain; and the trade was for some time suspended. In the course of a few years the enterprise of British merchants began to find its way to so profitable a branch. Once engaged in it, they soon undertook to outstrip their French predecessors. A Mr Currie penetrated beyond Lake Winnipeg to the banks of the Saskatchiwine, where he loaded four canoes with the most valuable furs, the disposal of which rendered it unnecessary to undertake any further excursions. Mr Peter Finlay followed with equal success; and the sphere rapidly extending, Mr Frobisher, in 1775, reached the banks of Churchill River, and Mr Pond, in 1778, those of the Athapescow Lake, where he met a vast concourse of the Knistineaux, Chepewyans, and other Indians, who were wont to carry their furs to the Hudson's Bay market. From them he procured, on the most advantageous terms, more than he was able to transport. These prosperous adventures kindled an extraordinary ardour in Canada, and traders flocked in such crowds

as soon to ruin each other's market. They did so not only by the legitimate effects of competition, but by relating of rival traders all the evil they could devise, much of which being true, the whole met with ready belief. The Indians were thus at length worked up to such a pitch of hostile feeling, that they had entered into a general scheme to cut off the English entirely, and the execution was, it is supposed, only prevented by the breaking out of the small-pox, and by the dreadful havock which that disease occasioned among them.

The adventurers thus employed, finding that they were only injuring the trade and ruining each other, at length agreed to unite their interests, and form what was called the North-west Company. They divided their stock into sixteen shares, each proprietor contributing a portion, not of money, but of the goods suited to the Indian market. After this arrangement they acted with a united ardour, which, combining the benefits of mutual aid and of individual zeal, enabled them to embrace an extent of commercial transactions hitherto unknown in this corner of the world. From an annual amount of £40,000, with which they began, they rose in ten years to £120,000. The Hudson's Bay Company now felt their jealousy deeply roused, and made the most violent efforts to stop the progress of this rising competitor; "but," says Mackenzie, "after the murder of one of our partners, the laming of another, and the narrow escape of a third," they were obliged to give in, and to admit of a compromise. The plan of the Company seems to have been well calculated to maintain a spirit of activity and emulation. When any member retired, he re-

ceived the estimated value of his share, and named as his successor one of the clerks; subject, however, to the general approbation of the Company as to the qualifications of the *nominee*. The clerks, having this prospect of succession, laboured with all the zeal of partners to promote the prosperity of the Company. Perhaps in a service attended with so much both of difficulty and danger, no less encouragement was necessary to animate their efforts. At the time when Mackenzie wrote, the Company employed fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, 1120 canoe-men, and twenty-five guides. Part of these, called pork-eaters, or goers and comers, went every summer to the Grand Portage at the extremity of Lake Superior, or even to Rainy Lake. Another class consisted of "North-men or winterers," who accompanied the Indians to the most interior depths of the continent, and, besides their own pay and aliment, were allowed the maintenance of seven hundred Indian women and children. They proceeded by the Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods to a grand station on Winnipeg Lake, whence some diverged northwards to the Elk River and the Athaspescow Lake, while others, following a westerly direction, ascended the Saskatchewan to the borders of the Rocky Mountains. In the beginning of July all parties assembled from all quarters at the Grand Portage, to exchange the materials of trade for its produce. Here the winterers calculated upon finding a copious supply of good cheer, in which they might indulge with some excess during the fortnight that they remained. The partners, clerks, and all claiming the rank of gentlemen, dined in a public

hall to the number usually of a hundred, when the table was amply spread with fish, ham, venison, and other northern delicacies. In one year the trade produced 106,000 beaver, 32,000 martin skins, and about 40,000 skins of other kinds. The credit was long and heavy, about three years and a half elapsing between the time when the goods were shipped from England and the furs landed there; but the profits appear to have been amply sufficient to cover all this expenditure.

Alexander Mackenzie, bred a clerk in the service of the Company, soon entitled himself to the rank of a partner, and not only carried on with spirit the ordinary train of traffic, but undertook the further task of exploring the remote extremities of those vast regions from which the Company drew the materials of their commerce. For eight years he established his head-quarters at their advanced station of Fort Chipewyan on the Athapescow Lake, whence he undertook long expeditions in several directions. His first journey, directed to the north, was commenced on the 3d June, 1789. The crew consisted of four Canadians and several Indians, one of whom was so much attached to the English, that he had acquired the name of the English chief. He descended the Peace River, which, turning north to the Slave Lake, assumes the name of the Slave River. It was here about a mile broad, and the navigation downwards met with no impediment, so that on the 9th they arrived at the Slave Lake. This large expanse of water was found still covered with ice, unless along its borders; and on its banks grew in profusion all



the trees peculiar to this region. At its western extremity was found a large river flowing to the north-west, which he determined to descend. A party of Indians, however, here gave the most alarming accounts of the passage downwards, stating, that it would occupy several winters, that all provisions would fail, and that the channel was filled with monsters, by which they would be in imminent danger of being devoured. Mackenzie laughed at all this; but it made a deep impression on the mind of the guide, who immediately showed a disposition to escape, which he soon effected. They were now obliged to seize guides by force, but found great difficulty in detaining them; and the only one who showed any inclination to the service could not be prevented from dancing with such vehemence in the canoe, that they thought every moment it would go to the bottom, and were not sorry when he went off. Bands of natives often appeared in menacing attitudes, but were quieted on seeing them well armed, and receiving some trifling presents. On the 12th July, Mr Mackenzie arrived on the banks of a large lake; but for some reason which he does not disclose, he proceeded no farther. There appears, however, much reason to think, that this lake was neither more nor less than the sea. A report being brought that some ice-islands were floating in it, he examined and found these islands to be whales, and made some vain attempts to catch them. As the party were encamped on the banks, the water rose and flowed under their baggage, which could seemingly arise from no cause except the tide. It certainly appears

singular, as Mr Barrow observes, that the traveller should have overlooked the simple expedient of dipping his finger in the water, and seeing if it was salt. There could not, however, be a doubt, that the sea was either here or at a very small distance ; and this important supplement to the discovery of Hearne suggested the idea, not only that there was an ocean in the north of America, but that it formed a grand continuous boundary of that continent.

Mr Mackenzie, after his return to Fort Chepewyan, undertook another journey, equally extensive, to the westward. He ascended the Peace River towards the Rocky Mountains. This voyage against the stream was attended with considerable difficulties, and the canoes twice became leaky and insufficient, producing the necessity of building new ones. At length the long range of snowy summits which compose the Rocky chain appeared in view. It was necessary to pass over them on foot, and the party soon found themselves, though in the midst of summer, marching through deep snow ; which, however, seemed occasioned less by the actual elevation of the pass, than by the drift from the more elevated heights which rose on every side. After a very fatiguing journey, in the interval between their station and a mountain whose snow-clad pinnacle was lost in the clouds, there appeared a river flowing to the westward sufficiently broad to float a canoe. They soon came to a village, and observed all the peculiarities which distinguish the western side of these mountains. They were regaled with salmon, a fish unknown in the eastern rivers,—and with those de-

licious berries which abound in all the Pacific regions of North America. The first village they came to, instead of the miserable Canadian wigwams, was composed of large houses, 120 feet long, raised by posts to some distance above the ground, ascended by a species of ladder, and the interior divided into numerous apartments, each of which was occupied by a distinct family. They had a pretty ample supply of salmon, caught in large weirs, framed with considerable ingenuity. In this great national concern of their fishery, the natives are extremely sensitive, and often swayed by superstitious notions. Venison was not allowed to be carried down in the boat, from the idea that its smell would drive away the salmon ; and from a similar dread they contrived to withdraw a copper kettle ; nor could they view without apprehension the astronomical observations, which might, it was supposed, have a magical and malignant influence on the finny inhabitants. The English found also no lack of that extreme and dishonourable liberality as to the virtue of their females which is so general among the western tribes. After descending the river for a considerable space, the navigation became so difficult that they were obliged to quit it, but succeeded by land in reaching the western sea. This was another important geographical discovery. It was the first time in which the continent had been crossed under this latitude. An experimental proof was thus afforded of the great breadth of land which here exists, and the discoveries made along and from the eastern coast were connected with those of Vancouver and Cook.

## CHAPTER IV.

## RECENT NORTH-WEST VOYAGES.

*Plans for Expeditions of Discovery.—Captain Ross sent out.—His Voyage round Baffin's Bay.—Lancaster Sound.—Captain Parry's First Voyage.—Discovery of Barrow's Strait.—Melville Island.—Wintering.—Proceedings next Summer.—Return to England.—Second Voyage.—Passage through the Welcome.—Winter Island.—The Northern Ocean.—Strait of the Fury and Hecla.—Second Wintering.—Return.—Third Voyage.—Loss of the Fury.—Return.*

THE British navy, which for three centuries had been in a state of continued progress, rose during the last war to an unrivalled height of glory; it then vanquished and annihilated the united navies of Europe. Even before its close, the enemies of Britain having ceased to appear on the seas, afforded no longer scope for her naval energies. These energies, however, were still as powerful and active as ever; and there remained a secondary sphere, within which were to be encountered toils and dangers almost as formidable as when hostile flags filled the seas of Europe. The efforts of the early navigators, bold and skilful as they had been, had left still in deep obscurity the questions respecting the structure of the polar regions, and the maritime passage through

them. It appeared, therefore, that with augmented naval means and naval skill, and with the new energies which had been called forth, an attempt, with some reasonable hopes of success, might now be made to vanquish those barriers of ice and tempest against which our ancient naval heroes had in vain contended. This object was adopted by government with a zeal which some deemed extreme and enthusiastic; but it has often been observed, that without some portion of enthusiasm nothing great or extraordinary was ever effected. Mr Barrow fanned the flame both of government and of the public, rekindled it when beginning to cool, and was thus the instrument of commencing a series of expeditions of discovery, which were pursued more steadily, and on a greater scale, than at any prior naval era.

In 1818, two expeditions were fitted out, one of which, consisting of the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, under the command of Captain Buchan, was appointed to endeavour to reach and penetrate across the North Pole. This expedition is not within our sphere, and did not succeed. The other, consisting of the *Isabella* and *Alexander*, was placed under Captain Ross, and was destined to seek a western passage through Baffin's Bay, the exploration of which, and the establishment of its character as a bay, were justly regarded as by no means completely effected. Captain Ross hoisted his flag on board the *Isabella*, while Lieutenant Parry, an officer of merit, though not yet known to the public, received the command of the *Alexander*.

On the 18th April the expedition dropped down

the river, and about the 30th arrived off Shetland. On the 26th May, Cape Farewell and Icebergs came, as usual, together into view. Of the latter, Captain Ross says, "It is hardly possible to imagine any thing more exquisite than the variety of tints which these icebergs display." On entering Davis's Straits, they found its centre occupied, as usual, by an unbroken barrier of ice, and were obliged to work their way through a narrow and precarious channel along the coast, so that it was the 6th or 7th of August before the higher latitudes of Baffin's Bay were attained. Here they were overtaken by a tempest so violent as to have scarcely any parallel, even in the annals of Greenland and the Pole. "It became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice; every support threatened to give way; the beams in the hold began to bend, and the iron-banks settled together. The *Isabella* was carried with great violence towards the *Alexander*, and in spite of every effort they got foul of each other; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat which could not be removed from between them. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts; but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the *Alexander* with comparatively little damage." The great strength with which the ships had been built seemed the chief cause which enabled

them to resist this extraordinary shock. In these high latitudes they came to a race of Esquimaux, who seem to be the most insulated from the world and from all civilized existence, of almost any human beings hitherto discovered. Their limited tract of habitable territory is so enclosed on the south with snowy and inaccessible mountains, that they considered that quarter as rendered unfit by extreme cold for the habitation of man. The appearance of the strangers inspired them with the utmost astonishment, accompanied with the most rooted unbelief of their being of the same species with themselves. They stood on the opposite side of a chasm, looking with the most intense curiosity, and occasionally drawing back the covering from their heads, as if to catch the most distant sounds, when their features displayed extreme terror and amazement, and every limb appeared to tremble. Saccheous, the Esquimaux interpreter, threw a plank across the chasm, and went over; but they shrunk back in alarm, under the impression that the touch of a being out of the order of nature would occasion death. At length one bold individual touched his hand, and the general panic abated. They became more familiar, and pointing to the ships, asked what was the nature of that huge bird. In vain did Saccheous assure them that it was a frame of timber made by human hands. This explanation they instantly rejected, pointing to the wings, as they termed the sails. They therefore advanced to the vessels, and began addressing them, pausing at every question, and pulling their nose in sign of respect. They inquired "Who are you? where do you come from?"

Is it from the sun or the moon?" No answer being returned, they began at length to listen to the explanation of Saccheous, and to examine in detail the parts of the vessel. They asked of what ~~skins~~ ~~the~~ cable and the sails were made, and viewed with attention and desire the carpenter's tools. At every new wonder, wild amazement, joy, and fear, pervaded their countenances, and after a pause, terminated in loud shouts and laughter. The usual desire ~~then~~ arose to possess these new and admired objects. Unable to appreciate the weight of different articles, they endeavoured to take up and run away, first with the mast, and then with the anchor. They then attempted the smith's anvil; but finding it fixed, made off at least with the hammer. A sailor mounting to the topmast excited their utmost astonishment; nor was it without long hesitation that they would venture themselves on a rope-ladder. One of the officers had a little terrier-dog, which they looked on with contempt, as incapable of drawing burdens; but when they saw a pig, and heard its grunt, alarm became visible. They had no relish for spirits, salt meat, or biscuit, preferring beyond all comparison their own standing dishes, the flesh of the seal and the sea-unicorn. They at length arrived at a cordial agreement with the English, which they sealed with a *heighyan*, evidently the *Iliaout* of the early navigators.

These people, considered both in respect to aspect, language, and customs, belong evidently to the widely-diffused race of the Esquimaux or Greenlanders. They labour, however, as compared with the rest, under one remarkable deficiency. The canoe, which we instinctively as it were attach to the idea of an Es-



quimaux, was wanting. They know nothing either of the *kayak* or the *uniak*, the man's boat or the woman's boat, nor have any means of moving on the surface of the sea on which they border. This singular deficiency may arise from the want of wood, though it could be supplied with bone; but the long period of the year during which the sea is covered with solid ice, over which they can wander to surprise or entrap the animals that form their food, may render it little an object to traverse its surface by any other means. The use of iron, rudely formed into knives, gives to these people a certain distinction above all the other American tribes. This iron is supposed, though seemingly on rather slight grounds, to be meteoric. These Esquimaux are much distinguished also from others by having a chief or king, whom they regard with much reverence, and even pay him taxes of train-oil, seal-skin, and other rude products of this dreary region.

The expedition witnessed here a remarkable phenomenon,—cliffs tinged with a crimson dye. This colour resided in the snow, which, when collected in buckets, had the appearance of raspberry ice-cream. A portion was brought home, and analyzed in London, without its being possible to form any very decided conclusion. The colouring globules were extremely minute, had a fetid animal smell, and yielded, on distillation, oil and ammonia. It was hence inferred that the colouring infusion might be animal, and might consist of the excrement of birds holding combined the spawn of a minute species of shrimp common in these seas. It was afterwards judged more probable that the tinge was given by a species of moss used by


the natives for wicks to their lamps, and the roots of which are of a deep-scarlet colour ; yet M. Marcet of Geneva has lately, after a very careful analysis, revived the former opinion, believing the globules to consist of a very minute species of animalcula.

Captain Ross now arrived among those larger sounds which might appear likely to reach across the continent. He passed very hastily Worsenholme and Whale Sounds, which appeared to him to be deep, and blocked up with ice ; but, as he did not approach even their entrance, this conclusion rests on somewhat slender proof. However, these openings were still on the eastern side, and could not well lead to the desired passage. More interest was excited by Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, at the very head of Baffin's Bay, which that navigator had pronounced the largest of all the openings which it contained. Captain Ross conceived the bottom of it to be eighteen leagues distant, and the entrance completely blocked up with ice ; but he seems not to have approached near enough to ascertain this last point ; and Mr Fisher could see no appearance of land to the northward. They afterwards reached another large and hitherto unobserved opening, which has since been named after the commander himself ; but he considered it equally clear that this afforded no passage. Then came Alderman Jones's Sound, which could not be approached for ice and fog, and without farther inquiry the vessels passed along the coast, which now turned to the southward.

The expedition, in following this direction, arrived at a more grand and important opening, which soon proved to be the Lancaster Sound of Baffin. It seemed

to be 45 or 50 miles wide, bordered by magnificent ranges of mountains. Its breadth, the extraordinary depth, and increased temperature of the water, tended to excite the deepest interest, and inspire the most sanguine hopes. The topmast was crowded with officers and men looking up the Sound, and endeavouring *not* to discover a termination to it. From the first, however, Captain Ross and the officers immediately about him seem to have formed the opinion of its being only an inlet, and to have been even disposed to entertain very slight proofs of this being the case. After sailing up thirty miles, the coasts appeared closely to approach each other; but a thick mist still hung over the extreme head of the bay. Captain Ross, however, having gone down to dinner, left orders to be called up the moment there should be any appearance of clearing in this quarter. At three o'clock he was summoned; "soon after it completely cleared for about ten minutes, and I distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay, forming a connected chain of mountains with those which extended along the north and south sides. At this moment I also saw a continuity of ice, at the distance of seven miles, extending from one side of the bay to the other." Mr Lewis, the master, and James Haig, leading man, concurred; and, upon conclusions formed between these three, the ship's head was turned, and they stood directly out of the bay.

Captain Ross, in proceeding to the south, found no important opening till he came to Cumberland Strait, which, from its depth and the current setting through it, appeared to afford better promise than any opening



previously observed. It being now, however, the first of October, Captain Ross considered himself bound by his instructions not to remain longer in the ice ; though it appeared afterwards that the Admiralty had fully calculated and considered themselves as having equipped the vessels, for spending the winter in these latitudes, if it should appear conducive to the grand object of their mission.

Captain Ross returned with a report very decidedly adverse to any hope of penetrating beyond the limits traced by Baffin, whose accuracy in every respect he considered as having been fully ascertained by his voyage. To this conclusion the Admiralty demurred, and a somewhat warm controversy arose. It was argued, that the mode of examination which had been followed throughout this voyage was not founded on any sound principle of maritime perspective. Every passage or channel, which is at all of a winding form, presents at its entrance the appearance of being enclosed by land. Mr Barrow in the *Quarterly Review* instanced the Cattegat, Great and Little Belts, Plymouth Sound, and the successive reaches of the Thames ; to which may be added those of the Frith of Forth. Most certainly, if a channel branch off in any degree at right angles to its original direction, it is perfectly impossible that the ascending vessel can discover this channel till it comes to the very spot. The other officers, on being examined, were found by no means very strictly to accord in opinion with Captain Ross upon this question. Lieutenant Parry of the *Alexander*, in particular, described himself as full of the most sanguine hopes at the very

moment, when, for reasons to him incomprehensible, he saw the head of the *Isabella* turned out of the sound,—a movement which his duty bound him to follow. The Admiralty were too fully predisposed in favour of this view of the subject not to give diligent heed to the statements in support of it. They determined to fit out a new expedition, giving the command to Lieutenant Parry, who, it was trusted, would not return without a full decision of the question.

Lieutenant, now Captain Parry, was fitted out with two vessels, the largest of which was the *Hecla*, in which he himself sailed, of 375 tons, carrying a crew of 58 men, and, having been built as a bomb-vessel, well adapted for stowage. The other was the *Griper*, a twelve-gun brig, of 180 tons, commanded by Lieutenant Liddon, with a ship's company of 36. These vessels were fortified by an extra lining of oak-plank, by a number of beams and additional timbers, and by strong plates of iron at the bows. They were supplied with provisions for two years, including preserved meats, essence of malt and hops, and other antiscorbutics, an ample stock of warm clothing, and a hundred chaldrons of coals serving for ballast.

The two vessels left the Nore on the 8th May, 1819, and after a voyage, the details of which need not be enlarged upon, found themselves, by the 18th of June, in the middle of Davis's Straits. The barrier of ice, however, which runs across this sea during all the early part of the season, was still close, and Captain Parry, in endeavouring to dash through it, was completely

beset, and the ships extricated not without some danger and a little damage. He made his way round, however, by Sanderson's Hope, and the Woman's Islands, and at the latitude of  $73^{\circ}$  found means to cross this great and formidable barrier. The 2d of August had thus arrived before he had reached Lancaster Sound, that important point at which the fate of the voyage was to be decided. This, after all, was a month earlier than the same spot had been reached on the last voyage.

Possession Bay, the southern entrance of Lancaster Sound, had nothing unpromising, and the line was even let down sixty or seventy fathoms without finding a bottom. They were still tantalized, however, by a wind blowing steadily from the west, which admitted very slow progress. The Griper also could not keep pace with her consort,—a circumstance so teasing, that Captain Parry appointed her signals, and himself pushed on, carrying a press of sail, and in the evening saw the northern shore of the sound looking through the clouds which hung over it.

On the morning of the 2d the expedition had first a full view of the Sound, of which the southern side consisted of lofty and peaked mountains covered with snow, while those on the north were lower and had a smoother and rounder form. They looked anxiously up the Sound, but there was no appearance either of ice or land; and even the violent pitching, which threw the water twice in at the stern windows, though not quite agreeable in itself, seemed indicative of an open sea to the westward. At length a breeze

sprung up from the east, a crowd of sail was set, and all the company stood fixed in breathless anxiety, as the breeze, increasing to a gale, carried them rapidly up the Sound. The mast-heads were crowded with officers and men, and the successive reports from the pinnacle called the crow's-nest were sought and received with the most eager anxiety. Every report was favourable; and, after passing various headlands, and two large openings, one on the south, which they called Navy-Board Inlet, and one on the north called Croker's Bay, they found themselves in long.  $83^{\circ}$ , or about a hundred miles from the mouth of this magnificent inlet, which still preserved a breadth of thirteen leagues across. Their course was now somewhat slackened to allow the Griper to come up, and she joined them about the longitude of  $85^{\circ}$ . In longitude  $86^{\circ} 30'$  they passed two inlets, which they called Burnet and Stratton, after a cape which they named Fellfoot, where the land appeared to terminate. The sea appearing now free from ice, and having regained, as appeared to them, the usual oceanic colour, while a long swell rolled in from the southward, they began to hope that they had fairly entered the polar sea, and some even began to calculate the time when they would reach Icy Cape. These pleasing reveries were suspended by an alarm of land; but it proved to be an island of no great extent. They came then to a mass of ice of no great apparent breadth or thickness, extending parallel to their course; but, after sailing along its border two hours, they saw it joined about half a mile to the westward to a compact and impenetrable body of flocs, which reached across the

whole breadth of the sea from land to land. It behoved them instantly to turn back in order to avoid being embayed; and their progress westward being thus stopped, they began steering to the south. They now discovered another island, to which, along with the former, they gave the name of Prince Leopold. They discovered to the southward a large space of open sea, over which was a dark water-sky. Turning their course in this direction, they found themselves at the mouth of a great inlet, ten leagues broad, and in looking up from the centre of which no land was visible. To two capes at its western extremity they gave the names of Clarence and Seppings. The action of the compasses became here so excessively irregular, indicating an approach to the magnetic pole, that this instrument was no longer of any use in navigation. The western shore was too much encumbered with ice to admit of free navigation, but the ships ran along till they reached the eastern, where they found a broad and open channel. Along this they ran about a hundred and twenty miles to the southward, when again the western horizon was seen from the crow's-nest, covered with heavy and extensive floes, beyond which no extent of open water could be descried; but a bright and dazzling ice-blink extended from shore to shore. There was no choice but to turn back without reaching the extreme point in view, which they named Cape Kater; and the ice having closed in behind them, rendered their return very arduous, especially as the compass was useless, the sky obscured by fogs, and they could only guess the direction in which they were sailing. In their way northward they dis-



covered a small bay, forming a fine and secure harbour, called Port Bowen. It was enclosed by precipitous cliffs, which often resembled ruined towers and battlements, and from which fragments were continually falling: the soil was barren in the extreme.

The vessels were now brought back to Prince Leopold's Islands, to watch for an opening in the great western barrier of ice. It was still fast closed; and, on landing and ascending a hill, there appeared no termination to it, though happily there was no land in view. They then steered towards the northern coast of this great channel, and whiled away their time in examining its shores, when, on the 21st, the ice, by one of those sudden changes to which that element is liable, entirely disappeared, and the sea to the west appeared clear as far as the eye could reach.

The expedition had now an unobstructed run, only retarded by occasional calms and changes of wind. Before the end of August they had passed a range of coasts, which they had reason to believe were large islands, and which were called in their order, Beechey Island, Cornwallis Island, Bathurst Island, and Byam Martin Island; and in the middle of the channel was a smaller one, called Lowther Island. West of Cornwallis was a magnificent inlet opening to the north, to which they gave the name of Wellington; while the whole of the great channel from thence to the opening of Lancaster Sound received the name of Barrow, to whose exertions and influence this expedition had been so deeply indebted.

On Byam Martin Island observations were made on the magnetic needle, which led to the singular dis-

covery, that the variation which, in long.  $91^{\circ}$ , had been  $128^{\circ}$  westerly, was now (in  $103^{\circ}$  long.)  $194^{\circ}$  westerly, or  $166^{\circ}$  easterly; so that they must have passed to the north of the magnetic pole, and over a point at which the variation would have been  $180^{\circ}$ , or in which the north pole of the compass would have pointed to the south. This would probably be about the meridian of  $100^{\circ}$ .

The passage began now to be again obstructed by ice; of which at one point they had to bore through a considerable breadth by main force. They were also beset with thick fogs, which, now that the compass no longer availed, reduced them to an extreme difficulty in deciding upon their course; and they were driven to the most imperfect means of forming a judgment upon this point. Their first principle was, that having the ice on one side and the land on the other, any divergence was marked by symptoms of approach to one or the other. Then, however, the ice turning to the southward deprived them of this test, and they had only to rely on the wind continuing steady, and to guide their course by it. At length the two ships having placed themselves at the distance of a quarter of a mile, directed their course by each other, keeping the one a-stern and the other a-head of its companion; and thus they made a tolerable westerly course. They were now on the coast of an island much larger than any of those which they had hitherto reached, and which they called Melville Island. On the 4th September Captain Parry could announce to his company the joyful news that they had reached the longitude of  $110^{\circ}$ , and had thus earned the reward

of five thousand pounds, to which, by royal bounty, those of his Majesty's subjects became entitled who first reached that point of the polar sea.

Captain Parry had hoped to have all the month of September to spend in discovery and in progress westward, and he was, therefore, much mortified to find that, on the 8th of that month, his advance was impeded by a fixed barrier of ice. Most anxious, however, to do as much as possible this season, he diligently watched every opening. Meantime parties were sent on shore to procure game, and much alarm was occasioned on account of six men from the *Griper*, who were overtaken soon after their departure with a storm of snow, and did not return. It was impossible to send far in search of them, or to do much more than raise the great flag-staff, guided by which they appeared at the end of three days in a very debilitated and frost-bitten condition. The sea meantime, instead of opening, as was their daily hope, became always the more firmly closed; and the fields of ice, extending and pressing in every direction, rendered the position of the ships more and more precarious. About the 20th it became manifest that there could be no farther progress westward this season, and even that no time was to be lost in securing a winter retreat. For this purpose they were obliged to return considerably to the eastward, and even to saw through a field of ice two miles and a quarter in length; after which they were securely fixed in what they termed Winter Harbour.

The prospect of spending a winter of eight months, of which three or four would be of perpetual dark-

ness, in this depth of the Arctic regions, and several thousand miles distant from any civilized abode, and in continued conflict with the fiercest of the elements, was very serious and formidable. Captain Parry, however, was both physically and morally prepared to meet it. He possessed that decisive and at the same time conciliatory character, joined to that knowledge of human nature, and particularly of the character of sailors, which fitted him for a management in which it was necessary to join persuasion with authority. A large provision had been made of every thing which could tend to preserve the health of the crew. They were served weekly with a pound of Donkin's preserved meats, and a pint of vegetable or concentrated soup; allowances were made of beer, wine, sour-kROUT, pickles, and vinegar. They had also a daily draught of lime-juice and water, which, as their own prudence could not be relied upon, they were compelled to drink in presence of an officer. The utmost attention was paid to the drying, heating, and airing of the apartments. The men were also made to spend an hour or two in daily exercise; and, when the weather did not allow them to go to a distance, were obliged to run round the apartment, keeping time to the tune of an organ. This movement they did not find at first very amusing; but no alternative being offered, they at last made it a matter of frolic. They were allowed from six to nine to amuse themselves as they pleased, which they did with games of various kinds, and occasional singing and dancing. It was impossible, however, to escape effectually the dreary monotony which pressed upon them. Their short

walks presented little that could either interest or amuse. "To the south lay the sea, presenting only an unbroken surface of ice, uniform in its dazzling whiteness, and varied only by a few hummocks. The variety was not much greater on the land, almost entirely covered with snow, except an occasional brown patch in some exposed situations. The ships, and the smoke issuing from their several fires, indicating the presence of man, alone gave a partial cheerfulness to the prospect ; and the sound of voices which, in the calm and cold air, was heard at an extraordinary distance, alone broke the death-like stillness which reigned around them. Amid this total want of objects, even a stone of any uncommon size rising above the snow became a mark to which their eyes were unconsciously fixed, and their feet mechanically advanced."

To diversify the dreary gloom of this period, Captain Parry contrived expedients which do not seem very much in harmony with the scene and situation, but which yet produced happy effects. The most leading of these was the exhibition of dramatic entertainments, in which the officers appeared as amateur performers. The very stir of preparing an apartment for this sort of performance had an effect in keeping up the spirits of the sailors. On the 5th of November, immediately after the permanent disappearance of the sun, the Arctic theatre opened with "Miss in her Teens," which was received with the greatest applause by the nautical audience. For the special entertainment of the officers, the North Georgia Gazette made its weekly appearance. A free press,

or indeed any press, is admitted as somewhat contrary to the principles of government which prevail in his Majesty's ships ; but the character of the officers was thought a security against any abuse, and much benefit was found from the occupation and excitement produced by this employment. All the officers were invoked to contribute ; and even those who did not write furnished readers and critics, who contributed equally to the general amusement.

The experience of this winter threw a great light on the capacity of the human frame to endure cold, as well as those sudden changes of temperature which have been usually supposed to be pernicious and even fatal. In the most extreme depression, when the thermometer was — 30° or — 40°, that is, sixty or seventy degrees below the freezing-point, a man well-clothed could walk without any painful sensation, and even expose his face without material suffering. Again, they could quit the cabin, though kept up to the comfortable heat of 50° and upwards, and go direct into the open air, when it was seventy or eighty degrees lower, without injury. Where due precaution was not taken, however, there were some serious accidents. John Pearson, a marine, having remained out till after dark, and with his hands uncovered, was brought in with his fingers frozen into the form of that part of the musket which he had been carrying ; and it became necessary to amputate three of them. Several, after having been thus rashly exposed, looked wild, spoke thick and indistinctly, and had every appearance of intoxicated persons, till, the circulation being restored, they recovered the use of their senses. In

very extreme cold, the breath of a person at a little distance had the appearance of a musket just fired, and that of a party of men resembled a thick white cloud. No instance was, however, seen of the phenomenon reported by some travellers, of snow produced by the sudden admission of the external air. The only effect observed was the condensation of a vapour resembling thick white smoke, which froze upon the pannels and bulk-heads. It was in February, that the first dreaded symptoms of scurvy appeared. Mr Scallow, the gunner, was first affected; and the origin of his illness was traced to a deposit of moisture in his bed-place. This being removed, and copious use being made of preserved fruits and vegetables, as well as of some mustard and cresses, which they contrived to grow in the cabin, he was able on the ninth day to walk the deck. In the following month there occurred also several serious cases, but which, through the diligent use of similar means, never reached any alarming height.

In June, Captain Parry undertook a journey across Melville Island, carrying with him three weeks' provisions in a light cart constructed for the purpose. He performed this excursion successfully, though the deep and soft snow rendered travelling often laborious. This snow for the most part covered the soil, which, where it appeared, was very naked and barren. He reached the north coast, opposite to which appeared another considerable island, to which he gave the name of Sabine.

About the middle of June, the unbroken ice, which had covered land and sea, appeared in a state of rapid

dissolution. Pools were everywhere formed on its surface; and the land was crossed by such rapid torrents, that hunting excursions were no longer safe. The ice itself began to break up, and to open channels through which boats could pass. Yet the main body of ice in the sea without remained still immovable. It was not till the 2d of August, after they had spent ten whole months and part of the remaining two in this icy prison, that the entire ice fairly drifted out, and left them an open channel in which to proceed. They comforted themselves by thinking that they were now at the same period of the year at which they had last summer entered Lancaster Sound, and if they could make as much progress in the present year, they would not be very distant from Icy Cape. The appearance of the ice was at first very promising, but on the following day a heavy floe, or icy ridge, again barred their progress. On the 4th they again found a narrow passage, and reached the spot where they had been last season so long detained. Here they were again arrested for ten days, not without the external floes making sometimes a menacing appearance. On the 15th they were enabled to make a few miles farther, when the ice to the westward assumed a completely compact and impenetrable aspect. It did not give way even before an easterly wind, which gave room to suspect some barrier on the opposite side by which it was arrested. They ascended some of the heights on this western extremity of Melville Island, which is lofty and precipitous, and the sea was discovered, as far as the eye could reach, presenting the same fixed and hopeless aspect. They



were now in  $113^{\circ} 48'. 29''. 5.$  being the most westerly meridian hitherto reached in the Polar Sea. A little beyond was Cape Dundas, the extreme western point of Melville Island, which was thus ascertained to be about 130 miles long and 40 or 50 broad. To the west, reaching beyond the 117th degree of longitude, was seen a high and bold coast, which they named Banks's Land, without being able to ascertain its extent and boundaries.

On a consultation now held between the officers, they came to the judgment, to which they had now for some time been approximating, that it would be utterly vain to make any attempt to penetrate farther to the westward. They fixed on it, therefore, as their only alternative, to retrace their steps, and endeavour to find some channel leading southward, or to return to England. Their attempts to find this channel proved fruitless ; but in the course of the search they examined more narrowly the southern coast of Barrow's Strait, which they called North Devon, while the opposite coast had been called North Somerset. They found also a large opening, which they called Admiralty Inlet, to the west of that which they had before called Navy-Board Inlet. They encountered rather uncommonly rough weather, both in Baffin's Bay and in the voyage home.

Government, more encouraged by the important measure of success which had crowned this voyage, than depressed by its having failed in the full attainment of its object, determined immediately to fit out a fresh expedition. It was proposed to send it now

in another direction. From what has been stated respecting the progress of Middleton, it will appear that he had by no means thoroughly investigated the northern extremity of Hudson's Bay, or the channel of the Welcome which led to it, and none of his successors had penetrated so far as himself. This quarter, therefore, deserved to be most fully examined, and gave a fair promise of an opening into that great northern sea, which was now so well ascertained to exist. In the course of the winter a second expedition was prepared, consisting of two vessels, the *Fury* and *Hecla*, the former commanded by Captain Parry in person, the latter by Captain Lyon, who, in his journey into Africa, had already given proofs of intrepidity, enterprise, and address. Captain Parry was supplied most amply, as before, with every thing which could contribute to the comfort and success of the expedition. The general plan was that of the former expedition, combined with a few improvements suggested by experience. The most material innovation consisted in making the two vessels of the same size, capacity, and in every respect fac-similes of each other. It had hitherto been laid down as a first principle in exploratory voyages, that there should be a larger and a smaller, the latter for the purpose of approaching nearer and making a closer survey of the coasts ; but it appeared to Captain Parry that this survey could only be effectively performed in boats, while a smaller and weaker vessel attached to the principal ship was a continued drag to the latter. By making them both good and complete ships, they could act independently if separated, and if together, could more

effectively assist each other: and the anchors, yards, &c. equally fitting each, could be mutually supplied in case of necessity. Arrangements were made for heating the vessels in a more effectual manner by a process of Mr. Sylvester, and also for condensing nutritious food into a smaller compass.

Captain Parry sailed from the Nore on the 8th May, 1821: on the 16th was off Buchanness, and on the 18th came in view of Shapinscha, where he took pilots for the Pentland Frith; having passed which, they were detained a week in the excellent harbour of Long Hope. On the 7th June they came abreast of Cape Farewell, and were tossed about for some days by a severe gale. On the 14th they saw their first iceberg,—an object of wonder to those who were new to these vast floating masses. On the 2d July they came in view of Bluff Point, on Resolution Island, at the entrance of Hudson's Bay. Captain Parry, accustomed as he was to polar scenes, was struck with the peculiar desolation which here reigned. The snow still filling many of the valleys, with the fog that hung over it, rendered the scene indescribably dreary and disagreeable. "It requires a few days before the eye becomes familiarized and the mind reconciled to prospects of utter barrenness and desolation, such as these rugged shores present." The icebergs mustered round them to the number of fifty-four, some presenting a very striking diversity of form. The largest was 258 feet above the sea. Amid these huge masses the tides and currents were running with such rapidity as to deprive the sailors of all power of managing the

vessels. Captain Lyon had his best bower-anchor broken with as much ease as if it had been crockery-ware, and five hawsers carried away. The peculiar danger of the entrance of Hudson's Bay arises from the heavy swell which comes in from the main ocean, and, rushing in between the masses of ice, causes the most violent and dangerous concussions. Amid these distresses they were somewhat cheered by the sight of three fellow-sufferers, being two ships of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the third the Lord Wellington, bringing out about 150 settlers for Lord Selkirk's establishment on the Red River. These settlers were chiefly Dutch and Germans, and were often seen busily waltzing on deck, when not interrupted by snow or a fresh gale, and almost every ball was closed with a marriage.

Amid all these obstructions, the favouring tide enabled them to work their way westward to what are called the Savage Islands. Soon a loud shout was heard among the loose ice, and several boats appeared paddling through a lane of open water. The Esquimaux on board hailed the English with a loud cry of Ha, haã ! (probably the Iliaout of the first navigators). A large party soon came alongside the Fury, shouting, laughing, and yelling, in the most tumultuous manner. The women at first appeared somewhat timid ; but soon became as boisterous as the men. It was impossible to discern the colour of their skin through the thick coating of blood, grease, and dirt ; and the hair of jetty black hung dishevelled over the face, to which it gave an air of inexpressible wildness. The visages of the aged females

were singularly hideous and disgusting,—inflamed eyes, wrinkled skin, black teeth, a set of features, in short, scarcely human; whence much excuse was found for the investigation set on foot by Frobisher's crew respecting the diabolic origin of one of these ancient damsels. The children were pretty; but from their wild attire, and being often thrown into the bottom of the boats amid the refuse, they had much the appearance of the cubs of wild animals. The natives began to traffic with eagerness, even with fury, parting with every thing they had to obtain the empty nothings with which their visitors came provided. Like the Newfoundland visitors of Cartier, they stripped off the very skins in which they were clad; and the men, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, reduced themselves to a state of complete nudity; but the women, with a due sense of propriety, never parted with that species of breeches in which they here envelope themselves. Husbands, however, proffered, even urgently, the fair persons of their wives, who seconded the proposal; and in two instances women were understood to tender their children for sale, only taking care previously to strip them of their clothes, lest the value of the lot should be too much enhanced. Captain Parry stigmatizes them as most determined thieves and even pickpockets; but Captain Lyon, who seems to have studied this question more deeply, mentions only "a few instances of dishonesty," under the severe temptation of a nail or a bit of iron lying neglected in view. They placed thorough confidence in the honesty of the English, before whom they left

all their treasures exposed. Whenever they had closed the stipulation for an article, they licked it all over, as sealing the bargain; and the English saw with alarm even the sharp edge of a razor passed along their tongue. They drove what they considered a hard bargain; yet, on obtaining a nail, a saw, or a knife, in exchange for valuable skins, they set up loud shouts of triumph. All kinds of frolic passed between them and the sailors; and the fiddler having struck up a tune, they danced in tolerable time, though their only figure consisted in stamping and leaping with all their might. Their favourite jest was to get slyly behind one of the sailors, shout loudly in one ear, and give him a hearty box on the other; and when he showed the astonishment that might be expected, a general laugh ran through the whole party.

The expedition, though still harassed and often beset with ice, continued from time to time to obtain favourable runs; so that they reached, early in August, the interior of the bay, and came in sight of Southampton Island. That large mass of land, which divides the northern side of Hudson's Bay into two great channels, involved Captain Parry in considerable perplexity. There were two lines of navigation by which he might reach the northern part of the Welcome, where his career of new discovery was to begin. One was direct and short, through what was called the Fox Channel, to the east of Southampton Island, and through the Frozen Strait of Middleton; the other was long and circuitous, by making the entire round of the island, and ascending the broad opening of the Welcome on

its western side. The difficulty was this : The deadly enemies and accusers of Middleton had stoutly maintained that there was no such thing in existence as his Frozen Strait, and that it was a chimera invented to discredit the existence of that passage, in which they so fondly believed. Captain Parry, after deep consideration, resolved to prefer the ocular testimony of Middleton to the reasonings of his opponents, and made direct for the Frozen Strait, though at the hazard of a heavy loss of time if it should not exist.

The movement up the channel was slow, still much obstructed, either by fields or floating masses of ice. On the 15th they came to what was apparently the extremity of Southampton Island, separated by a narrow strait from land to the north. On considering all things, it appeared most probable to Captain Parry, that this was the Frozen Strait of which he was in quest. He passed through it, and found himself in an immense and beautiful basin, forming one of the noblest harbours in the world ; but every opening in it was found fast closed by land ; and, on ascending a mountain, no trace appeared of an open sea in any direction. Near its entrance they observed a floe of several miles in extent, remarkable as having its entire surface covered with stones, shells, and plants ; the former of which comprised garnet, quartz, and other beautiful minerals. These abounded as much in the centre as on the sides of the floe,—a phenomenon which Captain Parry endeavours to solve in various modes, none of which are satisfactory to himself. On this and on

every other part of Southampton Island where they landed, traces were found of the natives,—ruined huts, bones, and even fragments of seals' flesh, on which they had been feeding.

The expedition now weighed out of this bay, to which they gave the name of the Duke of York, and soon found themselves in another strait, which bore a much more promising appearance. At first indeed it merited to an alarming degree the epithet of frozen; but a fresh breeze springing up, and opening a passage between the ice and the land, in two or three days they made their way into an open sea bounded by an extensive range of land to the west and north. This to their great satisfaction proved to be the channel of the Welcome. With the exception of some of the latitudes, the whole aspect of the strait itself and the shores around it corresponded very exactly to the much-controverted and censured description of Middleton.

Having attained this leading point in his destination, the first object of Captain Parry was to examine Repulse Bay, in the view to ascertain whether it really was a bay, and did not contain an opening to the westward. Parties sent out in every direction soon established the accuracy of the former distinction, and the general correctness of Middleton's description. In this search they found several Esquimaux villages, one of which, the largest ever yet observed, contained the remains of no less than sixty habitations, with various fragments and implements characteristic of this wandering race. The shores were lofty, and some of



the mountains on the southern side rose 1000 feet high. But the circumstance which most attracted attention, was the extreme variation of the needle, which indicated a very close approach to the magnetic pole. The most valuable instruments operated with extreme sluggishness, and could scarcely be adjusted so as to afford any useful indications.

Having settled the point of Repulse Bay, Captain Parry proceeded onwards to investigate a coast which had been reached by no former navigator. His progress was retarded by the necessity of searching thoroughly every inlet and opening. The first, called Gore Inlet, was not found to reach deep into the land. The expedition was then involved in a labyrinth of isles of various forms and sizes, of which Vansittart Island was the longest. Between these there was found only one practicable passage, called Hurd's Channel. It was so intricate, however, so clogged with ice, and the currents often so strong, that the vessels, sometimes beset and sometimes drifted, spent a number of days in working their way through. Even after it was cleared, a severe gale threw them back on the 3d September to the very point at which they had been on the preceding 6th of August. Captain Parry was deeply mortified to find that he had lost the best of the season in merely verifying the observations of Middleton, against whom he lodges a somewhat heavy complaint for not having observed and described these coasts with greater precision. But the fact is, poor Middleton's accounts were distinct enough, if those at home would

have believed him; and to them were due all the weary toil and valuable time lost to the expedition in retracing his steps.

Captain Parry commenced now for the first time the career of completely original discovery. It was rendered, however, very tedious by the necessity of examining to its head every inlet or opening, any one of which might contain the sought-for passage. His first task was to penetrate through a winding inlet, running very far into the interior, to which he gave the name of his brother officer, Captain Lyon, and through a smaller one, which received that of Lieutenant Hoppner. These were also to be connected with Gore Bay. In the course of this examination there occurred a party of Esquimaux, who showed at first some timidity, but were soon induced to receive the English into their huts, and even, on promise of some iron tools, to repair to the boat. Here a busy traffic soon commenced, which proceeded with great harmony till it was interrupted by a particular incident. One of the ladies, in the course of trade, had parted with one of her boots, but rejected most positively every offer that could be made for the other, as well as every representation of the absurd and ridiculous figure which she thus made. At length suspicion was roused, and with very little gallantry the boot was forcibly taken off. Then, indeed, it proved a depository of hidden treasures, since no less than a pewter vessel and two spoons, stolen by this northern fair one, had been concealed in this capacious receptacle. Another boot, on examination, was found equally well furnished. This detection caused

only laughter on the part of the culprit, but Captain Parry's anger seems to have been somewhat vehemently roused. He not only upbraided the party, and stripped them of the stolen articles, but took away also the presents which he had given in pledge during the period of friendship.

While the expedition was still at the mouth of Lyon Inlet, the season had begun to present an alarming change. The short and faint summer of the arctic regions passes, not by insensible degrees, but abruptly, into the depth of winter. This change takes place, not when the snow begins to fall, for this is an event of every season, but when the earth no longer receives and radiates heat enough to melt that which falls. A coat of unvaried white then covers the ground, and, by preventing all absorption of heat, causes the frigorific process to proceed with the utmost rapidity. In many places, indeed, a small part of the surface of the snow had been dissolved, and then again frozen,—a phenomenon which distinguished this from the more severe climate of Melville Island, where, after the snow had once fallen, the sun's rays had not power to produce the slightest change on its surface. The stones and plants were incrustated with brilliant crystals of transparent ice, whose glittering hues, contrasted with the dead opake white of the surrounding snow, produced a novel and fairy appearance. At the same time the young, or pancake ice, began to form on the surface of the sea. This ice raises at first only a slight obstacle to the movement of a ship, which, favoured by the gale, can force its way through with tolerable speed; but

the impediment always increases, and the varying thickness of the ice causes the ship to roll from side to side, and to be only imperfectly under the control of the helmsman. "A ship in this helpless state, her sails in vain expanded to a favourable breeze, her ordinary resources failing, and suddenly arrested in her course, has often reminded me of Gulliver tied down by the feeble hands of Lilliputians." These difficulties were increased by the occurrence of twelve hours of deep darkness, scarcely illumined in any degree, even by the universal covering of snow. The small pieces of ice which had been floating about were now cemented together, and formed into a large compact body, here called "the ice," whose movements, as carried about by the wind, were a subject of perpetual alarm. At one time the entire body had entered the strait, and was bearing down upon the ships; but happily the wind veered, and it took a different direction. All these features indicated that it was time to look for some secure station in which to spend the long months of the northern winter. They could not, however, make their way to the continent, but were obliged to saw a passage for the ships into the heart of the nearest field of ice. In this operation the pancake ice bent like leather beneath their feet. Several fell in, and had a very cold bath, but they were easily extricated, and they could now walk between the ship and the land.

Being thus fairly shut in for the winter, Captain Parry applied himself with his usual activity to secure the health of the men during their long and dreary imprisonment. In this respect some improvements

had been taught by experience. The warming apparatus, prepared by Mr Sylvester, answered in a very superior manner the purposes both of heating and drying the apartments ; and some mustard and cresses were even raised between decks. As the management of the mind was considered equally important, Captain Parry revived the scheme of dramatic performances, which he considers peculiarly valuable as an antiscorbutic ; for cheerful and lively sensations, which contribute to health in general, act in a peculiar manner as preventives and cures of this dreadful disease, while their contraries always aggravate its malignity. The theatre was arranged in a style of superior elegance, and maintained a temperature at not quite thirty degrees below the freezing-point ; dresses and decorations had been brought out, and the female performers, who had cherished a thick and bushy beard as a protection against the cold, generously reduced their visage to a becoming state of smoothness. On the 21st November the first bill was issued, Captain Parry appearing in the *Rivals* as Sir Anthony Absolute, and Captain Lyon as Captain Absolute. The representations were repeated every fortnight, and appeared to afford the men much amusement ; but Captain Lyon admits that the performers, especially those who appeared dressed in the height of the fashion, suffered intensely from cold, which interrupted considerably even the enjoyment of the audience. A more solid and profitable mental occupation was afforded by a school, which the sailors set on foot for themselves, with the full approbation of their officers, who supplied materials, while teach-

ers were found within their own body. Few were wholly strangers to reading and writing; but many, from long disuse, found it necessary to begin at the first elements. With such ardour did their studies proceed, that Captain Lyon on Christmas-day received sixteen well-written copies from those who, two months before, could scarcely form a letter; and these sturdy tars felt a pride in their attainments like that of little boys at school.

The shortest day passed, without exciting the same deep interest as on Melville Island, where it had formed an era in their winter's calendar. Their wintering was no longer an experiment, and they had the sun three hours above the horizon, whereas at Melville Island, in the same season, deep and perpetual darkness had reigned.

The Aurora, about the period of the new year, shone with peculiar lustre, and presented the most brilliant aspects. For a long period it filled about half the northern sky, downwards from the zenith, but without approaching the horizon, where it seemed to find even a species of repulsion. The movement was in general that of rays streaming from a centre; but there was frequently an undulatory movement between one point and another of the heavens, which was compared to that of a riband held in the hand and shaken. There was also a profusion of those bundles of rays, moving with extraordinary swiftness in every direction, called by the vulgar "merry dancers." The light had always a tendency to form arches, often very striking and beautiful. Its lustre was about that of the moon in her quarters; and to Captain

Parry it appeared to have frequently a yellowish, white, greenish, and even lilac tinge; but Captain Lyon was sensible only of one similar to that of the milky-way, or of a vivid sheet of lightning. It has been said that the stars are seen through it unaltered; but they appeared to our present observers as if a fine gauze veil were drawn over them; the lustre of the Aurora itself, however, was undiminished by the brightest moon. No new light could be thrown on the origin and nature of this very remarkable phenomenon. It often seemed as if nearer than the clouds; yet the fact, that only the outer edges of any cloud were ever illumined by it, seemed to prove the contrary. It evidently, however, was within the region of the atmosphere, since in stormy weather the lights "flew with the rapidity of lightning, and with a corresponding wildness to the gale that was blowing, giving an indescribable air of magic to the whole scene."

During the first part of the winter, the only animated objects observed were those belonging to the lower creation. The most numerous were foxes, of which above a hundred were caught in the course of the season. They were beautiful, of a pure white colour, with woolly hair like that of a little shock-dog. Attempts were made, and with tolerable success, to tame some of them, and though always timid, they were made pets of by the sailors. Being generally fat, their flesh, in the great absence of fresh meat, was often presented at table, and was judged tolerable, somewhat resembling kid. A little animal, whose track was seen for several days about the ships,

was caught, and proved to be a very beautiful ermine. It was exceedingly fierce, yet did not refuse food, and might have been preserved, but was killed by accident. The surface of the sea was covered with myriads of shrimps, which clustered round the ships, and exhibited the most carnivorous propensities. The pieces of meat hung down the sides of the vessel were stripped completely to the bone, and could no longer be exposed in this manner, unless where it was wished to preserve the skeletons of any animals, when the shrimps were employed as their anatomists, and performed the task to admiration.

Another much more memorable occurrence, and of a more striking nature, now diversified their winter-quarters. On the 1st of February a report was made that a number of strange people were coming over the ice from the westward. The glass soon discovered them to be Esquimaux; and at the distance of two miles there appeared some slight prominences resembling huts. The two captains, with an officer from each ship, set out to meet these natives, who, to the number of twenty-five in a line abreast, were advancing slowly towards the ships. On the approach of the English they stood still, retaining their line, and maintaining a quiet and orderly demeanour, very dissimilar to those who had been met at the mouth of the Straits. A traffic was immediately commenced for nails, bits of iron, and beads; in the course of which treaty, as the ladies observed that some rich deer-skins in which they were clothed attracted the eye of the strangers, they



immediately began stripping them from off their persons, to the serious alarm of the English, who, in a temperature fifty degrees below the freezing-point, dreaded the most formidable effects to the fair traffickers, but were relieved by seeing another complete suit below. The English were then invited to the huts, and after stooping through some long narrow passages, found themselves, with great surprise, in a cluster of dome-shaped edifices, entirely composed of snow, which, being yet pure and unsullied, admitted the light in most delicate green and blue tints. They found six huts, each of which was divided into three apartments, occupied by separate families, so that the whole number was between sixty and seventy; of whom fifty most cheerfully accompanied the sailors back to the vessels, where the dispositions of the two parties were soon found altogether to harmonize; and dancing, shouting, screaming, and practical jokes of every kind, soon placed them on the most intimate footing.

A very close and constant intercourse was thus established, and maintained during the present, and with another party during the ensuing winter; and an opportunity was thus given of very closely observing this remarkable race, who present primitive and savage life under a different aspect than it appears in other and more smiling regions.

The stature of the Esquimaux is decidedly small, five feet nine inches being esteemed almost gigantic, while the men come so low as four feet ten inches, and the women as four feet eight inches, without being considered dwarfs. They are, on the whole, to-

lerably well-made, except that, though seldom or never inclined to corpulency, they are universally pot-bellied, and the neck is small and shrivelled. The face, in a great majority of instances, was broad and flat, with a low nose, the upper part of which was often stretched as tight as a drum. This form went sometimes so far, that a ruler could be placed from cheek to cheek of the northern belles, without touching the nose. The eye was small and black, sometimes fine and expressive; but the inner lid pointing downwards, in the Chinese style, gave the face a peculiar expression. Their frame, though inured to hard labour, was not sinewy, and the muscles, even of strong men, were round, and covered with flesh as in women. The skin was smooth, unctuous, and unpleasantly cold to the touch, but extremely tough. They were hardy, and patient of those fatigues to which they were daily inured, though they had never arrived at any insensibility to the extreme rigour of the climate. In a few exercises, as wrestling, which is practised by them from infancy, they are very powerful; but in lifting weights, and even in running and leaping, they were quite overmatched by the English sailors.

The dress of the Esquimaux, unlike the defective covering of other savages, is, through the necessity imposed by the climate, both ample and prepared with considerable care and skill. The chief material consists of the skins of deer, prepared by the females, according to a succession of judicious processes, the skin of the seal being employed only for water-proof boots. The leading articles of attire consist of jacket,

breeches, or short pantaloons, and a large hood, which may be drawn over the whole head. Each of these vestments is double, the interior portion having the hair or fur inside, next the skin, while in the exterior part this side appears outward. They are adorned with borders of white down, or stripes of coloured skins, which make an agreeable contrast with the rich dark colour of the fur. Their boots are most ample, and also double, with soft slippers intervening, and the whole is covered with strong seal-skin shoes. In summer, one pair of boots of seal-skin suffices to equip the lower extremities. The dress of the females is generally the same, though with some minor variations. They attach peculiar value to the breeches, and heard with pity and almost incredulity of their sisters in England being destitute of this valuable and comfortable branch of attire. The hood has a spacious aperture on one side, which serves as a cradle, in which to deposite the infant till it has reached the age of two or three. An apron hangs from the middle half way down to the knee. The boots of the fair Esquimaux are of the most enormous amplitude, resembling great leather sacks, the broadest part of which is at the knee, giving them a most deformed appearance, and causing a serious impediment to walking, which is necessarily performed with the legs spread out and the toes turned inwards, waddling like a Muscovy duck. In summer, a dress of the skins of ducks, with the feathers inwards, is found light and comfortable. A girdle is often worn, adorned with trinkets, chiefly of bone, with various trophies of ani-

imals killed in the chase. Although the skins of the Esquimaux were ten times warmer than the woollen dresses of the English, yet caprice and novelty caused them to give the latter a decided preference, and eagerly seek to possess them.

In the construction of their habitations, the Esquimaux employ still greater ingenuity, and are able, at little cost, to guard against the excessive rigour of the seasons. Snow, the most terrible product of the northern elements, affords the material with which they best defend themselves against this influence. The most commodious winter-houses are constructed altogether of snow. It is formed into blocks about 10 feet long and 4 to 6 inches thick, which, being laid over each other, and made to slope inwards, compose a regular dome, the key-stone of which, formed by a large smooth slab, is laid in such a manner as would satisfy the most regular architect. A window is formed by a broad piece of transparent fresh-water ice, forming part of the roof, and which transmits a most pleasing and tempered light, like that which comes through ground glass. A snow-village presents at first a number of cones, or apparent hillocks, eight or nine feet above the ground; but as snow and drift fill up the vacuities, the surface becomes nearly level, and men and animals walk over it in all directions; but as spring advances, and the thaw begins to melt and soften it, a leg sometimes presses through, and, appearing to the inmates beneath, gives warning of the dissolution of their frail tenement. The entrance to these mansions is by two successive passages, each about sixteen feet long, and

so narrow, that they can only be entered by stooping. These introduce the visitor into a circular dome or lobby, about seven feet square, and from which doors open into two or three apartments, which are occupied by separate families. In each apartment there burns throughout the winter a lamp suspended from the roof, with a wick of dried moss, fed by a piece of whale or seal blubber placed above, and which the heat causes to drip into the vessel. When the wick is lighted through its whole extent of eighteen inches, it affords a most brilliant and beautiful light, without any perceptible smoke or offensive smell. This lamp performs at once the office of cooking and heating the apartment, the temperature of which, in its immediate vicinity, is raised to  $38^{\circ}$ , but close to the wall falls to  $23^{\circ}$ ; and these limits cannot be exceeded without threatening the dissolution of these singular habitations. The deficiency of warmth must be supplied by clothes. As spring advances their mansions begin to melt, and the dripping from the roof causes extreme annoyance. As soon as the first drip is felt, they endeavour to patch up the place with fresh snow; but the increasing heat soon becomes too much for them, and they suffer greatly, and contract severe colds, before the weather becomes so mild as to admit of going under tents. These tents are composed of seal and other skins, dressed in a peculiar manner, so as sometimes to become almost transparent; and they are rudely propped, not by wooden poles, but by the bones of the whale, walrus, and other large animals. In some places these tents, covered externally with snow, are

made to serve also for winter-habitations ; but they are neither so convenient nor wholesome as those of which snow is the sole material. The air in them at the end of winter is described by Mr Edwards as " damp, hot, and beyond measure offensive, with putrid exhalations from the decomposing relics of offals, or other animal matter permitted to remain from year to year undisturbed in these horrible sinks."

Clothing and habitation, in the extreme rigour of this climate, take almost the precedence of food, yet it is obviously indispensable that the latter should follow. This food must be almost entirely animal, as the midsummer vegetation of the frozen regions is too scanty to afford even a vegetable seasoning. Subsistence is thus derived solely from the chase, which renders the life of the Esquimaux a series of perpetual activity and daring adventure. They experience similar difficulty from the scanty supply, not only of iron, but of wood ; so that their weapons must be formed chiefly of bone, a clumsy and intractable material, and difficult to fashion. Their instruments are chiefly spears, of various forms and dimensions ; one for the walrus and whale, a smaller for the seal, a very light one for the deer. Their bows are formed with difficulty, generally of pieces of bone secured together by rivets and tree-nails ; but their chief power is derived from sinewy strings drawn across them. Captain Lyon holds their archery rather light ; but Captain Parry states, that at twenty yards they hit a mark invariably, at thirty they came within a few inches of it, and at forty or forty-five, he thinks they would shoot a fawn standing still. In summer

their principal chase is for the deer, which go in large herds, and are so simple and curious, that it is often enough to walk away from them, and they are sure to follow. The musk-ox is also a frequent prey; and no hesitation is felt even to attack the bear, that grim tyrant of the polar regions. The dogs no sooner see this unwieldy animal, than, giving tongue, they chase, and keep him at bay, till their master comes up, strikes him with his spear, and, leaping from side to side, avoids the furious springs of the wounded animal, till he can again pierce him with his spear or large knife. Not a few, however, bear on their persons the memorials of these desperate encounters. Their hooks and line are imperfect, yet with these and the spear they take the salmon and a few other fish. In winter, when earth and sea present alike a frozen and naked surface, all these resources fail, and they would be exposed to perish, were it not for the huge amphibia, the walrus and the seal, and the necessity under which these animals lie of ascending occasionally to the air for the purpose of respiration. For this necessary object they find or form holes through the ice; which holes the Esquimaux, aided by his dogs, carefully traces. He then gets up a wall of snow as a protection against the wind and drift, beneath the shelter of which he sits sometimes for whole days, till the animal appears, and he rushes on him with his spear.

The Esquimaux possesses an advantage above almost every other savage tribe, in a most useful breed of domestic animals, used not for food, but for the chase, and also conveyance or draught. The Esqui-

maux dogs combine the qualities of the mastiff and the Newfoundland species ; but their most striking resemblance, already remarked by Frobisher, is to the wolf ; and this cannot be wondered at, since, by an anatomical examination, they are found to be no other than domesticated wolves. Nature, with her usual provident care, has protected them most wonderfully against the rigour of the cold, by a soft downy covering formed under the hair at the beginning of winter, and shed at the beginning of summer. They are thus so fortified, that they can lie all night in the open air, with the thermometer 30° degrees below zero, without any seeming inconvenience. Captain Parry allows the Esquimaux little credit for their training ; and yet it appears that women take the puppies into their beds, and feed them from their mouths like children. At two months they begin to be put into the sledges, and to be broken in by frequent and sometimes cruel beatings. From this time indeed they are treated with harshness, and, in the periods of winter scarcity, obtain only a very small portion of food, and become excessively meagre. Three dogs, in good condition, will draw a load of a hundred pounds in six minutes ; and they drove Captain Lyon from ship to ship in perfect safety, amid pitchy darkness and clouds of snow-drift, when he would have been wholly incapable of finding his own way.

From the above statement of the sources whence food is derived, it must be obvious that their supply will at many seasons be precarious ; and it is rendered much more so by their improvidence and un-



restrained indulgence of their appetites, so long as a morsel remains. As soon as tidings reach a village that a walrus has been killed, a general shout of joy arises ; the women run from hut to hut, and hug each other in an ecstasy of delight ; sometimes they are absolutely frantic. The prize being deposited in the apartment of its captor, all the women run to cut out large slices and throw them into one pot, while the blood is poured into another. Every lamp is replenished with oil, and the huts exhibit a blaze of light. The cooking proceeds as fast as possible ; but, in the meantime, delicate morsels of raw flesh or blubber are devoured ; and even the children, getting between the parents' legs, hold up their mouths as in England for a piece of sugar-candy. The dogs rush in and lick the blood ; but when they apply their teeth to any delicate morsel, a blow with the handle of the knife sends them off yelping. As soon as the mess is ready, one takes up a portion, bites off as much as his mouth can possibly contain, and hands it to his next neighbour, who passes it round, till it is finished, and a new piece is supplied. Very little pause intervenes till the whole is consumed. There were good grounds to calculate that each individual must have consumed an average of ten pounds ; but though they were in the utmost distress, and rolling on the ground from excessive repletion, they still held on eating, and thus soon relapsed into extreme want. This devotion to the pleasures of the palate is accompanied with tastes very different from those of the European *bon vivant*. When gingerbread, sweetmeats, and other delicacies, considered likely to

please the savage palate, were tendered to a young Esquimaux, he ate them evidently in mere compliment to the donors, and with pain to himself; but when three pounds of hog's-lard were presented, his eyes sparkled with joy. Every thing was estimated according to its proportion of fat, grease, and oil. The first specimen given of this taste was at the purchase of a lamp from an Esquimaux female, the contents of which, composing nearly an equal proportion of soot and oil, she took care to empty into her stomach; after which she cleaned it thoroughly with her tongue, joining herself in the laugh at her face being thus rendered as black as a coal. Afterwards, when Captain Lyon had a handsome young lady on board, he presented her with a fine moulded candle, six in the pound; when having speedily and with the greatest delight devoured the tallow, she without hesitation undertook the wick; but Captain Lyon, apprehensive of the effect of this substance on her delicate stomach, insisted on pulling it out. Afterwards care was taken to collect the candle-ends and send them to the ladies, who always returned the most hearty thanks. A young Esquimaux being present while Captain L. was washing his hands, was observed to cast many longing glances at a large piece of yellow soap used in that operation; and his meaning being at length comprehended, it was presented to him, and eagerly devoured. This regimen, pursued during seasons of plenty, necessarily induces a very plethoric habit, which, though relieved by copious bleedings at the nose, renders them liable to inflammatory diseases. They were unacquainted with

and did not much relish ardent spirits or fermented liquors ; but cold water they drank in most enormous quantities, sometimes amounting to a gallon at a time. This might be necessary to digest the huge quantities of fat swallowed ; and, from the difficulty of thawing it, was a scarce winter-article.


The *morale* of the Esquimaux seems, on the whole, superior to that of most other tribes in the savage state. Their intercourse presents none of those dreadful scenes of blood, torture, and vengeance, which give so dark a character to the story of the American Indians. The most cordial harmony reigns among the inhabitants of neighbouring huts, and a walrus, or a seal, taken by one, is shared equally among all. This, it is true, is a sort of conventional arrangement, of which each in his turn shares the benefit ; but it could not subsist without a general friendly spirit. This is contrasted indeed by some dark features. Individuals, who, from their situation, are likely to become permanent burdens on the society, experience much neglect even from pretty near relations. They may obtain subsistence amid the general community of food ; but they have little care or tendance. It is considered inevitable that an infant which loses its mother at the breast must perish, and the belief naturally fulfils itself. Their honesty, on the first arrival of the British, was perfectly unimpeachable, and they had not even the idea of receiving any thing without giving an equivalent. This virtue was a good deal sapped by their continued intercourse with Europeans. Several thefts were committed, of which the one most regretted by the sailors was that of

their last roast of beef, as it hung down the ship's side. On these occasions the natives first denied the charge, in a very brazen and positive manner, yet, when detected, they only laughed. Still greater displeasure was felt at their want of gratitude, and the reproach often thrown out, that they had been injured, and even robbed by the Kabloonas, who, on the contrary, had fed them for weeks, and bestowed on them almost daily presents. Perhaps, however, the English had some blame on their side. It might have been better never to allow them to lose the idea of giving somewhat for whatever they received. The system of presents gave them an idea as if it was natural, and they had a right, to get the English goods without equivalent, and each, comparing the donations to himself with those to his neighbour, thought himself aggrieved if they were not at least equal. It is admitted also, though they were great gainers on the whole by the connexion, that some of the early exchanges were very disadvantageous, valuable furs having been given in return for mere trinkets and toys. This circumstance, which should not have been allowed, was afterwards discovered, and probably believed to exist, in a much greater extent than it really did. After all, their thefts bore only a small proportion to their opportunities, and between each other the strictest honesty was always observable.

The females fared better than is usual in savage societies. There was no agricultural labour to devolve upon them. They had merely the usual tasks of their sex in preparing the clothes with some skill, cutting up and half-dressing the victuals, and keep-

ing the house in very bad order. They stood nearly equal in the scale of society; and there seemed no want of conjugal affection, as young couples were often seen for a considerable time rubbing noses, which is the most decided proof of tenderness an Esquimaux can give. Yet they are much deficient in their ideas of female purity, and occasional breaches of conjugal fidelity are little regarded, even by the husband. They are an excessively merry and thoughtless race, and, even on the brink of famine, always ready to engage in their favourite dance, which consists in a few violent mechanical movements; in the song, consisting in some monotonous tones; and occasionally in other orgies, where decorum is not much regarded. Yet there is a great deal of propriety in their general outward deportment, and considerable care to conceal any irregularities into which they may have been betrayed.

The intellectual faculties of the Esquimaux fail not to obtain some development, amid a life of contrivance and adventure, and in the course of the extensive migrations which they undertake along the whole coast from Wager Inlet to the northern extremity of America; avoiding, however, Southampton Island, as being inhabited by a comparatively rude and barbarous race. The extent of their local knowledge was proved by the charts, which, after a little training, were furnished by "a wise woman," named Iligluick, who really surpassed in intelligence the rest of her sex. In consequence, however, of the attentions bestowed upon her, she soon showed that she inherited fully the frailty of our common nature, by



becoming completely spoiled, and behaving in so haughty and disdainful a manner, that nothing more could be made of her.

The Esquimaux, amid these attainments, have scarcely arrived at the power of forming any abstract ideas. They have reached the number *ten* by means of their fingers; but it is not without the utmost difficulty that they can mount to fifteen. Their religious opinions are not considered by Captain Parry as deserving the name; yet, perhaps, they may rank with the popular creed of the most learned ancient nations, unenlightened by revelation. The greatest power is in the hands of a female deity, called the Tornga, or the Aywillaiyoo, who is believed to have supreme rule over all animals, bestowing or withholding them at pleasure. She has also a boundless command over the lives and destinies of mankind, especially of women, rewarding the good and punishing the bad. Even in this simple society, there are persons who, by uncouth and fantastic rites, seek to attain the importance attached to communication and influence with superior beings. The chief magician was Toolemak, who boasted the power either to evoke Aywillaiyoo, or, by descending to her subterraneous abode, to obtain from her the desired boons,—a successful pursuit of the seal, the walrus, or the deer. Captain Lyon was favoured by being present at one of these exhibitions of magic influence. Women and even boys being excluded, and the party arranged, the Esquimaux began raising the cry, ‘Ali-ani-ani,’ which was meant to charm the Annatko. “At every cry a wick was put out, till

the hut being nearly darkened, Toolemak, in a loud voice, began calling 'Tornga! Tornga! Pamiooli! Pamiooli! ya whoi! hooi! hooi!' by which time one solitary wick alone remained. The old woman began singing, and an indescribable screaming continued for some little time, until we were informed that Tornga refused to answer while any light remained. This was as I expected, and we were in instant darkness. Toolemak now set out to bring the enchantress. A low bass voice, which those who sat near me said was that of Tornga, soon chanted the same tune which I had heard on a former occasion. I found that the words were unintelligible, even to the natives. The song being finished, a variety of questions were asked by the Esquimaux in a hurried and lively manner, to which the spirit answered with great gravity. To the questions relative to the chase the replies were not very explicit, as it is the policy of the Annatko to leave a salvo for himself, which ever way the predictions may be fulfilled; and Aywillaiyoo sung in so strange a manner as to cause some little difficulty in the interpretation of her responses. Cries of more variety than I can pretend to describe, and the impatient screams and questions of the men, with the loud monotonous song of the old woman, continued for about half an hour; the solitary and powerful chant of the spirit was again heard, and she retreated as before. Toolemak, with shouts and strange noises, soon joined us, and his return to the world was hailed with great delight." Soon after, however, the conjurer being on a visit at the ship, was supplied with nine glasses of "hot water," as he

called it, when, being completely tipsy, he began his exorcisms ; in the course of which he allowed all the mysteries of his art to escape. It then appeared that his voice, variously modified by the application of his hand or jacket to the mouth, was converted into that of Pámiooli, or the Tornnga, and made a sound as if advancing or retiring. Their belief in spirits was curiously illustrated in the case of a native whom they called Old Kettle, and who being seated in a somewhat dark cabin, with a plentiful meal before him, was in evident distress, scarcely touching the food. On being questioned as to the motive of such an unprecedented line of conduct, he stated that a spirit was sitting opposite to him ; and as his distress continued unabated, he obtained permission to drive it away. For this purpose he began to bellow like a bull, so as to make the whole ship ring ; then, with collected breath, blew on the tips of his fingers ; before which blast the spirit fled, and he began eating heartily.

The Esquimaux are not an exception to the universal belief of a future state, the idea of which is mingled, as usual, with sensible images and objects. The souls enter first a species of purgatory, a dreary comfortless region below ground, beyond which bad souls never penetrate ; but the good pass through a second and third, which always improve till they come to the fourth, or the good land. Here the sun never sets ; ice and snow are unknown, the ground is always green, and the souls dwell in tents by the side of large lakes, where the whale is always within



reach of the harpoon, and the deer of the arrow; thus life is a perpetual feast.

It is now time to return to the progress of the expedition. Captains Parry and Lyon spent the winter in anxious calculation of the probabilities of success in the following summer. The latter in March undertook a land-journey across Winter Island; but being overtaken by a most tremendous snow-drift, he and the rest of the party spent the night in a hole dug in the earth, which, by the aid of smoke, was with difficulty raised to twelve degrees below the freezing-point. Next day they groped their way back through the continued tempest, and were on the point of perishing, when they happily and unexpectedly lighted on the path leading to the ships.

On observing the extent of the geographical science possessed by Iligliuk, the English endeavoured to render it available for their purpose. They laid before that lady several sheets of paper, on which was a rude delineation of the coast known both to her and them, and, putting the pencil in her hand, invited her to continue the delineation. She began, but as she evidently paid little attention to the direction of the coast, care was taken to instruct her in this point by making her repeatedly box the compass. She then drew a long extent of coast stretching to the north, when her pencil began to take a direction to the west. The English watched now her progress with breathless anxiety, when they saw it continue still westward, till it began to turn to the south, delineating a shore which must face the west and the Polar basin. This

delineation accorded with their utmost wishes, and caused them to look forward with the most sanguine hope to the period when an open sea would enable them to verify this delineation.

Under these circumstances, it was a matter of deep disappointment when the month of May closed without any appearance of summer, such as had been seen in the northerly climate of Melville Island. Vegetation was but making its first infant efforts, and only a few dark patches diversified the unvaried covering of snow. They were tantalized by the view of an open sea without, while on every side the ships were enclosed with a mass of unbroken ice, more than a mile in extent. At length Captain Parry formed the hardy resolution of sawing through it; and the seamen with the utmost alacrity undertook this arduous labour. It was severe, not only as respected the sawing of the ice, but afterwards the removing it, as the sludge or saw-dust, as the sailors called it, soon cemented, and acted like oil between two plates of glass in keeping the sides united. At length, on the 18th June, they had just brought the passage to its completion, when a movement took place among the ice, which closed it up entirely. A new rent was, however, made in another place, which they endeavoured to make practicable, but it closed also, and they were almost in despair, when the whole mass, loosened by these operations, floated out to sea, and a passage lay open for them as soon as the wind should permit.

It was on the morning of the 2d July, after being nine months imprisoned in ice, that the expedition set sail in search of the strait which was to lead them in-

to the grand basin of the Polar ocean. They had a very favourable run, and next day found themselves at an island called by the natives Owlitteeweck, and said to form a considerable advance towards their destination. Some of their Esquimaux acquaintances there were vastly surprised to find that they had made as much progress in one day as had cost to themselves forty. They proceeded along an extended coast, leading northwards; but the formidable masses of ice, which, even at this Polar midsummer, were tossing about in every direction, exposed the ships to considerable peril. "Along the great icy field, which extended close to the coast, a large body of drift-ice was trailing. Of this a very heavy and extensive floe took the Hecla on her broadside, and being backed by another large body, lifted her stern as by the action of a wedge. The pressure must have been fatal to any less strengthened vessel, and would have proved so even now, had another floe backed the one which was lifting them up; but, happily, that on which they were borne burst upwards, and the ship righted, but was carried by the drift several miles south." The Fury, mean time, sustained several very violent pressures. At length a heavy floe, several miles in length, came driving fast upon her, giving reason to apprehend some fatal catastrophe. "In a few minutes it came in contact, at the rate of a mile and half an hour, with the point of the land-ice left the preceding night by its own separation, breaking it up with a tremendous crash, and forming numberless immense masses, perhaps many tons in weight, to the height of fifty or sixty feet, from

whence they again rolled down on the inner inland side, and were quickly succeeded by a fresh supply. While we were obliged to be quiet spectators of this grand but terrific sight, being within five or six hundred yards of the point, the danger to us was twofold; first, lest the floe should now swing in, and serve us much in the same manner; and, secondly, lest its pressure should detach the land-ice to which we were secured, and thus set us adrift, and at the mercy of the tides." Happily, however, neither of these alternatives occurred, and being speedily rejoined by the *Hecla*, Captain Parry proceeded with fairer prospects. The ground was now in a great measure clear of snow, torrents were dashing from the hills, and an agreeable verdure began to diversify many parts of the scenery. On the 13th they looked up a broad river called the Barrow, where they found a most magnificent waterfall descending amid finely-broken rocks, about ninety feet perpendicular. It was enlivened even by a rich vegetation, which delighted their eyes, so long accustomed to the dreariness of these frozen regions. Next day they came to Amittioke, which indicated a close approach to the expected strait; and near which those huge amphibia, the walruses, were seen in extraordinary numbers. In one place three hundred lay together, piled over each other in heaps of twenty or thirty. They showed very little discomposure, and even offered battle, the issue of which was, that three were killed, and their flesh found a very tolerable substitute for fresh beef.

On the 16th, after an unobstructed run, a great extent of high land came in sight, to the north and

eastward, which appeared to be that delineated in the Esquimaux charts as Keiyuk Tarruoke, and between which and the land the promised strait ought to be. The English pushed on, full of hope ; but deep was their disappointment, on reaching the entrance, to find it crossed by a complete and unbroken sheet of ice, and that not common ice, but a floe so level and continuous that a single glance showed it to have been formed during the winter, and still firmly attached to the land on each side. They were now near an inhabited island, to which the name of Igloodik being attached, confirmed that this was the real strait.

Captain Parry spent nearly a month with little effect in endeavouring to work forward the ships against this formidable obstacle. He sent at the same time several land-parties in different directions, and at length determined to undertake an expedition over the ice across the strait, in order to discover what might be beyond. The party, consisting of six, travelled on foot, with a plank for crossing the pools and holes. Their march was pretty hard from the ruggedness of the surface and the frequent occurrence of open water, which they were sometimes obliged to cross on pieces of ice instead of boats. In four days they arrived at the narrowest point of the strait, about two miles across, and with a current of two knots an hour setting through to the eastward. " Beyond us, to the west, the shores again separated to the distance of several leagues ; and for more than three points of the compass in that direction no land could be seen to the utmost limits of a clear horizon, except one island six or seven miles distant. Over

this we could not entertain a doubt of having discovered the Polar Sea ; and, loaded as it was with ice, we could not but entertain sanguine hopes of forcing our way through it along the northern shores of America."

Captain Parry gave to this strait the name of the Fury and Hecla, and raised a pile of stones upon the promontory. He then made his way back to the ships.

He arrived in a critical and even auspicious moment. The great opposing floe, which had been exhibiting an always increasing number of cracks and holes, now broke up, and floated away to the eastward. The English immediately put the ships in motion, and began to push forward with such vigour, that, in spite of numerous obstacles, they in six days reached the narrowest part of the strait, which extended for three miles ; after which, the shores, opening on both sides, appeared to present to them a full entrance into the Polar Sea. Just, however, as they were in the height of the most sanguine expectations, it was announced from the crow's-nest, that another barrier of fixed ice stretched completely across the strait, still occupying its winter-station. So soft and decayed indeed was the floe, that the ships forced their way three or four hundred yards into it, but could proceed no farther, and found their progress opposed by a barrier of the same continuous, impenetrable, and hopeless nature as at first.

The rest of the season was spent in vain attempts. In despair of the main passage, Captain Parry explored another channel, but found it to be merely

that of a deep inlet. Lieutenants Reid and Bushnan were sent on an expedition to the westward; and, having reached the top of a hill, ascertained fully the opening of the strait into the Polar Sea, but could discover no symptom of any disruption of the ice. At length frost began to resume its empire, and to reconnect by numberless links the older masses, on whose separation their hopes had been founded. The deer were seen travelling over the snow to the southward, and the ice was rapidly forming around the ships. There remained only the alternative of wintering in the middle of the strait, or of returning to take their winter-station at Igloolik; which last, after some deliberation, was judged to be the safest and most expedient course.

The winter was spent in every respect as before, in daily communication with another tribe of Esquimaux, who were acquainted with and every way resembled those at Winter Island. The spring was still more rigorous; and it was the 6th of August, 1823, ere, by sawing through a mile of ice with great danger, they could make their way into open water. There was little prospect of doing much in this short summer, and the expedition was not furnished with full provisions for another winter. In this crisis, Captain Parry, deeply reluctant to return with so unsatisfactory a result, had matured a very bold plan. The *Hecla* was to have been sent home, the greater part of the stores put on board the *Fury*, with which Captain Parry was to have adventured another winter, and taken the chance of what he might effect in this and the following summer. These arrangements

had actually been prepared, when a sudden notice arrested this adventurous navigator in his too daring project. The scurvy, of which some serious symptoms had been showing themselves from time to time during the winter, broke out with a violence hitherto unprecedented. The medical men reported their opinion, that a third dreary winter, in which they should be cooped up on shipboard amid the privations of the arctic zone, could not pass without the most hazardous consequences to the health of the crews. It would be rendered more serious by the increased labour and danger to which one ship would be exposed, and the privation of many salutary occupations, mental and corporeal, attending their combination. This advice was supported by the general opinion of the officers, and Captain Parry at length felt no alternative left but to make for England with all speed. In proceeding down the Fox Channel, both ships were entangled in the ice, and drifted about with it for twenty-four successive days, and they began to dread that it would be their lot to spend another winter under this frozen sky. On the 17th September, however, a westerly breeze carried them into an open sea; they were now finally extricated from the ice, and passed even the straits without any serious obstruction. Shaping their course across the Atlantic, they arrived on the 10th of October in Bressay Sound, Shetland. They were received, after this long absence, as half risen from the dead,—the bells of Lerwick were rung,—the inhabitants flocked from every quarter,—and joy was expressed as if each individual had a brother or a son



in the expedition. On the 12th they attended divine service, when the Rev. Mr Menzies offered up a solemn thanksgiving for their safe return, calling upon them with earnestness never to forget Him to whom they owed their safety. They set sail on the 13th, and about the 18th entered the Thames.

The result of this expedition was quite decisive as to the hope of any regular passage being found by any of the channels in the northern part of Hudson's Bay. The constant and strong current setting in from the westward, through the strait of the Fury and Hecla, must always bring such masses of ice closely following each other as would, it was evident, render it for ever impracticable. This current even penetrated into the Fox Channel, by which the strait must be reached, and by bringing the ice along with it into that channel, must always render the navigation of it extremely dangerous. The very existence, however, of this current argued that of a great and open sea to the westward, and, combining the observations of Cook, of Hearne, of Mackenzie, and those recently made by Captain Franklin, which for the present we hold in reserve, it could scarcely be questioned that this sea reached to Behring's Strait; from which probably the current derived its origin. If then by any channel a ship could get into the open sea, and find itself sailing along the coast of America, the chance would be very fair of its effecting this long-sought and almost unhoped-for passage. To this object all concerned in the question now began to apply their minds. There occurred, in reference to it,

Regent Inlet, which Captain Parry had passed with very transient notice, and which had appeared to him of extremely slender promise. Experience, however, had shown that there was nothing which could be considered as fixed in the character and state of the arctic seas, and that one favourable moment might burst the most firm and apparently impenetrable barrier. That inlet, stretching south from Barrow's Strait, promised to lead directly into the great open sea of which the existence had been ascertained; and if, as appearance promised, it should have an opening to the southward, it might escape the influence of the great western current, which blocked up continually the strait of the Fury and Hecla. Under these impressions, Captain Parry was fitted out for a third voyage; in the early part of which he was to follow his original direction. He had now for his companion in the Hecla, Captain, formerly Lieutenant, Hoppner, as Captain Lyon was sent to Hudson's Bay on another mission, the fortunes of which we shall afterwards trace.

Captain Parry set sail from North Fleet on the 18th May, 1824, and in the middle of June had made his entry into Davis's Straits. Here, however, in the very threshold of his undertaking, he met with a most unexpected and vexatious delay. The season happened to be so peculiarly rigorous, that the maximum heat, which in the year before and the year after was  $55^{\circ}$  and  $51^{\circ}$ , was in this year only  $36^{\circ} 5$ . Hence the barrier of ice usually formed in the middle of Baffin's Bay remained immoveable; and in attempting to penetrate it the ships were repeatedly

beset and severely strained. In order to get round this barrier they were obliged to go as high as 74°; and the 9th of September, being nearly the close of the season, had arrived before they had succeeded in reaching its termination.

After the vessels had fairly turned this barrier, they were no longer incommoded by ice, and, crowding a press of canvass, they approached Lancaster Sound, and caught a glimpse of the high bold land on the north side of that magnificent inlet. The entrance was entirely free from ice, except here and there a *berg* floating about in solitary grandeur. Fresh obstacles, however, occurred, and it was the 26th before they found themselves in good earnest at the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet. They forced their way, with a heavy press of canvass, through many miles of tough young ice, when they found themselves along shore with perfectly clear water. Assisted by a fine breeze, they found themselves on the 27th at the entrance of Port Bowen, which, being known already as a safe harbour, was fixed upon as their watering-place. The chance of making a few miles farther was no sufficient motive to expose the ships to the imminent danger of being shut out from a winter-harbour, or even of being caught by the ice and drifted back to the eastward.

The navigators had now braved too many winters to find any thing very formidable in the prospect of spending another within the precincts of the frozen zone. By constant improvements they had overcome every danger and almost every annoyance which the utmost extremity of cold could occasion. By proper

clothing, especially of fur next the skin, which was found much more effective than double the quantity of woollens, they could be rendered nearly weather-proof; and a complete and uniform warmth of from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $63^{\circ}$  was maintained in the officers' cabins. The sensations, however, arising from the dreary uniformity of the scene were in no degree abated. "Winter after winter nature here assumes an aspect so much alike, that cursory observation can scarcely detect a single feature of variety. When once the earth is covered, all is dreary monotonous whiteness, not merely for days and weeks, but for more than half a year together. Whichever way the eye is turned it meets a picture calculated to impress upon the mind an idea of inanimate stillness, of that motionless torpor with which our feelings have nothing congenial. In the very silence there is a deadness with which a human spectator appears '*out of keeping*.' The presence of man seems an intrusion on the dreary solitude of this wintry desert, which even its native animals have for a while forsaken." It was therefore as necessary as ever to apply some stimulus to the mind of the sailors; and as plays had now palled by repetition, Captain Hoppner started the idea of masquerades, which seems less, if possible, in unison with the place and scene; but it was caught at with pleasure; the sailors entered into the spirit of it, and in their monthly entertainments of this nature much harmless humour is said to have been displayed. A more profitable and even seemingly a more effective influence was exercised by the schools,

which were again set on foot, and which nearly the whole crew attended either as scholars or spectators.

The spring was more favourable than they had found it in Hudson's Bay. On the 19th July, 1825, the floe which extended across the harbour separated, and by a very short sawing-process they were enabled in the morning of the 20th to warp out to sea. They now stood across the Inlet, and passed the most southerly of the Leopold Islands, which presented a very striking and magnificent aspect. Numerous strata of limestone, horizontally disposed, rose often to the perpendicular height of six or seven hundred feet, and resembled the walls and buttresses of some huge and impregnable fortress.

The vessels touched the continent near Cape Sepings, and thence proceeded down the strait. They met with considerable obstacles, and, by a singular anomaly, made more way with a contrary than with a fair wind. The north wind, which was fair, strengthened the ice, and brought down fresh masses, which the south wind opened and repelled. A considerable way had thus been made, when on the 30th a hard gale, blowing from the northward, brought in the ice closer and closer. Both ships received a severe squeeze, and the Fury was even forced ashore. She was extricated, however, without having sustained any very serious damage, and the two ships' heads had been again put in the right way, when on the 1st August the whole body of ice came in upon them; and the Fury was seen hard squeezed between a large floe and a mass of grounded ice on the beach:

Presently notice was sent that she had got a most serious "nip," and was taking in water. However, about the time of high water the ice slackened, the *Fury* came off the ground, and Captain Parry hoped that she had merely got a twist, and that when afloat and relieved from pressure, her leaks would be closed. It was most mortifying, therefore, to learn that she was now kept above water only by the action of four pumps, requiring the continued and exhausting exertions of both officers and men. The more strict the investigation, the more unfavourable was now the report of her condition, till they arrived at the sad conclusion, that the *Fury* could be made fit for sea only by heaving her down; and there was no harbour in which to perform that formidable operation. However, heaved down she must be; and by enclosing with anchors and bower-cables a space between the grounded ice and the shore, they succeeded in forming something, which had at least the appearance of a harbour. They began with the utmost diligence to unload her of the stores; but so ample were these, that several days were consumed in this task. Preparations were then made for heaving her down; but these were interrupted by a severe snow-storm and by movements of the external ice; and by this time the slender barriers, both natural and artificial, by which their harbour was secured, had in a great measure given way, and there was no situation left in which the contemplated operation could be accomplished with any safety. In this attempt, meantime, the vessel was again involved among ice, and her condition becoming always worse and worse, "her

holds full of water, and the damage of her hull, to all appearance and in all probability, more considerable than before, without any adequate means of hauling her off to seaward, or securing her from the further incursions of the ice," Captain Parry became convinced that "every endeavour of ours to get her off, or, if got off, to float her to any known place of safety, would be at once utterly hopeless in itself, and productive of extreme risk to our remaining ship." Not wishing, however, to rest so momentous a conclusion upon his own judgment only, he merely, without expressing any opinion of his own, asked Captain Hoppner, two lieutenants, and the carpenter, to make a survey of the *Fury*, and report upon her case. After strict examination, these officers reported, "that an absolute necessity existed for abandoning the *Fury*." Captain Parry's judgment being thus confirmed, he made immediate signals for the officers and men of this ship to carry their clothes on board of the *Hecla*. As there was not room both for men and stores, most of the latter were of necessity left either on shore or in the vessel.

This first disaster of the ships engaged in the career of north-western discovery gives Captain Parry occasion to make some serious reflections. The safety with which they had passed through so many vicissitudes had generated, both at home, and even somewhat, he says, among the officers themselves, an impression as if these vessels were invulnerable, and capable of standing any possible pressure to which they could be subjected. It now appeared too clearly, "that a ship, like every other work of man, sinks and must ever

sink into insignificance, when viewed in comparison with the stupendous scale on which Nature's works are framed and her operations performed; and a vessel, of whatever magnitude and whatever strength, is little better than a nutshell, when obliged to withstand the pressure of an unyielding ground on one side, and a moving body of ice on the other." One great cause of the disastrous action of the ice seems to have been the mildness of the season, causing it to break up into small fragments, which are in constant agitation, while in severer seasons it remains fixed in large floes or fields.

After so dreadful a disaster, every idea of prosecuting farther the objects of the voyage was of necessity abandoned; and it being now the end of August, there was just time to regain their native coast before winter. They had a favourable passage through Barrow's Strait into Baffin's Bay, which they found, as compared with its condition when they entered it, remarkably free from ice. After an easy passage across the Atlantic, they made their way round the northern border of the Orkney Islands to Peterhead, and thence to the Thames.



## CHAPTER V.

## ARCTIC LAND-EXPEDITIONS.

*Plan of penetrating by Land to the Arctic Sea.—Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson.—They reach the Arctic Sea.—Voyage along its Coast.—Disastrous Return.—Second Expedition.—Arrival at the Mouth of the Mackenzie River.—Voyage of Captain Franklin.—Of Dr Richardson.—Return.—Captain Lyon's unsuccessful Attempt to penetrate across Repulse Bay.*

WHILE efforts thus energetic and daring were made to penetrate by sea along the northern boundary of America, other plans occurred, by which its discovery might be effected with still greater certainty, and navigation might thus be ultimately promoted. The expeditions of Hearne and Mackenzie had proved, what that of Captain Parry had fully confirmed, that there was a northern coast, probably of great extent, and very probably forming a continuous boundary to the continent; and they had proved also the possibility of reaching this coast by a long land-route over the vast frozen plains that stretch northward from Canada and Hudson's Bay. An expedition, duly

fitted out and provided, *must* then reach this arctic shore, and might explore its whole extent. It would then, in a great degree, have fulfilled the object contemplated, and might pave the way for a more successful maritime career than could be accomplished without this knowledge. The command of the expedition was assigned to Lieutenant Franklin, accompanied by Dr Richardson, who was to employ his scientific knowledge, particularly in exploring the mineral structure of the newly-discovered regions.

The expedition sailed from England on the 23d May, 1820, arrived at York Fort, in Hudson's Bay, on the 30th August, but could not set out on their journey till the 9th September. They judiciously chose, not the most direct line, but that which was best known from being the beaten track of the fur-traders. They had first to ascend Hill River, so named from numerous eminences on its banks; one of which, rising to 600 feet, presented a view of thirty-six lakes. They had a laborious course, being often obliged to drag the boats by ropes, and to carry the goods across several portages. After reaching the head of Hill River, they embarked on the Echimamys, which conveyed them down to Lake Winnipeg, where, after a short halt at Norway-House, they ascended the Saskatchewan to Cumberland-House on Pine Island Lake. Cumberland-House is merely a cluster of log-huts, surrounded by stockades, with windows of parchment instead of glass. There are about sixty men belonging to the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies who depend chiefly for food

on the hunting of the Cree Indians,—a precarious supply, which Williams the governor was endeavouring to improve by planting grain and pot-herbs and rearing domestic animals ; all which he hoped to effect. These Indians, by the French called Knistenaux, are now reduced to the number of five hundred, scattered over an extent of twenty thousand square miles. They are no longer that fierce and warlike race who once spread terror over all this part of the continent. European protection has put an end to the wars waged among themselves ; but, at the same time, it has inspired them with a passion for that liquid poison which the traders give in exchange for furs, and which keeps them in a perpetual state of squalid poverty. They continue, however, remarkably honest. In autumn the traders advance to them all the implements of their chase, in the confidence of its products being brought for sale, which is seldom disappointed, and only under the irresistible temptation of rum. They retain also the generosity of the savage character, each hunter sharing food while he has it with the rest of the encampment ; and while he has rum, allowing to them as ample means of intoxication as himself. He assumes indeed a great air of superiority, and in general makes enormous boasts, partly, it is supposed, with the view of terrifying any who might be disposed to meditate an aggression. The female part of the society did not appear to be treated with such severity as among the Indians observed by Hearne. They are not indeed allowed to eat with their lords ; but their work is chiefly that which falls naturally to the lot of

their sex,—cooking, preparing the hut, dressing skins, &c. Their conduct is not quite so exemplary as might be desired; they are not only very unguarded before marriage, but subject to matrimonial slips, which excite often severe though not deadly acts of revenge on the part of the husband. That the ladies had not been much improved by their European acquaintance was especially inferred from the numerous race of half-breeds, who combined the bad qualities of both the races from which they sprung. Wives are often also subjected to sale, being put up at various rates according to their qualities, but scarcely ever equalling that of a team of dogs. These Indians have gods, whom they call Waesackootchacht and Kepoochikawn, and to whom they ascribe various adventures. Their mythology is on the whole wonderfully complicated; but their chief act of worship is stewing themselves half an hour in a hot vapour-bath. There are several conjurers laying claim to supernatural power, which they prove by allowing themselves to be tied hand and foot, and then breaking loose by an alleged superhuman energy. One of them, on promise of a handsome great-coat, undertook to make a display of his powers before the English. A conjuring-house was constructed, by fixing in the ground four willows, joining their tops, and covering the whole with a moose-skin. The worker of wonders was then fast tied, and placed under this covert, while the Europeans and Indians formed a ring round him, to view his miraculous liberation. He began chaunting a monotonous

hymn, which continued for about half an hour, when the conjuring-house began to shake violently, and the Indians called out that the devils were now at work; but, notwithstanding the most violent agitation which the conjurer kept up for a long time, his release was not effected. The truth is, he had calculated on being tied by an Indian knot, which could be shaken loose without the exercise of any miraculous energy; whereas the task had been intrusted to a British tar, who made a point of showing himself no novice in the business. After exhausting himself in vain efforts, the hapless conjurer gave in,—cried for help,—and, on being set loose, fled at full speed from Cumberland-House, covered with confusion.

The frost had now set in so intensely that all idea of reaching the polar sea this season was out of the question. Mr Franklin, however, with the view of being nearer the coast, and collecting information respecting it, pushed on to Carlton-House, on the Athapescow; or, as he calls it, Athabasca Lake. He left behind, however, the stores and materials of the boats under the charge of Dr Richardson and Lieutenant Hood, and set out himself with all the equipments of an Arctic journey,—the snow-shoe, so skilfully contrived, that European art has been unable to improve it,—the dog-sledge made of thin wooden boards,—the capot, or great-coat, with hood going under the fur-cap,—the leathern trowsers,—and a blanket over all. Three dogs drew a weight of 300 pounds, but did not travel more than fifteen miles a-day,

Carlton-House is a mere provision-post, without any advantage for the trade in furs. The Stone Indians, who occupy this neighbourhood, are a handsome, rather tall race, with a light copper complexion and a profusion of black hair. They have a prepossessing appearance, large and expressive eyes, a bold forehead, and somewhat high cheek-bones. They do not, however, correspond with the Crees, either in docility or honesty. They have adopted a creed, according to which all animals were created for the common behoof of mankind; each man is therefore at full liberty to appropriate all which he can use or obtain. This does not rest a mere speculative belief; and should any one thwart them in its practical application, they do not hesitate to enforce their doctrine by shooting him through the body. The colonists are apt to take a different view of the subject; which variation of sentiment renders it unsafe for them to go out unless well armed and in parties. These Indians take the buffalo also in what they call a pound,—a space of a hundred yards diameter, enclosed by stakes, into which the animals are terrified by loud shouts and the firing of guns. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this race is peculiarly subject to goitres, that scourge of the Alpine regions: this cannot arise from snow-water; for the hunters, who for months in the winter drink nothing else, recover under this regimen; while, on returning to the fort and drinking the rivulets which flow into the lake, they suffer a speedy relapse. These facts seem to favour the hypothesis, which ascribes the disease to calcareous impregnations, which really

are here prevalent, especially those formed by a species of magnesian limestone.

Early in spring 1821, Captain Franklin began to move, and on the 26th March reached Fort Chepewyan, at the opposite extremity of the Athabasca Lake. This is a considerable establishment on a rocky point in the lake, with a watch-tower. Those stationed there during summer depend for food entirely upon the fishing; but in June the snow melts, the country appears well-wooded, and is covered in a few days with a brilliant vegetation. It draws furs from about two hundred and forty Chepewyan Indians,—a race with broad faces, projecting cheek-bones, and wide nostrils; determined incorrigible beggars, yet tolerably honest, and so imbued with national pride that, while they give to other nations their proper appellations, they call themselves, by way of eminence, “the people.”

At Fort Chepewyan, the whole expedition were collected, and set forth on their purpose of discovery. After travelling the shores of Great Slave Lake, they reached, on the 1st September, a spot on Point Lake, which they called Fort Enterprise. Here the surrounding country had quite a Lapland aspect, and was entirely covered with herds of rein-deer. The Copper Indians, who occupy this neighbourhood, generally resemble the Chepewyans, but are accounted more amiable, and show often great kindness of disposition. On the 14th June the party left Fort Enterprise, and passed over a number of frozen lakes, where, however, the ice being broken in many places, rendered their path dangerous, and sometimes took them up to the waist. On the 1st July, how-

ever, they embarked on the Coppermine River, and had then a course clear before them. But the channel was not wholly clear of ice, and they were involved for three miles in a succession of rapids, where the boats were obliged to shoot through large stones, a collision with one of which would have destroyed them. At length the approach to the sea was indicated by the appearance of small parties of Esquimaux; whereupon the Coppermine Indians, who had been engaged as guides, determined not to expose themselves to contact with that people, of whose ferocity they gave the most dreadful reports, and between whom and their nation there reigns in fact a rooted enmity. No entreaty or remonstrance could dissuade them from their resolution; and the English were thus deprived of their services as hunters, on which they had mainly relied for a regular supply of provisions.

On the 21st July, after a journey of 334 miles from Fort Enterprise, Mr Franklin and his companions had the satisfaction of embarking on the Arctic Ocean, and commencing their career of discovery. For four days the coast stretched almost due east; and, notwithstanding impediments of winds, ice, and tides, they made a course of four degrees of longitude. The shore, at first well covered with vegetation, presented afterwards the most sterile and inhospitable aspect, and consisted only of a series of trap-rocks, which covered with their *debris* all the intervening valleys. There was an open channel immediately along the coast, but without were crowded ranges of rocky and barren islands, on whose



shore rose high cliffs of a columnar structure. To successive groups of these islands Mr Franklin gave the names of Couper Berens, (Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company,) Sir Graham Moore, Vice-Admiral Lawford, Sir Everard Home, Professor Jameson. A considerable quantity of drift-wood, of which no trace had appeared in the Coppermine River, but which was known to be brought down by the Mackenzie, formed an important indication of a current and open sea to the westward.

On the 25th, the boats were involved in a very thick fog, and the sea was encumbered with large masses of drift-ice, through which it was extremely difficult, amid the darkness, to shape their way. The coast, composed of craggy granite cliffs, allowed no landing, and rendered their situation singularly dreary, desolate, and perilous. The fog, clearing partially on the 25th, showed a bold cape which they had just doubled, and to which they gave the name of Mr Barrow. They then penetrated through a narrow and ice-entangled channel, between what they supposed to be an island and the main; but after they had passed it, both sides proved to have been continent, and they were in a close bay or harbour. The same wind, too, which had blown them in, made it impossible to get out, and here they were kept enclosed for some days, while there was a fair wind in the open sea. They called this Detention Harbour, and it is a good one, situated in latitude  $67^{\circ} 53'$  N. longitude,  $110^{\circ} 41'$  W.

The party remained in this tantalizing position till the 29th July, when, by favour of a land-breeze,

they got themselves out. They then rounded what they called Cape Kater, and entered a deep gulf, to which they gave the name of Arctic Sound. They found themselves now at the mouth of a river; and as their provisions were becoming spoiled, and, moreover, scanty, a party was despatched upwards, to open, if possible, a communication with some Esquimaux hunters. No Esquimaux were found; but they caught two deer and a brown bear; the paws of which were boiled by the officers, and found excellent food.

The expedition now proceeded along the eastern shore of Arctic Sound, to which they gave the name of Banks's Peninsula; and after sounding Point Woollaston, they found themselves in another large opening. Unable to determine whether it was a bay or a channel between islands, they were obliged to spend several days before they ascertained it to be a very long inlet, stretching north and south. They called it Bathurst's Inlet, and gave the names of Goulburn, Elliot, and Cockburn, to several large islands on its western side.

On the 10th of August, the boats had again reached the open sea, and were holding apparently a prosperous course, between the continent and a large island, when, to their utter dismay, this island proved to be part of the mainland, and they were again in the centre of a large bay called Melville Bay, and from which there branched several smaller bays, to which they applied the names of Sir W. J. Hope, Sir G. Warrender, and Captain Parry.

The canoes now again found their way into the

open sea, and the commander had his attention strongly called to the state of the expedition. They were reduced to three days' provisions, were without fuel, and the season threatened more and more to become unfavourable. So much time had been lost in exploring these deep sounds and inlets, that all hope was over of reaching Hudson's Bay, and accomplishing the full objects of the expedition. These circumstances considered, Mr Franklin felt himself not justified in exposing himself and his companions almost to certain destruction by an attempt to push his discoveries farther. He sailed three days along a coast which extended directly north, till he came to a cape where there was an appearance of the coast again assuming an easterly direction. This cape, in lat.  $68^{\circ} 18' N.$ , and long.  $109^{\circ} 25' W.$ , he called Turnagain, as being the point where he was compelled to perform this operation; and though it was only six degrees and a half east of Coppermine River, they had sailed 555 geographic miles in order to reach it.

The question now arose, by what route or resources they were to effect their return, destitute as they were of food, or any provision for traversing so vast an extent of the Frozen Regions. The route by which they came had the great advantage of being a known route; yet it was very circuitous, and the supplies of food, now so urgently wanted, were extremely uncertain. It was, after full consideration, resolved that they should endeavour to penetrate direct to Fort Enterprise from Arctic Sound, by the way of Hood's River, which falls into that sound.

In their return from Point Turnagain, the ex-

pedition sent parties to hunt on shore; but as their exertions were not successful, they were put upon a single and scanty meal of pemmican in the day. On the 23d they arrived at the broad channel of Melville Sound; but it was agitated by a strong wind and heavy sea, which rendered their frail canoes very unfit to make the traverse; however, the pangs of hunger overcame the sense of danger, and they pushed across; with the utmost difficulty the canoes were kept from turning their broadsides to the waves, and one of them in the middle of the channel was nearly upset. On the opposite side they found a rocky shore, on which a heavy surf was beating, and towards which the wind was driving them. They sought in vain any sheltered nook, and at length, finding a spot of sandy beach, they ran the ships ashore upon it, fortunately with little damage.

Having now entered on Hood's River, which it was fondly hoped would bring them towards Fort Enterprise, they got on tolerably, finding some fish in the waters, and the hunters ever and anon bringing in a deer or musk-cow, which kept them above absolute want, though always on the brink of it. On the 26th they came to some magnificent falls, the entire height of which was 250 feet, and to which they attached the name of Mr Wilberforce. This grand natural feature was the commencement of their evil destiny. The river above was found at once so rapid and so shallow, that the canoes could not navigate; it was therefore necessary to frame out of their materials two smaller ones, and place them on the back of the travellers, to be employed in passing any

river or lake which might cross their path. They were now obliged to proceed on foot; still they got on tolerably, receiving from time to time seasonable supplies. On the 4th September, however, there came on so severe a storm of snow as made it impossible either to proceed or to seek for victuals. Being destitute of fuel, they were obliged to remain two days in bed, unable to protect themselves by blankets from the severity of the frost. Even when enabled to move on the 7th, the deep snow allowed them to walk only in file, the Canadian voyagers being placed in front to make a path for the rest. Few animals now appeared; and the travellers, exhausted by want of food, were no longer equal to the task of pursuing and bringing them down. These severe distresses led to others unexpected and still more dreadful. The voyagers, and Indians hired as servants, felt themselves, in this extremity of evil, restored to their state of natural equality. They assumed even airs of superiority, in consequence of their greater skill in hunting rendering the English in a great degree dependent upon them. They were very ill qualified, however, to provide even for their own safety. They grumbled at the burden of carrying two canoes, and performed the task in so careless and wanton a manner, that one was destroyed and the other rendered nearly unserviceable. They had the extreme folly to throw away their fishing lines, which might have proved of the very greatest service. These errors became fearfully manifest, when they arrived on the borders of an extensive sheet of water, of which the eye could not discover the boundary. After proceeding for

some space westward, they found a river issuing from it, on the smoothest part of which, immediately above a rapid, they launched the shattered remnant of their canoe. The breeze being fresh, it became difficult to manage this frail vessel. "The current drove us to the edge of the rapid, when Belanger unfortunately applied his paddle to avert the apparent danger of being forced down, and lost his balance. The canoe was upset in consequence in the middle of the rapid. We fortunately kept hold of it until we touched a rock where the water did not reach higher than our waists. Here we kept our footing, notwithstanding the strength of the current, until the water was emptied out of the canoe. Belanger then held the canoe steady, while St Germain placed me in it, and afterwards embarked himself in a very dexterous manner." Belanger himself, however, could not be embarked, and, after long struggling in the water, was only drawn to the shore by means of a cord, and arrived perfectly insensible from the effects of cold; but, being by Dr Richardson's desire put to bed, and two men lying down beside him, he was gradually restored to sense.

Their situation became now daily more distressing. The gun no longer supplied them food, and life was preserved only by a nauseous vegetable called *tripe de roche*, which acted upon several as a purge. This meagre food not only caused an always increasing decay of strength, but rendered them unable to withstand the cold, which no blankets could prevent from piercing through and through their bodies. They were successively obliged to leave

behind them their instruments, specimens, and all they had collected in the course of the voyage. The men again let fall the canoe, which was severely broken, and were in vain entreated by the officers to carry it forward, even in its shattered state, when it might still have been made to serve them at an extremity. This crisis soon arrived, when they came to the broad channel of the Coppermine River, and searched in vain for a ford at which it could be passed. Yet either they must cross, or an immense and calamitous *detour* must be made round Point Lake. It was proposed to frame a raft of willows; but this was . rejected by the men as impracticable, and they began defiling along the lake, in hopes of finding pine-branches fitted for the purpose. Happening to light on the remains of a putrid deer, which afforded an unexpected breakfast, their spirits got up, and they resolved to make trial of the willows. By binding fagots together, they fashioned a raft, which could support one man at a time; but they had no means of conveying it across without oars, or any pole which could reach the bottom. The only hope was, if a line could be got to the opposite shore, by which the raft could be dragged across. Dr Richardson generously undertook to convey one by swimming, and launched into the stream with the line tied round him. Soon his arms became benumbed; but, turning on his back, he continued to move on, till his legs also became powerless, and he sunk. By hauling the line, he was brought first to the surface, and then back to the shore, but almost lifeless. However, being wrapt in blankets, and

placed near a good willow-fire, he revived in a few hours, though, from too sudden exposure to heat, the skin of his left side was deprived of feeling, which it did not recover till the following summer. As his clothes were taken off in this process, the very voyageurs beheld with dismay his emaciated frame, and, seeing their own condition in his, exclaimed, *Ah ! que nous sommes maigres !*

After this failure, the spirits of the troop sunk into a state of despondence, and they could scarcely be induced to collect the scanty but necessary food which the rocks afforded. At length, St Germain, one of the voyageurs, suggested that something of the nature of a canoe might be made out of the canvass in which they wrapped their bedding. The proposal was approved, and the seams were covered up with pitch obtained from some small pines on the shore. On the 4th October the canoe was launched ; St Germain entered it, and amid the eager gaze of the whole party fixed upon him, and, under ardent prayers for his success, he made good his object of reaching the opposite shore. The canoe was then drawn back, and one after another passed over, till the whole were happily mustered on the opposite bank.

After having achieved this passage, the party set out at first with considerable spirit ; but the privations under which they suffered pressed continually harder and harder upon them. The depth of the snow, and their own exhaustion, prevented them from obtaining any food except the *tripe de roche*, which scarcely sufficed to maintain life ; and the only ad-



dition obtainable was by boiling or singeing their old shoes. On this wretched fare their strength and powers of exertion sunk to the lowest pitch. Several, and particularly Lieutenant Hood, a promising and much-beloved young officer, became unable to move, unless at a rate disastrously slow. Lieutenant Beck had already been sent forward with several voyageurs to Fort Enterprise, that he might find or seek the Indians, and urge them to hasten to meet the party with a supply of fresh provisions ; and Dr Richardson, with a man of the name of Hepburn, undertook to remain with Mr Hood till relief could be forwarded.

Captain Franklin set out ; but several of the party, in dragging themselves through marshes and deep snow, soon foundered, and it was necessary to send them back. After several days of sore toil and hunger, the marching party at length came in view of Fort Enterprise. In approaching they were variously agitated between hope and fear. No symptoms of life appeared, and on entering, with the deepest disappointment, they found it utterly desolate. There was neither provision, nor any trace of Indians, nor any letter to report where they were to be found. The doors of the principal apartment had been thrown open, and carelessly left so ; and the wild animals of the woods had resorted to it as a place of shelter. Their own condition was thus rendered dreadful, and they were still more distressed in thinking of their companions, whom they had left in the depths of the frozen wilds, and whose relief was thus indefinitely postponed. It was necessary, however, to make the

best of their condition. They collected in the house and in its vicinity, pieces of the skins and bones of deer, the refuse of former meals. The skins were singed, and being pounded, made, with the *tripe de roche*, a sort of weak soup. Captain Franklin then, with two of the most vigorous of his companions, set out in search of the Indians ; but soon found himself so exhausted, that he was obliged to return. They continued to grow weaker and weaker on their miserable diet of skin and bone, being tantalized with the view of herds of deer, which they attempted to shoot, but none of them were able steadily to hold the gun. On the 29th, after they had been here about three weeks, a voyageur called out, *Ah ! le monde !* and Dr Richardson and Mr Hepburn entered the room. Each party presented to the other a deplorable spectacle, and the small number of the newcomers inspired alarms, which were but too well justified, when Dr Richardson had leisure to relate his story.

Of the companions whom Captain Franklin had sent back, only one rejoined Richardson's party, who was Michel an Iroquois ; and the account he gave of the other two was so indistinct and unsatisfactory as gave rise afterwards to the darkest suspicions ; but these did not at first occur ; and Michel bringing with him a hare and a partridge, was received almost as a deliverer. He assisted in removing the party to a spot which Captain Franklin had desired them to point out as more commodious. Next day he brought them a piece of flesh, which he represented as part of the dead body of a wolf ; but they had afterwards

too much ground for the frightful suspicion that it was a part of one of his slaughtered companions. From this time the conduct of Michel became more and more strange, wild, and insolent. He refused, under various and frivolous pretences, to go out to hunt, notwithstanding the urgent necessity. On one occasion he used the strange expression,—“It is no use hunting,—there are no animals,—you had better kill and eat me.” Mr Hood seems to have held long and somewhat warm arguments with him. One morning, as Dr Richardson had gone out to gather *tripe de roche*, and Hepburn to cut wood, the report of a gun was heard. The doctor did not at first much attend to it, till he was summoned by Hepburn with a voice of alarm. He ran to the tent, and saw Mr Hood lying lifeless by the fire, a ball having pierced his forehead. He was at first struck with horror at the idea that his friend had been hurried into the crime of suicide; but another suspicion instantly arose when he observed that the ball had entered at the back of his head, and come out at the forehead, and that only a second person could have placed the muzzle of the gun in such a position as to inflict the wound. The dark surmise which thus arose against Michel was confirmed by many particulars in his conduct. He watched carefully to prevent the two others from being alone, or having any communication together; and though they durst not show any signs of their secret suspicions, he was continually asking them if they thought him capable of such an action as that of murdering Mr Hood.

As Mr Hood's situation had been the only cause of

remaining here, Dr Richardson determined no longer to delay his departure for Fort Enterprise. They singed the hair off Mr Hood's buffalo-robe, and obtained some meals out of it. On the road there arose fresh ground to conclude, not only that Michel had been guilty of Mr Hood's death, but that he was meditating the same fatal design against the two survivors. He was constantly muttering to himself, and throwing out threats against Hepburn, whom he accused of having told stories against him. He expressed an unwillingness to go to the fort, and threw out obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow. He assumed unwonted airs of superiority over his companions, showing that he considered both to be completely in his power, and venting expressions of hatred against the whites, whom he even accused of having killed and eaten an uncle and two of his other relations. In fact, his strength was much superior to theirs united, and he was completely armed. In the afternoon he halted on pretence of gathering some *tripe de roche*, when Richardson and Hepburn had an opportunity of communing together, and communicating various particulars not before known to both; whence they came to the conclusion that Michel was only using them at present to show him the way, of which he was ignorant, and that he would certainly kill them before their arrival. There was therefore no safety but in anticipating his purpose. Hepburn offered to do the deed; but Dr Richardson determined to take the whole responsibility upon himself, and as soon as Michel arrived, went up and shot him through the head. The necessity was ter-

rible, but the facts detailed respecting the conduct of this ruffian seem clearly to have left no alternative.

Dr Richardson and Hepburn found now no obstacles in slowly dragging their exhausted frames to Fort Enterprise. It was discouraging, as they approached, not even to see the mark of footsteps on the snow ; but on attaining an eminence they saw smoke issuing from one of the chimneys. They entered with hope, which was instantly chilled by the wretched and desolate aspect of the mansion, and the ghastly visages and sepulchral voices of Captain Franklin and his companions. They joined themselves now as fellow-sufferers, and being in a state of somewhat greater vigour, could afford some aid to the rest. The condition of the whole party became worse every day. Their stock of bones was exhausted, and the separation of the skin from the hair was so troublesome, that they had less leather than they could have contrived to eat. Their thoughts now dwelt incessantly on food, and, even in slumber, fancy placed before them superb feasts, at which they were sated with every delicacy ; but on awaking, the pangs of hunger were as strong as ever. The gloom was increased by the death of two of the voyageurs and the alarming weakness of a third. They sought, as they had happily done throughout, the consolations of religion, regularly read prayers and a portion of scripture morning and evening, and conversed on religious subjects. They had no longer strength of mind, however, to speak directly of their situation, or even of their hopes of relief. Indeed a weakness of intellect was stealing over them, of which each

was sensible, at least in his neighbour. Their temper, in particular, almost entirely gave way, and Captain Franklin admits that he himself became excessively peevish. Even when their strength was unequal to tasks which they had undertaken, they ungraciously rejected proffers of assistance; and when any one ventured to suggest a change of place or posture, which did not exactly accord with the other's inclination, his kindness met an angry return, which was soon apologized for, yet soon after repeated. They were approaching to the greatest extremity, and the last voyageur was just dying, when Richardson and Hepburn, walking out to cut wood, heard the report of a musket. They were instantly all attention, and the first noise was soon followed by a shout, and quickly there appeared three Indians. They were known by the names of Boudel-Kell, Crooked Foot, and the Rat; who, as soon as Mr Beck brought intelligence of the state of the party, had hastened from the camp of Akaitcho, their chief, with a supply of victuals. Dr Richardson immediately went in to Captain Franklin, who had been alarmed by the noise, told him that deliverance was come, and they joined in thanksgivings at the throne of mercy. By a natural imprudence they ate a great deal more than was safe after so long a fast, which they excuse on account of the weak state of their minds; and even Dr Richardson, while exhorting the rest to moderation, over-ate himself. They suffered severely in consequence, and the supply being small, was soon exhausted, when the Indians suddenly disappeared, and left them under the dread of being again involved in

their former famine. These kind creatures, however, appeared next day with a larger supply; and the party now lost no time in leaving Fort Enterprise, where they had formerly experienced much comfort, if not happiness, and latterly a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled. In ten days they arrived at the tent of Akaitcho, who received them with the most friendly hospitality. Thence they proceeded to Moose-Deer Island, where they met Mr Beck, who had as sad a tale to tell as any of his comrades. After the dreadful disappointment of his party in finding Fort Enterprise deserted, they were reduced to the greatest extremities by want of food, and one of them perished. The rest were only preserved by finding some deers' heads half-buried in the snow, where they had been left by the wolves. They were again sinking into extremity, when the foremost cried out, "Footsteps of Indians!" This joyful cry brightened every countenance, and St Germain following the tracks, soon arrived at the tents of Akaitcho.

At Moose-Deer Island this suffering remnant met with every kindness, and recovered their health in the course of the winter. Next summer they had no difficulty in effecting the journey home, after having travelled by land and water 5550 miles.

On the return of Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson from an expedition where they had purchased so very dearly the glories of discovery, it was not asked, or even expected by government, that they should brave again the perils of these distant and terrible shores. Yet so high was the ardour with

which they were inspired, that scarcely had they breathed from this fearful journey, when they presented a new scheme for completing the outline which they had only begun to sketch, and for tracing from the Coppermine River eastward the great northern boundary of America. Government, since they had instruments possessed of such generous daring, could not be insensible to the glory and satisfaction of tracing these distant boundaries of the earth, and completing the geographical knowledge of the western continent. They therefore cordially embraced the proposal, and furnished liberally every means of prosecuting the undertaking with success, and escaping the evils which had before pressed on them so terribly. Three boats were constructed of mahogany, with ash timbers, so light that they could be carried on men's shoulders across the portages, yet so firm that they could face the waves of the northern ocean. Provision was laid in, consisting chiefly of pemmican, calculated to last for two years; and the boats being sent forward by way of Hudson's Bay, where they could be conveyed up the rivers, the officers took the more patent and agreeable route of New York.

On the 15th February, 1825, Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson sailed from Liverpool in the Columbia American packet, and on the 15th March arrived at New York, where they were hailed with the same enthusiasm as if it had been a British capital. All the inhabitants vied with each other in kindness, and in furnishing every thing which could aid their undertaking. They proceeded across the territory of New York to the St Lawrence and Lake



Ontario ; thence across the portages to Rainy Lake, the Lakes of the Woods and Winnipeg, and thence northwards till, on the Methye River, a tributary of Lake à la Crosse, they met their boats. It was now, however, the end of June, and, in consequence of the heavy portages, it was the middle of August before they could embark on the Mackenzie River. At this period of the season it was out of the question to undertake a voyage on the Icy Sea ; but Captain Franklin had time, and felt an ardent desire, to sail down, and take a view of the ocean on which his next adventurous summer was to be spent. On the 16th August, in lat.  $69^{\circ} 14'$ , favourable omens were conceived from the brackish taste of the water, which in the course of three miles became decidedly salt. At length they landed on an island, from the highest point of which they enjoyed the most gratifying prospect. The Rocky Mountains were seen to the west ; while to the north the sea appeared in all its majesty, unobstructed by ice, and without any visible impediment to its navigation. Whales, black and white, and numerous seals, were sporting on its waves ; and the prospect was not only grand in itself, but inspired the most sanguine hopes of a prosperous future navigation. Captain Franklin confirms the accuracy of Mackenzie, but thinks that he never actually reached the sea.

The expedition now returned to their winter-quarters on Great Bear Lake, where a comfortable habitation, called Fort Franklin, had been reared for them. They contrived to supply themselves during the winter with dried meat and fish, so as scarcely

to break at all on the original stock which they had brought from home; but for this purpose it was necessary to distribute the fifty persons of which the whole party consisted into three several stations. The officers did all in their power to make their men while away cheerfully the dreary season in this sequestered corner of the globe, when there was nothing without but the frozen surface of the lake, and a uniform robe of white covering the ground. They were enlivened by occasional parties of the Hare, Copper, and Dog-Rib Indians. By the 1st of March the softened snow began to form icicles. In the beginning of April they were cheered by some omens of approaching spring. The thermometer rose above Zero, water began to drip from the roofs, and a load of birch was obtained for making charcoal. Early in May, swans, and then geese and ducks, made their welcome appearance. By the end of the month the flowers began to bloom, and themselves to be tormented by the mosquitoes. It was the 7th of June, however, before the ice on the small lake, after a duration of eight months, had completely disappeared. In the Great Lake there was only a narrow channel, and that of the Bear Lake River was so filled with masses of ice which were drifting down, that it could not be safely navigated. On the 24th of June, the navigation commenced, and on the 3d July, having come to a point where two branches separated, one eastward, the other westward, toward the Rocky Mountains, Captain Franklin determined to divide the provisions, and that each should set out on his separate destination. They were now able

to do so with full provision for three months, independent of any supplies which might be found on the road.

Captain Franklin, in descending the river, found his course leading directly towards the range of the Rocky Mountains. About  $89^{\circ} 36'$ , the spruce-fir, the last of the arctic forest, disappeared, and the dwarf-willow alone remained. At the same time a grand view was obtained of the Rocky Mountains, comprising the entire outline of their peaks, formed into two successive ranges, with a lower line of round hills in the fore-ground. Two days after they came in view of the mouth of the river, and of an island forming the east side of the bay into which it opened; a numerous assemblage of Esquimaux tents, with many of that people roaming about among them. Captain Franklin made preparations for opening a communication with these people, which, as in all such instances, was a work of great delicacy; and he gave strict injunctions to his men, on no account, without his most express sanction, to have recourse to violence. On approaching the island, where the water was found very shallow, a signal of invitation was given to the natives. Three canoes first appeared, and were followed by others in such quick succession, that in a few minutes the whole sea was covered with kayaks and oomiaks, beyond the power of the English to number. They showed great caution in their approach; but on seeing the commodities brought by the English, and receiving invitations to open a trade, they soon began briskly driving one, with much clamour and bustle, eagerly offering bows, arrows,

and spears, which had been hitherto kept concealed. All went on, however, with much harmony, and they even assisted the English to float one of the boats which had got aground. At this time one of the natives having fallen into the sea, was caught into one of the boats, where he discovered a mass of treasure in knives, kettles, and toys, of which neither he nor his countrymen had before any idea. Having in vain asked for every thing he saw, he went over to his countrymen, and communicated to them the discovery. The chiefs, as was afterwards understood, retired, and, counting their numbers, determined to possess themselves by force of the contents of the two boats, without scrupling to sacrifice the crews of both to this gratification of their avidity. This resolution formed, they advanced, two hundred and fifty in number, in two parties, and, seizing the boats, which they could do without going deeper than their knees, began dragging them on shore. At the same time, there appeared two oomiaks full of women, who, with loud howlings, cheered them on to the attack. No strong steps being yet thought advisable, they succeeded in both their objects; first the *Reliance*, and then the *Lion*, were brought to the shore. The Esquimaux then began a systematic pillage of every thing in the boats, bearing with the most stoical firmness the heavy blows with the butt-end of the muskets, which the English liberally dealt to them. Enraged at being baffled, or imperfectly successful in repeated efforts, they at length began a most desperate struggle to overpower the crews and possess themselves of both boats. Three of them

had at one time pinioned down Captain Franklin, who was released only by the interference of a friendly chief; but they renewed the assault, and had brought matters to a somewhat alarming crisis, when suddenly they all fled, and hid themselves behind the drift-timber on the beach. This mystery was explained by Lieutenant Beck, who had given very seasonable orders for the whole of his men to level their muskets at these rude assailants, whose courage at this spectacle entirely forsook them. They soon repented, however, of their panic, and rushed forward anew; but the boats were now afloat, and Captain Franklin giving notice through the interpreter that he would shoot the first that approached, their courage again cooled. The interpreter afterwards landed, and loaded his countrymen with reproaches. They pleaded guilty, declaring that it arose out of a rash and sudden impulse, and that they in general cherished nothing but a friendly feeling towards the strangers.

Captain Franklin no longer delayed his voyage along the northern coast, and though the ocean presented only an unbroken field of ice, the land was bordered by a narrow lane of water, through which he could clear his way. At the end of twelve miles, however, he was stopped, and obliged to retreat for several miles, in order to find a landing-place. Here they stumbled upon another party of Esquimaux, with respect to whom a rigorous system of precaution was from the first adopted. A line was drawn around the boats and tents, within which they were by no means to enter under penalty of being shot. The Esquimaux did not resent these marks of jea-

lousy, but leaped for joy at the prospect of the benefits they might derive from trade with the Europeans. They professed a total want of surprise at the evil conduct of the former party, who were, they said, bad men, and never failed to attack or to steal from themselves when they found opportunity. Thus we see the Esquimaux character assuming a fiercer complexion, and deformed by the usual enmities which reign between savage tribes. This tribe seemed to have no idea of cloth, but, taking hold of the English coats, asked of what strange and unknown animal these were the skins. They showed the usual avidity for metallic articles, which they applied often to very different purposes from those intended. A large cod-fish and an awl were suspended from the nose; ear-rings and needles were stuck as ornaments in different parts of the dress. They reported, that as soon as a strong wind should blow from the land, the ice along the shore would open and allow a passage; but that farther to the westward it often adhered through the whole season; and they blamed the English, seemingly with some reason, for not having brought dogs and sledges to take the place of the boats when the ice prevented them from proceeding.

A strong gale springing up from the west, the prediction of the Esquimaux was in some degree fulfilled. The ice partially gave way, and a lane opened, through which, though narrow and encumbered with pieces of floating ice, they pushed their way, till stopped by an icy barrier and heavy fog. Thus they continued slowly to work a passage

along the coast, always rendered difficult and dangerous by fogs and floating masses, and ever and anon interrupted by impassable barriers. At what they called Herschel Island, they found a party of Esquimaux in possession of iron knives and beads, not of British manufacture, reported as having been transmitted by western Esquimaux, who, it was supposed, obtained them from Kabloonachts, or white men; and these were very reasonably conjectured to be the Russians. The Rocky Mountains continued to accompany them, and to run parallel to the coast. In one of their detentions they made their way across a swampy meadow to Mount Conybeare, which was found only about 800 feet high, rising by successive platforms, or terraces of transition-slate. From this place an interesting view opened into the interior of the Rocky Mountains. That which they had just passed, and had named after Mr Buckland, the eminent discoverer of diluvian remains, was found to be composed of three successive ranges, with valleys of some extent intervening. Before them, to the west, appeared a chain of more elevated peaks, mostly covered with snow, to which they gave the name of "the British Chain."

The favourable state of the sea recalled them from Mount Conybeare, and they began to proceed with somewhat greater rapidity. One evening, after sunset, they saw on the shore a collection of boats, with kayaks, oomiaks, and dogs. They hailed the inmates, and, after several loud calls, a woman appeared in a state of total nudity. She presently awoke her husband, and loud screams gave warning to the whole

party, who sprang forth naked, but armed, and in a state of wild alarm at being thus roused from slumber by a band of strangers, whose existence they were wholly ignorant of. As soon as they had composed themselves, and held some intercourse with the interpreter, they invited the English on shore ; but from their excited state, and their numbers, amounting to fifty-four, it was judged wiser to invite out a few. Four kayaks arrived, received some presents, and departed in very good humour.

Although the progress of the boats was now more satisfactory, yet some discouraging circumstances began to arise. The sun, which had for some time been perpetually above the horizon, set about eleven at night ; flowers which they had seen open began to fade, and to warn them of the primitive winter of the north. The fogs also, which render the navigation among loose ice excessively delicate and dangerous, became continually thicker. The cause of their great prevalence upon this coast, as contrasted with that to the east of the Mackenzie River, is conjectured to be the copious evaporation produced by the heat of the sun ; while the vapours, in attempting to proceed southward, are arrested by the continuous barrier of the Rocky Mountains. They were found in the highest perfection on what they termed Foggy Island, when the mist was so dense, that they could not walk beyond a limited space, fixed by particular marks. Sometimes, seeing at a hundred yards' distance what appeared to be a deer, and approaching it, the object took wing, and proved a crane or a goose. They were now on



Russian ground, and had passed another branch of the Rocky Chain, to which they gave the name of Count Romanzoff, as an eminent promoter of discovery. The mountains appeared no longer, whether it was that their immense line here terminated, or that a great dip to the south merely removed them out of sight.

Captain Franklin had made very little progress beyond Foggy Island, when his attention was forcibly drawn to the condition and prospects of the expedition. Though it was now only the middle of August, symptoms of approaching winter already appeared; the thermometer seldom rose much above the freezing-point, and flocks of geese were seen winging their way southward. It was well remembered, that on the last dreadful expedition, only a fortnight later, winter set in with all its intensity. A month, the best of the season, had now been spent in making ten degrees west from the mouth of the Mackenzie. An equal distance still intervened to Icy Cape, without any prospect of the same time or means of performing it. There was no likelihood of any thing better in this additional run, and a dread uncertainty whether something much worse might not be encountered. If arrested or shipwrecked at a more advanced point, there could be no hope but of a return still more disastrous than the former. The middle of August, in fact, had by the instructions been wisely fixed as the utmost term, unless there should appear a certainty of reaching Kotzebue's Inlet. It was contrary, therefore, both to the commander's judgment and instructions to push on

with such faint hopes and such fearful perils, and the determination was formed to return. The expedition was then in longitude  $147^{\circ}$  west of London.

Meantime something was doing in an opposite quarter. That no means might be wanting to give the expedition every chance of success, government had sent another under Captain Beechey, round by the Pacific and Behring's Straits, to await in Kotzebue's Inlet the arrival of Captain Franklin. Captain Beechey, actively fulfilling this mission, not only reached this station early in the season, but pushed on to Icy Cape, beyond which it was found impossible for the Blossom to proceed. Mr Elson, the master, was sent forward in a boat, and reached 120 miles farther, to longitude  $156^{\circ} 21'$ ; but a long cape, or "spit," as it is called, here stretched to N. latitude  $71^{\circ} 23' 39''$ ,—the most northerly point of the American continent yet known. On this point the ice grounded so heavily, spreading to the horizon in every direction, that no opening could be found. The boat even was driven ashore by the currents, the attempts to drag it over land failed, and it was sunk in one of the lakes, to be picked up, if possible, at a future season.

From these facts, it appears, that the two parties, in their closest approach, were only about five degrees or 160 miles distant from each other. Captain Franklin declares, that, had he entertained the least idea of such a proximity, no dangers, no difficulties, no discouraging circumstances whatever would have induced him to return. In fact, however, such a knowledge, unless it had been mutual, would only have lured him to

destruction. There was little chance indeed, that, setting out on the 18th August, he would have reached the point, from which on that day the Blossom's boat began its return. The chance is, that he would have been arrested by the same "spit," which the boat could not pass, at a very perilous distance either from Kotzebue's Inlet, or from his quarters on Bear Lake.

Captain Franklin's return was effected without any serious difficulty; and we have now to survey the progress of the eastern expedition under Dr Richardson. He proceeded down the main branch of the Mackenzie River; the mouth of which he found thickly inhabited by Esquimaux, and had an adventure with them somewhat similar to that which befell the western party. The first whom his party met were taken completely by surprise, and rushed out with such alarm and agitation, that they could not comprehend the interpreter, telling them they had nothing to fear. They even used threatening gestures, and made some attempts to drag the boats on shore; but these were easily defeated. As soon, however, as they heard the word *nooworlok* (trade,) their fears subsided, and they began to traffic in the most keen and systematic manner, taking care not to overstock the market, nor to outbid each other. They betook themselves next to thieving, in which they showed themselves no less expert, but were generally detected and obliged to make restitution, which they did readily and merrily. At length the Union grounded on a bank, when seven or eight pushed off in their kayaks, and endeavoured to drag her on shore. They were supported by such numbers armed with knives,

that Mr Kendall called to Dr Richardson, that he would be under the necessity of firing. He received permission to do so in case of necessity, and had pointed his fowling-piece at three of the most daring; the crew of the *Dolphin* also presented their muskets; whereupon, having learned through the Indians the character of these formidable weapons, they fled as precipitately as the former party. The expedition came afterwards to a winter-village of the Esquimaux, where they found accommodations and attention to comfort on a greater and more artificial scale than either themselves or their Esquimaux interpreter had seen elsewhere. Besides seventeen well-built huts, which composed the village, there rose in the middle a large building, twenty-seven feet square, supported by strong ridge-poles, the floor carefully smoothed and dressed, and the outside adorned with the skulls of twenty-one whales. This building, so unique in an Esquimaux village, was supposed by the interpreter to be a hall for eating; but the English judged it rather to be a house of assembly; the existence of which would mark a progress in society beyond that of the Hudson's Bay natives, but accompanied with more savage and turbulent habits. The other parties whom they met showed a disposition not dissimilar to the first; willing to obtain their goods by barter, but more willing by violence. However, much security was derived from a barricade formed of masts and spare oars, which commanded the entrance of the boats, and could even be made arrow-proof by throwing a mat over it.

The voyage of Dr Richardson encountered none of

those formidable obstacles which retarded and finally arrested that of his western coadjutor. Although ice floated in somewhat alarming masses, it nowhere barred all progress, and dense and gloomy fogs were much less frequent. The coast extended in a comparatively straight and unbroken line, of which the only prominent features were Liverpool Bay, Franklin Bay, and a long circular range called Woollaston Island. The most striking feature was that of burning cliffs, which in several places faced the sea, and whose hot sulphureous fumes mingled and alternated with the cold breezes of the Arctic ocean. The earth, baked in these natural ovens, was formed into clays variously tinted,—yellow, green, white, and red. An attentive examination showed this phenomenon to arise from the bituminous alum-shale, which forms these banks, and contains sulphur in the state and quantity fitted to produce combustion. The sulphur and oxygen produce sulphuric acid, which, uniting with the other component parts, yields the well-known salt called alum. The cliffs, in fact, much resemble those of Whitby, and may be considered as a great natural manufactory of alum. Other somewhat elevated rocks, bordering this coast, were composed of limestone extremely cavernous, and in some places perforated throughout in a complete and very singular manner.

So prosperous on the whole was Dr Richardson's voyage, that on the 7th of August, about a month after the separation, he had arrived in Coronation Gulf, and connected his discoveries with those made by Captain Franklin in his last voyage. Thence it

was easy to reach the mouth of the Coppermine. The river, however, was rendered unfit for navigation by the succession of rapids, and on the 18th, by a somewhat laborious land-journey, he reached the banks of Great Bear Lake. Here a considerable alarm was felt, when nothing was seen of the boat-party which had been appointed to meet and convey him across this great expanse of water. The alternative, in case of absolute failure, was a march round it, which, in a season growing always worse, might have assumed a very disastrous aspect. However, their fears were terminated on the 24th, by the arrival of the boats, which had been delayed by adverse winds, and on the 1st September they arrived at Fort Franklin. Captain Franklin did not join them till the 21st.

While Captain Franklin endeavoured, by navigating the coast of America, to reach Hudson's Bay from the mouth of Hearne's River, Captain Lyon was dispatched to Hudson's Bay in hopes of meeting him, and of mutual aid being thus afforded. He sailed on the 10th June, 1824, in the Griper, and went round by the Pentland Frith; but it was not till the 1st of August that he came in view of the coast of Labrador, high and inhospitable, the mountains rising into pinnacles, and their recesses still partially filled with snow. They entered the straits,—made their way through the usual obstacles,—and at the end of the month found themselves in the Welcome. It appeared, however, that the bordering coast of Southampton Island had been laid down in a manner entirely gratuitous; for they met a projecting portion

of it in what was supposed to be the very middle of the Welcome. The sea was running tremendously high, and they were pitching bows under, when the vessel suddenly proved to be on a bank. As her total destruction was then apprehended, preparations were made for taking to the boats, and lots were drawn for the boat into which each was to go. "It was evident to all that the long-boat was the only one which had the chance of living, yet every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident, had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur." The surf now ran to a tremendous height, the ship struck with all her force, and as the waves, or rather breakers, passed over her, she continued to strike with a force which would have burst any less fortified vessel. It appeared evident that no human power could save her. Captain Lyon called the crew on deck, offered prayers for deliverance, and at the same time exhorted them to resignation. "I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship after all hope of life had left us." He is disposed to believe that this resignation to the will of the Almighty was the means of obtaining his mercy. The tide fell no lower, heavy rain beat down the gale, the water deepened to five fathoms, and they were enabled to make out to the open sea.

Notwithstanding this disaster, though the compasses no longer pointed with any precision, and the nights were becoming very dark, Captain Lyon by the 17th September had worked his way to beyond the mouth of the Wager, within eighty miles of Repulse Bay. Here, however, the water suddenly shoaled, and they were assailed by a still more terrible tempest. During the night the sea washed continually across the decks, and, amid heavy snow, which froze a foot deep, it was impossible to move without being held fast by ropes. They were at anchor; but every moment a dreadful uncertainty appeared, whether the cables would not give way before the tremendous seas, which burst over the ship. The hurricane blew with deafening violence, and the gloom of the night was made only more sensible by the rays of a small lantern suspended from the mast. At half-past four in the morning the best bower-anchor parted, and at six the two others went at the same moment; the vessel then lay down on her broadside. Again, however, when all hope seemed over, a breeze sprang up from the land, and in a quarter of an hour they were carried into seventeen fathoms.

The shattered state of the vessel, the lateness of the season, and the want of all aid from the compasses, left now no alternative to Captain Lyon but to return to England, with deep regret at having failed in the object of his voyage. He met with a few Esquimaux parties, who showed little new. The largest party were well armed and clothed; they were boisterous, clamorous in demanding presents, and bore an air of saucy independence.



## BOOK III.

### RECENT TRAVELS AND PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA.

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IN the course of the last twenty years, numerous travellers have visited and carefully examined the territory of the United States. Some have travelled under the influence of liberal curiosity, as Messrs Weld, Lambert, Hodgson, Duncan, Flint, De Roos, Mrs Wright, and the anonymous author of *Excursion* in 1822 and 1823; while others, Messrs Parkinson, Palmer, Birkbeck, and Fearon, explored this region with a view to settlement and emigration. These travellers had nothing left to do under the head of discovery, and, travelling through a civilized and well-ordered country, in stages or steam-packets, they met with scarcely any thing which could be called adventure. To follow each, therefore, through the successive steps of his progress, would be alike tedious and unprofitable. It appears much more edifying, that we should glean, from all united, as com-

plete a view as possible of this immense region, and of this great rising people beyond the Atlantic. In this task we shall not decline the aid which may be derived from the great efforts lately made by the Americans to illustrate the physical and statistical character of their own country, as these are displayed in numerous and valuable communications to Silliman's Journal, and to the several philosophical societies, and in the elaborate statistical works of Pitkin, Seybert, and Warden. Various reports presented to the British Parliament, with the evidence attached to them, will also afford useful materials. From the same or similar sources we may obtain a view of the extensive countries which Britain still retains in America, and to which she sends out a continued succession of emigrants.

## CHAPTER I.

## PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Great Extent of Territory.—Continuity of its Features.—Five Divisions—Their Aspect and Structure.—Plain on the Atlantic Coast.—The Alleghany Mountains.—The Western Territory.—The Rocky Mountains.—The Coast of the Pacific.—Minerals—Animal Creation—Quadrupeds—Birds—Fishes—Reptiles—Vegetable Productions.*

IN taking a general survey of the United States' territory, including all that they can establish an effective claim to, it is impossible not to be struck with its enormous extent. It comprises, not a country, but a continent; its boundary is formed by opposite oceans, the Atlantic on one side, and on the other the remotest Pacific. It reaches 2780 miles in length, and 1230 in breadth,—dimensions which would extend from the south of Italy to the Shetland Islands, and from Cape Finisterre to the Caspian. It would comprehend ten countries as large as France, and thirty as large as England. Its area is computed at 207 millions of square miles.

This region is not more distinguished by its extent

than by the vast continuity of its features. Two ranges of mountain and three ranges of plain divide all this mighty expanse of continent. Each reaches along its whole extent from north to south, parallel to each other, and to the oceans. The largest and loftiest range of mountains, called the Rocky, forms a continuation of the grand American chain of the Andes and Cordilleras. The eastern range, called the Alleghany, or Apalachian, has not a continuous extension beyond the United States; but Humboldt conceives that the elevated sites of the Leeward and Windward Islands, the mountains of Parime in Guiana, and those which run along the interior of Brazil, may be considered with it as virtually forming one great eastern chain of America. Between these two mountain-chains and the opposite oceans are two plains; the eastern one two hundred miles in breadth, and comprising all the old and maritime states on the Atlantic from New England southward to the Carolinas; another, the western, on the coast of the Pacific, broader and more fruitful, but occupied by savage tribes, who have no name or place in history. The inland region, between these two mountains, the Alleghany and the Rocky, forms a valley the most immense, the most fruitful, and watered by the noblest rivers of any on the face of the earth. Even the magnificent plains watered by the Ganges and the rivers of China cannot be brought into comparison with it. Over this plain, civilized America is rapidly spreading, and is in progress to occupy the whole; but as yet nearly the half is possessed by the aboriginal Indian tribes.

In taking such a rapid sketch as our limits permit, of these five great divisions, we shall begin with the eastern plain, situated on the Atlantic, which, thirty years ago, comprised the whole domain of the United States, and still includes all its great cities and most cultivated districts. The whole of this tract is considered by M. Volney as bearing evident proofs of having, at a period not very remote, formed part of the bed of the Atlantic. All the parts of the earth, indeed, bear marks of some period, hid in the mysterious depths of time, when they lay beneath the waters; but the era seems comparatively recent when the ocean must have washed the base of the Alleghany. Mr Bourne, in the second volume of Silliman's Journal, describes the salt meadows, or marshes, which extend along a great part of the coast, covered with thick reddish grass, from six to twelve inches high, and with roots so compact, that a sharp instrument is required to cut them. Adjoining to these are the fresh meadows, which extend to the uplands, covered with wild grass from one to three feet high, and so wet and soft, that few of them can bear the weight of a waggon. All the soil in the northern states, as far as the Hudson, rests upon those rocks which the geologists call primitive. Granite exposes itself to view in all the environs of the city of New York, and may be traced along the whole coast of New England. Mr Hitchcock, in his Geological Survey of the interior of Connecticut, notices everywhere the copious occurrence of granite, mica-slate, and other primitive rocks. The disintegration of these hard and crystallized masses does not yield

a soil equally fertile as that produced from rocks of later and looser formation. Fertility is not a general character of these countries. Even many soils formerly wooded, and where the deciduous leaves had left thick vegetable mould, have, in the course of fifteen or twenty years' culture, lost their fertility, without the power of restoration. The farmer comes to what Mr Spafford calls *hard-pan*, a stiff impenetrable surface, on which no vegetable substance will grow. Yet, after all, the extent of arable products in these countries shows this character of sterility to be far from universal.

The remainder of this plain, extending from the Hudson southwards to the Gulf of Mexico, bears still more obviously the traces of a submarine origin. It consists of one immense surface of sand, exhibiting an appearance similar to that from which the sea has retired. A great extent of it consists of a dead and marshy flat, scarcely elevated above the ocean on which it borders; inland, according to Mr Dickson's description, it rises gradually into hills, and higher up, into immense piles of white sand. This sandy region is covered with thin extensive forests of stunted fir and pine and grub oak. At last it approaches the mountain-region, whence copious streams descend, which, overflowing or having overflowed their banks, impregnate the sand with a mixture of alluvial clay, producing a varied and often high degree of fertility. Volney considers the states of Maryland and New Jersey as almost entirely composed of river-alluvion. Along the upper banks of the Shenandoah, Potomack, James, and other rivers, there occur large tracts

extremely fertile and beautiful. These States have another great advantage in their containing immense beds of shell-marl, which can be employed with the greatest advantage in enriching their poor soils. Mr Pierce calculates that this marl extends a hundred and thirty miles along the coast of Virginia and Maryland, and that the beds of it in New Jersey are inexhaustible. The sandy region is bounded for five hundred miles by a long narrow ledge of talcky granite, which terminates the tide-waters in all the rivers, and, crossing their course, produces those numerous and picturesque falls which form a characteristic feature in the rivers of America. The waterfall, on a magnificent scale, belongs peculiarly to that continent. Even the most remarkable of those in the mountain-regions of Europe are formed only by rills or torrents, falling from a great height, and with picturesque accompaniments, but without any large body of water. The great European rivers are often broken by rapids and cataracts ; but, unless in the remarkable instance of the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, they scarcely ever descend down rocky steeps in one unbroken flood. A different result seems to arise in America, from the continuous table-elevations, with abrupt descents, by which it is everywhere intersected. Around these the greatest streams seek in vain to find or to force their way, and, on arriving at the abrupt termination of the ledge, are obliged to plunge their waters headlong. Such, on a scale of unrivalled magnitude, are the Falls of Niagara ; and all the streams of the United States have, though on a smaller scale, similar descents. Of this succession of falls,

the most magnificent are those of the Potowmack, which, already a river of great magnitude, is contracted by immense rocks, between which it comes rushing down with tremendous impetuosity. It forms, however, not one single sheet of water, but a succession of falls, only in one place quite perpendicular, and partaking thus somewhat of the nature of the cataract. The falls of James's River, above Richmond, and of the Delaware, at Trenton, approach still closer to the aspect of rapids; but the Passaic throws itself down in one brilliant and unbroken sheet.

After this rapid view of the Atlantic plain, we have to consider that vast mountain-limit by which it is everywhere lined and guarded. The Alleghany consists of two parts, so different in aspect, and especially in composition, that the application of this common name cannot be made with strict physical propriety. The separate parts, however, lock in close together, leaving in one place only a channel for the Hudson, which rolls its majestic streams between them, unbroken even by a rock from either. A chain is thus formed so uninterrupted, that, in a geographical sense, and on the large scale, it may be considered as one. Various names, however, are given in various districts to different parts of this extended range. That of "the Highlands" is very generally applied to the large portion which commences in Canada, and runs along the back of the New England States as far as Hudson. In Vermont, however, it is called the Green Mountains, a term expressed even in the name of the State; while that very lofty branch



in the interior of New Hampshire is termed the White Mountains. All these northern ranges are composed of primitive rocks. Mr Amos found the Highlands in the Hudson composed chiefly of gneiss and hornblende, with granite layers enclosed. There was no trace of mica-slate, which to Professor Deway appeared by far the most abundant rock in Berkshire, and in several counties of Vermont and Connecticut. Iron abounds in all these mountains, but rendered often useless by its combination with sulphur; large beds, however, of the brown oxide also occur. Their sides are generally clothed with immense forests. The White Mountains of New Hampshire form the most elevated of all these branches, and their principal peak, called Mount Washington, being upwards of 6000 feet high, surpasses probably any other east of the Mississippi. Mr Pierce, the indefatigable physical explorer of this region, after great efforts, succeeded in mounting to its summit. The sides, to a great height, were covered with trees of varied verdure. Evergreens then began to prevail, and at the same time beds and ledges of granite, gneiss, and sienite, became conspicuous. At 4000 feet, the fir was only three feet high, but with branches spreading horizontally, and forming an impenetrable thicket. Even at 5000 feet there still grew a Lilliputian forest; but the summit was naked and rocky. The prospect beheld from it was immense and savage. On every side mountains rose above mountains, shooting up numerous peaks resembling the broken waves of a tempestuous ocean. In a circuit of nearly twenty miles there were only two farms, and it was only

at the Green Mountains of Vermont, on the verge of the western horizon, and at a hundred miles' distance, that a faint gleam of cultivation was descried. The woods, which originally covered all this mountain-region, have been partially cut down. The soil, elevated, rocky, and primitive, has a forbidding character, either for culture or pasturage ; but sheep are fed on it with great advantage. Mount Washington, by the careful measurement of Captain Partridge, was estimated at 6600 feet ; other peaks of the White Mountains at 5693, 5393, 5190, 5025. Keldington Peak, the highest of the Green Mountains, is stated at 3924 feet. As the Highlands approach New York, and tower over the Hudson, they present peaks much less elevated. New Beacon rises only to 1585 feet; Old Beacon, 1471 ; Crow's Nest, 1418 ; Breakneckhill, 1187. On the opposite side of the Hudson, however, and stretching into the back-settlements of New York, are the Catskill Mountains, which comprise peaks more elevated than any, except the White Mountains of Hampshire. Round Top is estimated by Captain Partridge at 3804 feet, and High Peak at 3718. The Highlands, in passing along New York, are twelve miles broad, but expand to twenty miles in their progress through New Jersey.

Where the Highland chain and its granitic ridges terminate, begins another of different character and magnitude. These are more strictly called the Alleghany, or Endless Mountains, from their great extent ; sometimes they bear the name of Apalachian, from the country in Florida where they were first observed, and their course traced northwards. These names

are sometimes applied to particular portions only; and other names are assigned by particular States to those ranges which are in immediate contiguity to themselves. Such are the Blue Mountains, the North Mountains, the South Mountains. But all this nomenclature is exceedingly vague and local, varying according to the point from which they happen to be viewed. The best known name is that of the Blue Mountains, assigned by the Virginians to the most eastern range within their view, and which, by the usual effect of the atmosphere upon distant objects, is invested with a blue tint. From the same cause, other branches, seen from the southern and western plains, receive the same name. There does not in fact seem any room for splitting into parts a chain which is distinguished from those of the old continent chiefly by its lengthened continuity. It consists generally of five parallel ridges, extending from south-east to north-west, and, after passing Carolina, almost due west. The only great branch thrown out is that of the Cumberland or Laurel Mountains, stretching westward parallel to the most southern part of the Apalachian, and enclosing the fertile valley of Tennessee.

The height of these mountains was at first the subject of exaggerated statements, such as are made respecting any remarkable object. A more accurate examination proved that, compared to their great length, they are of small elevation. The measurements of Captain Partridge fix the highest point of Blue Ridge at 1908 feet, and that of the most elevated summit of the whole Alleghany at 2988 feet.

Among the loftiest are two elevated peaks, distinguished by the warm springs situated on their summit. The height of these is 2380 and 2018 feet. In general their elevation does not greatly vary; and the chain, throughout its whole extent, presents a long uniform ridge, with steep faces and level summits. It very much resembles the Jura, on a greater scale as to extent and a smaller as to height. These close table-ridges, however, render it much more difficult to penetrate than is usual in ranges of so moderate a height. Between most others there are commonly passages, level or nearly level, through which a route may be conducted; but in the Alleghany almost the only openings are formed by those hideous gullies through which the rivers, by the most violent action, have forced a passage, and have almost choked them with the fragments torn up in the operation. It is, therefore in general necessary to ascend and descend the heights and valleys which succeed each other as we cross these successive chains. Volney conceives, that great lakes must originally have filled the intervals between the Alleghany ridges, the waters of which, by violent means, at length effected a passage into the plains beyond; but these processes, hid in the mysterious depth of ages, cannot now be traced with precision. The composition of these mountains nowhere belongs to the primitive formation, except in that outer ledge, already described as terminating the sandy plain, and which is considered the Blue Mountains. The later formations predominate in all the chains of the proper Alleghany. From the observations of Mr Cornelius, it

appears, that they belong in a great measure to that vast limestone formation which covers the whole western territory. Of this material appears to be composed that most remarkable object called the Rock Bridge, in the mountainous district behind Virginia. Some great convulsion of nature has rent a mountain asunder from top to bottom, forming a deep cleft about two miles long, and in some places three hundred feet deep. A large mass of rock thrown across this fissure forms a natural bridge, the walls of which are so perpendicular, that from the parapet a plummet might be let fall to the very bottom of the chasm. A winding path, amid rocks and trees, enables the adventurous spectator to reach the bottom of the chasm, whence, in looking upwards, this stupendous arch appears in full grandeur, seeming to touch the skies. Its height is 213, and the span of the arch at top 90 feet. A late writer supposes it to have been a limestone cave, laid open by the action of water; but Mr Weld conceives, that when the fissure was made, this rock must have been drawn across it. On the whole, these steep wooded mountains, with majestic rivers forcing their way through them, produce many striking and romantic sites, which Mr Weld conceives to resemble, though without equalling in grandeur, the scenery of Wales.

Westward of the Alleghany, and thence to the Rocky Mountains, extends the next and greatest division of the United States. It comprises perhaps the largest plain in the world, reaching about 1500 miles in every direction, and equalling in extent nearly the whole of Europe. The pride of this great

plain, and the sure source of its rising prosperity, are its rivers. Those of the Atlantic plain hold a comparatively short course. None except the Hudson come from beyond the mountains, but descend from them across the limited breadth of the eastern territory to the ocean. The commodious bays, indeed, which they form across the continuous extent of the Atlantic coast, afford to these States the most advantageous outlet for their productions, and the means of a most extensive commerce. But the west, an immense plain, thoroughly inland, shut by mountain-barriers from the ocean on each side, would have laboured under a singular absence of the means of communication, had it not been furnished with a multitude of navigable rivers, which have been calculated to extend for above 23,000 miles. The trunk of this immense inland-navigation is the Mississippi. Rising in a chain of lakes at the northern border of the States' territory, in about  $49^{\circ}$  N. latitude, it traverses the whole breadth of the plain from north to south, till it falls at New Orleans into the Gulf of Mexico. Its title to the rank of the primary river has indeed been disputed on the very best grounds by a stream which ranks nominally only as its tributary. At the point of junction in latitude  $38^{\circ}$ , while the Mississippi has held a course of only 1300 miles, the *Missouri*, from its lofty and distant source in the Rocky Chain, has flowed 3096 miles. From the head of the Mississippi to the embouchure of the united waters in the Gulf of Mexico, the entire line of river-course is about 2500 miles; from the head of the Missouri it is 4300 miles,—a length which it

seems doubtful if even the boasted flood of the Amazons can rival. Thus the length of the Missouri, even before the junction, exceeds that of the rival stream. Yet the latter, by a prescriptive possession, which it seems impossible to shake, continues to give its name to the mighty mass of combined waters. There are certain views indeed under which it is convenient so to consider it. The Mississippi, by its direct line from north to south, bisects this immense plain, and separates its eastern from its western region. Deep sunk in its channel, it forms as it were the great American bottom, into which all the rivers from the opposite sides of the continent, and the opposite boundary-chains of mountains, find their common termination, and are carried down to the grand ocean-receptacle. The Missouri, however, in every comparative estimate of the magnitude of river-courses, must rank as the main stream; and, in fact, from the moment of entrance, stamps its own character upon the united channel. It communicates the tumult and rapidity of its course, and the muddy ash-colour of its waters, derived from the alluvial substances washed down from the soft clay and sand-banks which have bordered them. Mr Beck assures us, in his History of the Missouri Territory, that, after standing for some time, it deposits usually one-third of its bulk in sediment. After this we cannot admire the taste of the Americans, who, he says, drink it without scruple previous to any purification, and consider it rather as eminently wholesome. This water is said to be of a light, soft, agreeable quality, with an infusion of sulphur and

nitre, having a slight cathartic tendency, and considered useful in cutaneous diseases. It is remarkable, that the waters of the Nile, similarly impregnated with mud, have been considered as possessing some of these qualities.

When these rivers have united their mighty channels, and are swelled by others only second to themselves in magnitude, they form a sea-like expanse, which, when swelled by floods, can no longer be contained within level banks. Thus the low tract which everywhere borders the great trunk of the Mississippi, becomes liable to the most dreadful inundations. For a great extent of its lower course, a space of a hundred miles on each side is to a great extent laid under water. Yet the river has thrown up as it were a barrier against itself, by the great quantities of sand and mud which it deposits, and which form a ridge along its banks, higher at once than itself and than the plains adjacent, which are thus often preserved dry, though beneath the level of the Mississippi. Even during its floods, the river breaks these barriers only at particular points, and overruns in canals or channels the neighbouring country; a great part of which is thus preserved from submersion. These tracts, as well as the elevated ridge which borders the river, present the most brilliant verdure and fertility; the observation of which has led to the plan of aiding nature by a great artificial work called the Levee, which extends for about 130 miles above New Orleans. It is composed of a bank of earth, raised from four to six feet above the ridge, and thus generally sufficient to pre-



serve the river within its limits. Sometimes, however, in high floods, this barrier proves unavailing, and a dreadful scene takes place. The waters force an opening, rush through with frightful impetuosity, and with a noise like the roaring of a cataract, bearing down and destroying every thing before them. This *crevasse*, or breaking of the levee, spreads a consternation in the country round like that raised by a city on fire. Every other employment is abandoned, and the whole population hastens to assist in the attempts, often vainly made, to arrest its progress. The crop, the buildings, are swept away; the labour of years perishes; and often the land itself suffers by the sweeping away of its most productive surface. The Lousianian planter, with a prodigious volume of water thus rolling over his head, is in a state of perpetual watchfulness and anxiety. Each is bound to maintain the part of the levee opposite to his own land; and his private concern in it is enforced by commissioners, who, previous to the approach of the annual floods, make a general inspection of the work, and call upon each for the necessary repairs. During the continuance of the flood also every individual must be continually on the alert, and ready to fly at a moment's warning.

Many rivers besides the Missouri, and such as in other continents would rank as of the first magnitude, pour their waters into the great Mississippi basin. Of these, the most important is the Ohio, formed at Pittsburg by the united streams of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, coming from the back-settlements of Pennsylvania. Its course from Pittsburg

was estimated by Mr Hutchins at 1188 miles ; but more careful surveys made by the United States are said to have reduced it to 950. When reckoned, however, as it ought to be, from the head of its largest tributary, it will still have an entire course of nearly 1300 miles. The extensive valley which it waters is one of the most fruitful in the world, and already the seat of the most flourishing western settlements. In its course it receives other rivers of no secondary magnitude, bringing with them the tribute of the great countries which they have enriched. The chief southern tributaries are the Cumberland, from the fertile valley of Kentucky ; the Tennessee, from the valley bearing its own name ; these unite their waters near the common junction ; from the north comes the Wabash, after watering the rising state of Indiana. Even the humbler courses of the two Miamis, the Scioto and the Muskingum, are distinguished by the beauty and richness of the plains which they water. The Illinois, which falls in considerably above the Ohio, is nearly of equal length, and flows amid many fertile prairies ; but its tributaries are unimportant.

The western tributaries of the Mississippi, even without reckoning the Missouri, are still greater than the eastern, having to bring across a much more extensive plain all the waters poured down from the Rocky Mountains. Those which the Missouri itself receives from the immense prairies and deserts to the south and west, have a longer course than the Ohio. The Yellow Stone, in the higher part, disputing the

character of the main stream, flows 1100 miles ; the Platte, lower down, 1600 ; the Kansas, 1200. The Osage has only 600 ; but the great value of the territory which borders it compensates for this inferior magnitude. After the Missouri has poured its own waters, with those of so many subject-streams, into the common receptacle, the united stream in descending continues to receive vast accessions,—the Arkansa and the Red River, both from the loftiest of the Rocky Peaks, and after having flowed, the one 2200, the other 1500 miles. The former receives the Canadian of 1100 miles, and the White River of 1200 ; while the latter, near its mouth, is joined by the Washita, after a course of 600 miles through a very fertile territory.

All this grand system of rivers, whether of the Mississippi itself, or its tributaries from the east or the west, possesses one most important and fortunate feature. With a few slight exceptions, which could be removed without much difficulty, they are navigable without interruption from their source to their termination. They afford thus a range of inland-navigation, to which even that of China can scarcely be compared, and which, with the aid of a single maritime outlet, compensates to this vast region for the distance of a seacoast. The invention of steam navigation, which, in its practical application, undoubtedly belongs to America, is singularly adapted to river-navigation, where it has no swell or violent shocks to encounter ; and by rendering water-carriage, which for bulky goods is so much cheaper, as regular

and speedy as land-conveyance, it wonderfully promotes the communication between the most distant parts of this vast inland continent.

In the composition of this grand central plain, every thing is on the same large scale, but of materials wholly different from those which prevail on the other side of the Alleghany. The whole of the region between those mountains and the Mississippi is covered with a limestone formation of the most remarkable extent and continuity. Mr Cornelius describes himself as having travelled 800 miles without ever losing sight of this formation ; but finding every spring, every rivulet, impregnated with carbonate of lime. It extends even beyond the northern boundary of the States, along the banks of the Red River, and is separated by Lake Winnipeg from the primitive formation of the north. This structure is characterized as far as it reaches by the most excessive fertility. The soil which covers the territories of Kentucky and Ohio is not surpassed in richness by any on the face of the earth. The only danger in general is that of vegetation being choked by its extreme luxuriance. This fertility does not, as in the more eastern tracts, belong to a mere surface of vegetable deposit, liable to be carried away or exhausted, but to the structure of the glebe itself, and is thus deep lodged and permanent. Yet the aspect of this region is still that of an almost unbroken forest, in which cultivation has effected a few openings, without making any sensible impression on its immensity. The scenery of Kentucky, as viewed from the lofty detached pinnacle of Look-Out, is described by Cornelius to

consist of woods almost interminable, penetrated by the windings of a broad river, and diversified by hundreds of verdant prairies.

This calcareous substance, which is of the description called shell-limestone, is attended with striking and extensive excavations. Weir's Cave, described in Silliman's Journal as a specimen of the caves of Kentucky, is a mile and a half in extent, divided into numerous branches and apartments, the height of which varies from three to forty feet, and the breadth from two to thirty. A narrow and difficult passage leads into a large echoing cavern. Ledges of rock form the floor, while the uneven walls are covered over with beautiful incrustations of brown spar, hanging sometimes in thin, translucent, and beautiful sheets from the canopy. In the different apartments these calcareous crusts assume a thousand fantastic forms, and display the most sparkling lustre. They hang in clusters from the arched vault, and often reach the ground in massive columns. "Stalagnites rise from the floor like statues; at times we seem to walk on diamond pavements." Sometimes the visitor has to cross streams, and even to walk along their bed. The water, continually dropping from the ends of the stalactites, is the only sound which interrupts the deep silence of the cavern. These caves are here supposed to have been all produced by water penetrating through the soft materials of the rock.

Other phenomena arising out of this formation are those known by the elegant appellation of "sink holes." These are merely cavities of the same nature as those now described, into which rivulets or tor-

rents plunge, and are seen no more. The "Lost River," in Indiana, is described by Mr Nelson as realizing the fabled course of the Alpheus, pouring a large stream into one of these caverns, rolling six or seven miles underground, and re-appearing with an ample accession to its waters.

These vast western regions present some modifications of soil and scenery peculiar to themselves, which must be understood before we can form a precise idea of their surface and aspect. Such are the Prairies, the Barrens, the Bottoms, the Licks.

*Prairies* form a most extensive and important feature in Western America. This gay term, first attached to them by the French, does not exactly apply to the vast savannahs of the west. They resemble rather the boundless *Llanos* of the Oronooks. They consist of plains which, from too copious moisture, are rendered unfit for the growth of trees, or even of the smallest shrub, but are overgrown with a rank and luxuriant grass, rising to the height of six or seven feet. After being depastured, however, they assume the ordinary aspect of rich meadow ground. Some of them are admitted by Mr Birkbeck to be little better than marshes; and even those which do not come under this character are infested with a species of quagmire, called by the common people, according to Mr Beck, "purgatory swamps, or devil's holes." They present an apparently firm surface, but into which a stick may be thrust to any depth, and on which, when the incautious traveller sets his foot, especially in a wet season, he often sinks almost without hope of recovery. It is therefore unsafe for a stranger to

venture across one of these moist prairies without a pilot. Some also, like the grand prairie which occupies a great part of Illinois, are little else than dreary uninhabited wastes. The most agreeable spots are the small prairies, generally bounded and enclosed by a waving line of forest, which are soon converted into rich pastures, and by degrees become capable of bearing crops of grain. The new settlers, therefore, who at first shunned them as deserts or marshes, begin to prefer them to the heavily-timbered districts, the clearing of which is a laborious task. They offer also more cheerful situations than are enjoyed by him who is buried in the gloom of a forest, and whose visible horizon does not extend beyond the 500 yards which he has cleared around his habitation. These prairies, Mr Atwater observes, reach over the whole of this great interior plain, from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains. They extend sometimes only a few perches, sometimes as far as the eye can reach. Mr Bourne has observed them even in glades near the top of the Alleghany, and considers them on the whole much richer than the fresh meadows of the eastern territory. Mr Fearon supposes the prairies of Illinois to comprise at least a million of acres.

The *barrens* form another description of surface, which, though they somewhat resemble the prairies, are essentially different. They occupy usually the highest part of the country, and are level, but with slight swells, in which grow numberless little groves or clusters of oak, hickory, and other trees, but all stunted, and only about half the size of those on or-

dinary lands. The grass on these elevations is tall and coarse, but thin ; while on the lower grounds it rises thick and luxuriant. These barrens in fact are among the most fertile spots on the face of the earth. To the traveller, indeed, who passes over them, they present an aspect almost as dreary as that of an African desert. A man, Mr Atwater observes, may travel on them from morning to night, and appear still on the very spot from which he set out. No pleasing variety of hill and dale, no flowing stream, or sound of woodland-music, delights the eye or the ear ; but in their stead the prospect is spread out in immense and dreary uniformity ; nor is it at all enlivened by the rill of muddy reddish water, which is seen slowly meandering through it. The farmer, however, who sees his cattle fatten rapidly, and without trouble to himself, on these natural meadows, soon learns to view them more favourably. Sheep cannot be fed with advantage on this rank and luxuriant herbage ; but the horse, the ox, the hog, thrive exceedingly ; and by draining, corn may be raised with great advantage. These natural meadows are of various dimensions, and of every form which imagination can conceive. Mr Bourne thinks they are produced by fires, which have consumed the trees that formerly covered the surface, and observes, that many of these which remain appear partially burned ; but the moist surface, the stunted wood, and the rank herbage, seem rather to indicate something peculiar in the nature of the soil itself.

Another characteristic of the great American plain consists in its *bottoms*. The rivers, as has been ob-



served, where they are not bordered by those loose elevations called bluffs, flow generally along a dead and almost sunk level. They are thus liable to frequent inundations, and their character fluctuates between that of a swamp, and of the very richest alluvial meadow. Mr Birkbeck justly censures the American practice of building towns in the bottoms, even when there is a bluff at no inconvenient distance. In addition to the perpetual danger of being swept away, they are thus rendered extremely unhealthy. Indeed the district situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi forms so wet and marshy a bottom, that, notwithstanding its singularly happy situation for trade, no attempts have yet been made to erect a city on any part of it.

The spots which the Americans designate by the somewhat inelegant name of *licks*, do not cover any great extent of territory; yet they afford marks which serve to break its extensive monotony. These licks are favoured and almost enchanted spots in the bosom of the American forest. They are formed by salt-springs, which, bubbling out, and spreading over a small surrounding tract, prevent the growth of trees, but cover it with the richest verdure. These spots become the favourite haunt of the bison, the elk, and the other wild and harmless tenants of the forest. They crop its rich pastures, and lick the saline particles with which it is impregnated.

The territory to the west of the Mississippi, unknown to its possessors till within the last twenty years, is of still greater extent than the tract comprised between that river and the Alleghany. For

an extent of 200 to 400 miles it is, on the whole, of a somewhat similar character, and affords equal prospects of becoming a wealthy and cultivated region. Its prairies indeed are still more extensive and less level. They present very generally a rolling surface, like the waves of the sea when under the influence of a moderate gale. Timber is much less abundant, and many tracts have not that important necessary of life and instrument of new settlement at all within convenient reach. This has led many to foredoom these tracts to perpetual and hopeless desertion. But though this want may indeed prevent these spots from being early or in preference fixed upon for colonization and settlement, yet, when the rest is occupied and land becomes precious, the vast facilities of water-carriage must make it no very arduous task to convey to them this material, which they alone want. A much more deep and terrible obstacle exists to the unlimited improvement of this part of America. At a certain distance beyond the Mississippi commences a sandy saline desert, which, as it proceeds westward, becomes always more complete and more desolate, till it is bounded by the naked cliffs of the Rocky Mountains. The rivers which descend from that ample fountain of waters, roll indeed mighty streams, but not, as elsewhere, over rich alluvial meadows. They are confined within deep and somewhat broad ravines, which they fill with a brilliant belt of verdure, but without in almost any degree breaking the dreary uniformity of the encircling waste. Even over these desolate regions indeed bisons are seen ranging in

herds, sometimes of a thousand and upwards ; somewhere, therefore, these animals must find pasturage in a certain abundance. Doubtless, at that distant future period, when all the rich plains to the east and the west of the Mississippi shall have been covered with cultivation, many favourable spots, yet unknown and unobserved, will be traced out ; and art may find resources for irrigating and improving these arid wastes ; but this era is still very remote.

The next grand geographical line is that of the Rocky Mountains, of which little can yet be said, and almost all that little has already been introduced into our narrative of the travels of Pike, Lewis, and James. Granite, after a long interval, again appears as the chief component part of these mountains, which present, however, to the east, an irregular facing of sand-stone. Their height exceeds that of any part of the Alleghany. One peak, the highest yet observed, was found to be 8500 feet above the plain, and believed in consequence to be 11,500 feet above the sea. Such an elevation in this latitude causes deep snow to cover these mountains during winter, and to remain on many of their peaks for the whole year. The Rocky Mountains extend in breadth for 200 or 300 miles, and their lower sides are generally covered with extensive woods.

To the fifth portion, which extends from the Rocky Mountains to the ocean, the States have only a very remote and prospective title, which is perhaps neither known nor acknowledged by one of its actual inhabitants ; yet we have already observed it to be a title which their posterity probably will find

no difficulty in enforcing. This most western region does not present the uniform expanse of either mountain or plain characteristic of the other four divisions. The leading feature is a long chain of mountains, interposed between the Rocky Chain and the ocean, and parallel to each. Between this chain and that of the Rocky Mountains, there intervenes a plain, varying from 200 to 400 miles in breadth, nowhere thickly wooded, but in its lower parts extremely fertile. The immediate coast of the Pacific, instead of that bold and awful front which is so conspicuous at Nootka and the shores to the north, descends in gentle and verdant slopes. The rivers of this region are very considerable, though they do not rival those stupendous floods which flow through the great central plain. The numerous waters collected between the two great mountain-ranges all unite in the channel of the Columbia, which, forcing its way across the most westerly chain, enters the Pacific after a course of about 500 miles. The main tributaries have received the names of the travellers, Lewis and Clarke, by whom they were first discovered. Having to pierce through such formidable barriers, so near the ocean, they are by no means of commodious navigation, and are obstructed, even in their lower course, by falls, cataracts, or at least rapids. We have seen the Columbia traversed by a succession of most formidable rapids, over which, however, a boat skilfully piloted may clear its way. The coast of the Pacific, when reached, affords the materials of a valuable fishery.

The climate of North America presents some pe-

cular features. The Eastern Atlantic region belongs by position to the temperate zone; but it has no tract to which that term can be in strictness applied. Instead of that equable succession of heat and cold, with which the happier regions of Europe are blessed, it experiences the alternations of a tropical and an Arctic climate. The midsummer heat of New England, according to Volney, is for some weeks  $31^{\circ}$  of Reaumur, which is the temperature of Arabia. On the other hand, Philadelphia, which corresponds to the genial climate of Valencia and Naples, experiences a polar winter. The broad channel of the Delaware is frozen over in twenty-four hours, and remains in that state for several weeks. These extremes of summer heat and winter cold are indeed experienced in the north of Europe,—at Petersburg, Stockholm, and even in Lapland. But America seems distinguished from these countries by the very sudden variations which take place in the course of a single day; produced on one side by the warm breezes from the Gulf of Mexico, on the other by the cold streams which descend from the polar seas, and from the vast forests and swamps of the interior. A variation of twenty-eight degrees of Fahrenheit in the course of eighteen hours is by no means uncommon; and Dr Rush mentions an instance, (on the 4th and 5th February, 1788,) when there was a fall from  $37^{\circ}$  to  $-4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , or  $41^{\circ}$ . In Charleston, the transitions from hot to cold are so sensibly felt, that as much fire-wood is said to be consumed in that city as in Philadelphia. Generally throughout the States, even during the greatest heats of midsummer, there is a

change at night to piercing cold, which continues always to increase till the morning ; so that there are few nights in which a fire is not agreeable. On the whole, says Dr Rush, we have the moisture of Britain in the spring, the heat of Africa in summer, the temperature of Italy in June, the colds and snows of Norway and the ice of Holland in the winter, the tempests in a certain degree of the West Indies, and the variable weather of Great Britain in every season.

It is remarked by Mr Jefferson, that the cold becomes always more intense in proceeding westward till the summit of the Alleghany is reached,—a circumstance for which he finds it difficult to account ; but a sufficient reason seems found in the continual increase of elevation. After, however, that pinnacle is passed, and a descent is made into the western plain, the air becomes milder, and the temperature of the basin of the Mississippi is calculated to be three degrees higher than that on the Atlantic coast. This is attributed by Mr Stilson to the prevailing current of air, at once warm and moist, which comes from the Gulf of Mexico, ascending successively the Mississippi and the Ohio. It is modified, however, by two other currents ; one of which comes from the Missouri, originating probably in the Rocky Mountains, and blowing over the immense intervening plain. It is somewhat unhealthy, which the above writer imputes to the rank luxuriance of vegetable substances, growing and putrefying in the fertile deserts which it traverses ; but the vast swamps and stagnant waters which lodge in so great a part of the prairies and bottoms must doubtless contribute to this evil.

The third current, coming from the northern lakes, is intensely cold ; and the writer apprehends it as likely to become always more so, through the cutting down of the forests, which at present serve as a screen against its violence. Such an effect, however, would be contrary to what obtains in almost every similar case where the forests, by excluding the rays of the sun, and rendering the ground wet, produce a low temperature, which becomes milder after their removal.

The climate of the United States does not generally equal that of Europe in salubrity. Peculiar alarm has been spread by the dreadful ravages occasionally made in the great cities by the yellow fever. An important and critical question is agitated in the medical world, whether this dreadful malady is introduced by foreign infection, or springs from a peculiar and vitiated state of the local atmosphere? That the yellow fever, and all the diseases allied to it, are propagated by infection, seems established by evidence that can admit of no dispute ; yet the researches of the American physicians appear to have ascertained also, that without the concurrence of damp, filth, and a temperature of upwards of 80°, the malignant influence will not be brought into action. On the other hand, where this pernicious combination exists, it will spring up independent of any foreign communication. It was always in the low, close, dirty quarters of New York, bordering immediately on the quays, that the yellow fever first originated, and thence spread through the rest of the city. When patients were removed to healthy country situations, the infection did not accompany them. At New York indeed, and

the other maritime cities, which carried on a brisk trade with the West Indies, there was always room to suspect a foreign origin. But detached points of the interior, and even of the western territory, which are surrounded by ponds and marshy grounds, have been visited in the middle of summer by this fever in its most violent and dangerous form, at a time when there had been no communication with the West Indies, or any other infected region. Even in the great cities, the precautions taken by the enforcement of cleanliness and the removal of noxious matter have rendered the occurrence of this dreadful disease much rarer and less destructive. America, in general, suffers more from the intermitting fever or ague, and from the bilious remitting fever, or typhus; and the production of these maladies seems to depend almost entirely on local circumstances. The vicinage of marshes and pools, of the inundated banks of lakes and rivers, and of ground which, after being for ages in a state of nature, is for the first time turned up by the plough, constitute the situations most liable to this pernicious influence. Mr Atwater describes a fog which rises from different parts of the Ohio in the evening and continues till morning, and which appears to exert an influence very pernicious to health. Mr Warden indeed considers the western state of Indiana to be more healthful than the others; but this does not quite agree with Mr Birkbeck's observations with reference to it, that a seasoning fever is a tax which every new settler must inevitably pay. Another circumstance, which may make the air of America evil reported of beyond its deserts is, that



with a view to trade, on which her citizens are eagerly intent, most of the western towns are built on the banks of the rivers, and on the very bottoms, without the builders being deterred even by the danger of inundation. The effect above observed of the exhalations from newly-turned-up earth has increased, and for some time must increase, with the progress of settlement. The ultimate result, however, of the whole territory being brought under complete and regular cultivation must happily be directly opposite. Already this is observable in New England, a portion of the Union where cultivation is nearly as complete as in Europe, and from which accordingly these troublesome fevers have in a great measure disappeared.

Other diseases, arising from irregular and extreme attacks of cold, are prevalent in America. A fifth and sometimes a fourth of the fatal cases in the medical lists are placed under the head of consumption. Its prevalence in large cities, and its increase in the course of the last century, lead to the inference that the modern style of dress, exposure in crowded and heated assemblies, and other fashionable imprudences, are to be ranked among its exciting causes. Rheumatism, a painful and obstinate class of malady, has its chief seat in the remote and country districts. Sleeping in the woods, living in log-houses, that are neither air nor water tight, and exposure to wet and cold in the pursuits of agriculture and hunting, sufficiently account for its prevalence. The teeth throughout America generally suffer under a premature decay. This has been ascribed to the quantity of warm

liquors drank in this country, though we should presume this not to be materially greater than in Europe ; but this practice may render them more liable to the prevailing influence of cold, probably the chief source of toothach. It is remarkable also, that even in full health, amid rural habits, and without any deficiency of general vigour, the Americans are destitute of the bloom which in Europe is usually considered as the index of it. This, according to Mr Birkbeck, may be ascribed to the deep shade of the woods ; but it is equally observable in the towns and in the most cleared districts. The same pallid tint, with the speedy decay of the teeth, is noticed among the colonists of New South Wales ; so that it seems to depend upon some climatic influence, with the cause of which we are yet unacquainted.

The products of the mineral kingdom in North America, though they possess by no means that brilliant and prominent character which belongs to those of the southern regions of that continent, are extensive, solid, and useful. The whole of that primitive range which traverses the northern States is stored with iron-ore, which is worked in many places with advantage on a large scale. Lead is found in various parts, but particularly at Southampton. The drift here, carried 800 feet under a hill, forms a long narrow passage, cut chiefly out of the solid rock, nearly similar to that of the Peak Cavern in Derbyshire. A gun is fired at the entrance, and a boat comes out, upon which the visitor lies down, and is ferried through. Mr Hitchcock calculates the annual produce at nearly 20,000 dollars.

The southern tracts of the Alleghany, composed of secondary rocks, contain numerous veins of iron; but are very scantily supplied with other metallic products. In North Carolina, however, is found the only specimen of the precious metals which has been discovered in the wide range of the United States. A space of about 1000 square miles along the River Pedee, or Yadkin, is almost universally covered with a stratum of gravel and clay, from which gold may be extracted in greater or less abundance. The metallic particles are obtained by throwing the earth into a wooden vessel, rocking it like a cradle, or stirring it with a wooden rake. The metal appears in portions of various size, from a pin's head to one or two pennyweights. There have been occasionally found pieces of 400 to 600 pennyweights, and even in one instance, of 28 lbs.; but in general it is too poor to repay the labour of extraction. Yet the brilliant ideas which are attached to gold have excited the eager cupidity and adventure of the natives of this district. They have recourse to the most extraordinary means of tracing it out, not omitting even the divining rod. They are in general poor and ignorant, and the country consists in a great measure of a barren surface, covered with thin forests and sand-hills. Elegant specimens sometimes occur, which might adorn the cabinet of the curious mineralogist; but, not coming under any scientific eye, they are melted into bars, and employed in trade. A curiosity, however, to possess some specimen of this brilliant product of their territory is very general; and there is scarcely an individual who does not possess some

trifling article made of gold. The entire value of the metal received at the mint of Carolina prior to 1820 is stated in Silliman's Journal at 43,689 dollars.

The vast region which extends west of the Alleghany presents in many points a mineral character differing from that of the east. The calcareous character of all its rocks modifies that of the substances imbedded in them. Coal, which on the other side of the mountains exists copiously only on the west of Pennsylvania and the upper tracts of Virginia, appears along the northern bank of the Ohio in almost inexhaustible beds. The saline springs, called licks, are very numerous; yet many of them are neither very copious nor very strongly impregnated, and bear no comparison with the immense deposits beyond the Missouri. Great quantities of nitre are contained in the caves of Kentucky. Iron too, so generally diffused through the United States, is not wanting here; and there are several mines of lead.

The immense region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains has as yet been crossed only by lines of exploratory expeditions, and has not been examined in any full or connected manner. The grandest mineral feature yet observed is that of the lead district on the Missouri. Mr Schoolcraft, in his interesting treatise on the subject, considers this as a mineral territory not paralleled by any other in the world. It is 70 to 100 miles in length, 40 to 45 in breadth, and contains an area of about 3150 square miles. The ground is barren, and presents a rolling surface, like that of a body of water in gentle agitation. The rocks belong to the primitive formations,

and present the only granite that occurs in the long line between the two great mountain-chains. The ore occurs in the form of lead-glance, galena, or sulphuret of lead. The produce during the three years ending in 1819, is stated at 3,726,000 lbs., selling at 4 cents per pound. The saline products of this region are also immense, especially in the arid and sandy tracts to the west. The Grand Saline and the Rock Saline, observed in the travels of Mr Pike and Dr Sibley, present this substance on a scale only paralleled by the great salt-plain of Abyssinia. Several of the rivers that flow into the Arkansa are almost as salt as the sea.

The *animal* creation in North America exhibits the same generic features as in Europe and Northern Asia, accompanied in most instances with specific distinctions that are somewhat marked. The domestic animals of temperate Europe transported to this continent have prospered and multiplied; but the character of its native animal tribes has an analogy to the northern and almost Arctic zoology of the old world. Our plan and limits will admit only of a slight and very rapid sketch of this extensive subject.

The most interesting feature of the animal creation in this western continent is perhaps the beaver (*castor fiber*.) These amphibia indeed occur in the northern parts of Europe and of Siberia, but on comparatively so small a scale, both in number and size, as to make the beaver with propriety be viewed as specially American. There appears to be absolutely no animal which makes so close an approach to human art and intelligence. The beaver builds his

habitation either in a pond, or in the channel of a river converted into a pond by strong piles laid across. This operation involves the greatest display of ingenuity. A tall tree is selected, and filed round with the teeth till it is undermined and falls across the stream. It is then fastened down by smaller trees and branches, brought often from a distance, and cemented with earth. In the little lake thus formed, the beaver rears his abode to the height of two, three, or four stories, half above and half under water, and with an opening into both elements. Stones and earth as well as wood are used in forming the walls, which, by the joint operation of the feet and the tail, are wrought into a mass so solid as to be proof against the action of current, wind, and weather. The outside is plastered in the neatest manner, the floor kept excessively clean, strewn with box and fir. A large provision of food, consisting of bark and leaves, is stored up for the winter. The beavers possess a social and almost moral existence. Each mansion contains from six to thirty inhabitants, which live together in the greatest harmony, and afford mutual aid and co-operation. From twelve to fourteen houses united form a village, containing thus a population of two or three hundred. The distinction of property is strictly observed, and there is even a union somewhat similar to that of marriage. Against this sage, meek, and peaceful animal man wages a relentless war, on account of the rich and soft covering with which nature has invested him. Traps lodged near his cabin, and the bait of which is composed of the leaves and bark of his favourite

tree, form an easy mode by which he is caught. One individual made a thousand pounds in five years by the trade; but the eager pursuit of it which was thus prompted soon thinned the species over America. They still, however, occur, though in smaller numbers, throughout the continent. The sebaceous substance called castor, secreted in a bag placed in a particular part of the body, is well known to be of important use in medicine. The musk-rat, also amphibious, is a sort of miniature beaver, inhabiting creeks and lakes, on the borders of which it constructs a conical cabin.

The deer species, though by no means peculiar to the New World, exist there in such vast numbers and peculiar forms, that they may be considered almost characteristic of the vast plains and forests of America. The elk and the moose, the latter of which is said to be most properly the *cervus alces*, are the largest of this elegant species of animal. The elk has a large head, resembling that of the horse; but his body and limbs connect him with the deer, though displaying a superior size and strength. The horns are three feet long, of a roundish form, with pointed antlers, the lowest of which forms a curve downward over the eye. Some of the largest of these animals weigh as much as a thousand pounds. The moose is still larger, weighing 1300 or 1400 lbs., and standing twenty hands high. Its horns are without antlers, flat, palmated, and spreading so wide from the base, that the distance of the extreme branches is five or six feet. These animals are mild and harmless, feeding on grass and on the tender branches of the wil-

low and poplar. When attacked, they seek safety, first in the most rapid flight, with immense leaps, which they continue without intermission for twenty or thirty miles. When at last hunted down and reduced to desperation, they often turn and attack their pursuers with prodigious fury. By the united action of feet and horns they have been known to destroy a wolf. The Indians, who find in these animals a delicate and nourishing food, as well as valuable materials of clothing, make the pursuit one of the grand objects of their hunts. They endeavour to drive them in large bodies into an enclosed circle, formed partly by armed men, and partly by the banks of rivers or lakes, where, being attacked by canoes, they fall in great numbers. Notwithstanding this constant chase, vast herds still continue to cover all the plains in the west ; but the fire-arms and the cultivation introduced by Europeans have been so much more deadly, that they are now rarely seen to the east of the Mississippi.

There are other species of American deer. The red deer is much larger than that of Europe, standing three feet and a half high, with horns sometimes two feet long ; yet Cuvier conceives that it may be a variety of the same animal. It is distinguished by elegance of form, strength and swiftness. The *cervus wapiti*, though bearing the general aspect of the red deer, has several specific variations, and is considerably taller, rising to the height of eighteen hands, in attaining which a youth of twelve years is spent ; and the wapiti reaches so remarkable an age, that "as old as the wapiti" has become an Indian proverb.



Like all the rest of the species, he is mild, and so affectionate, that when one of a herd drops, the rest abandon themselves to grief, and fall an easy prey to the hunter. The Virginian stag, found also in Louisiana and the Missouri territory, is a smaller animal, about the size of the European fallow-deer. On the western side of the Rocky Mountains, a species observed by Lewis and Clarke, from the length of its ears, is called by them the mule-deer.

Of the bovine species, the only example presented by the United States consists in the animal called sometimes the buffalo, but more properly the bison. It is distinguished from the European ox by the great bulk of the fore-part of the body, and by a mass of flesh, which, rising at the shoulders, extends along the back, and is overgrown, as well as the head and neck, with long rough hair, giving the animal a hideous appearance. The full-grown male measures ten feet in length, and weighs from 1600 to 2000 lbs. These animals appear now rarely and in small numbers in the Eastern States ; but in the boundless prairies of the west they roam in immense herds, sometimes (it is positively asserted) amounting to no less than 10,000. Mr Sibley describes their approach from behind a range of hills as announced by a sound like distant thunder, and their rushing down into the valley as one of the grandest spectacles that the human eye could behold. Another host was observed by Mr Bradbury at rutting season, when the males were fighting in various directions with a fury almost unexampled, and several hundred battles were waging at the same moment. Yet in general they are peace-

able, and even shy, shunning the approach of man, and standing on their defence against the ferocious animals. When attacked by a band of wolves, they range themselves in a circle, placing the young and infirm in the centre, and joining their horns so close as to form an impenetrable phalanx, which their ferocious assailants vainly attempt to break. When, however, they have not time to form this circle of defence, or when accident breaks it, they fall an easy prey. Mr Sibley, with eighty Osage Indians, attacked a corps of 2000 buffaloes, when the firing of guns, yells of the savages, and roaring of this crowd of affrighted animals, formed a scene not to be described. The result, however, was the killing of twenty-seven buffaloes, with only a slight hurt to one of the Indians. The flesh is good, and the hump on the shoulder is considered a delicious morsel. The skin, the fleece, or hair, and the horns, are all subservient to important uses.

Of animals of prey, America has not those noble and beautiful varieties which give to the unfrequented regions of the Old World a sublime and awful character. The lion, the tiger, the elephant, those kings of the African and Indian forest, are unknown to the boundless deserts of the West. It is the huge and shapeless form of the bear, divided into the varieties of black, brown, and grizzly, that spreads terror through the American prairie. In following the course of Lewis and Clarke, we have had occasion to see some deadly and desperate encounters with this animal. Yet the bear, at least of the two first species, is not generally furious till attacked or wounded.

A great part of his food being vegetable, his flesh, to those who can overcome their reluctance to eat it, is both agreeable and nourishing: the bacon made from it is said to surpass that of the hog. The fat, oil, skin, and fur, are of value. These qualities, good and bad, of the bear have raised up an incessant war against him, which has driven him almost beyond the range of settlement. The Indians have a wild record regarding this animal, that he is brought into the world a mere formless mass, which the tongue of the mother licks into shape and life. His shyness, with the remote and unfrequented spots sought by the mother for the purposes of parturition, has given room to the love of the marvellous to hatch this fable, which close observation has already disproved.—The racoon is a small bear about the size of a fox, which he resembles in some features. He has thick and short legs, and sharp claws, with which he readily climbs trees, feeding on acorns, fruit, corn, birds, crabs, oysters, and every thing which occurs to him in the course of his nightly prowling. He is not an object of dread to man, but is pursued by the hunter for his flesh, which is good, and for his long, thick, and soft hair, which is employed in the manufacture of hats.

The wolf, less powerful, but fiercer and more bloody, is found, like the bear, in every region and every climate of America, and is everywhere the relentless foe of man and beast. Hunting in packs, with a frightful noise, the wolves overpower animals whose individual strength is greater than their own. Hovering round the villages of the early colonists, even when

unable to find entrance, they rendered the abodes dreary by their dismal nightly howlings. Great pains have been taken to extirpate them from the settled quarters, and in New Hampshire, whose mountainous tracts are still infested by them, a reward of twenty dollars is given for each head. In the Missouri region they often gorge themselves on the flesh of the bison till they are unable to move. They are taken chiefly by log-traps, and their skins and furs are of some value.

Of the feline species, which includes the most terrible of our beasts of prey, the only large specimen is the cougar, called the American panther, and in fact resembling the animal of that name in Africa and Asia. It is generally five or six, and has even occurred nine feet long, fierce and untameable, committing dreadful nightly ravages among the flocks; but though occasionally seen in every quarter of America, it nowhere appears in great numbers. The wild cat, harbouring in the mountains, is by no means an enemy to be despised. It is sometimes three feet long, leaps on the neck of cattle and deer, and by tearing the jugular vein, quickly destroys them. On one occasion a cat was seen to seize a calf, and leap with it up a ledge of rocks fifteen feet high.

The other quadrupeds of America are of a secondary class. Squirrels of numerous and peculiar species, and variously striped and coloured, leap continually from bough to bough, amid its endless forests. There is a singular animal, called from its leap the barking squirrel, and from its bark the prairie dog, but seeming really to be a new species of marmot,

vast hives of which are found in the country to the west of the Mississippi. They reside in towns or villages which cover several hundred acres, and consist of burrows or holes dug in the earth in a spiral form. As there is generally a burrow every ten steps, with a family in each, the population of these cities must be very great. The whole of this space, as the traveller approaches, is heard echoing with the sound of *wish-ton-wish*, as the Indians interpret the sound, which they have assigned as the name of the animal. On the first apprehension of danger, they disappear in the interior of their winding cells, the depth of which has never yet been fathomed. Major Pike poured into one 140 gallons of water in hopes of compelling the tenant to come forth, but without effect. The only chance of killing them is to fire the moment one is discovered, and shoot him at once dead ; for when wounded only, he still makes his way downwards. It is by no means safe to pass through their village on account of their intimacy with the rattlesnake, which not unfrequently takes refuge in the same-hole. Another feature of American zoology consists in the skunk or polecat, called by the French *bête puante*, or *enfant du diable*. This animal, neither swift nor powerful, is provided by nature with an instrument of defence, which renders him truly terrible to all who dare to offer him the slightest annoyance. Two bags near the abdomen contain each about half an ounce of a peculiar liquor, which he possesses the power of ejecting to the distance of fifteen or sixteen feet, and the stench of which is so horrible, that it has been known to excite a fever of several

days' continuance. No ablution, even when performed in a strong alkaline solution, can avail in removing this stain. The author of "Excursion," &c. describes in the most pathetic terms the protracted agony which he endured in consequence of a portion of this odious liquid being accidentally squirted upon him. It is very remarkable, that this noisome quality is said to be confined to the bag and liquor contained in it, while the flesh of the animal itself is nutritive, and even agreeable to the taste.

The martin or sable, and the ermine, are found in the northern parts of New England; but their fur does not attain that extreme richness and softness which, under the influence of extreme cold, distinguish those found in the Arctic climates of America and Siberia.

Among the quadrupeds, America produces striking remains of those gigantic forms, which no longer appear on our earth, but belong as it were to a departed creation. A few detached bones of the mammoth, an extinct species of elephant, exactly similar to that so largely found in Siberia, have been collected in different districts of New York and at the heads of the rivers of Virginia and Tennessee. Entire skeletons, and in much greater number, have been found in the same places, of another species marked by some peculiarities, called by Cuvier the *Mastodon Giganteum*,—of which a fine specimen is preserved in the Philadelphia museum. America contains also the gigantic fossil species of sloth called *Megatherium*; but the species peculiar to North America is said to be more properly termed Mega-

lonix. It is found exclusively in the limestone caves of Kentucky.

The feathered creation in America surpasses and almost eclipses, in the beauty of its plumage, the winged tribes of the East. Among all these beautiful inhabitants of the air the humming-bird shines conspicuous. It is at once the smallest and prettiest of all birds, and within a length of three inches comprises the most brilliant variety of tints. The breast is red, the back, wings, and tail of the finest pale green, the belly white, while the head is crowned with a tuft of jetty black ; small golden spots embellish every part, and a light down covering gives to the whole a peculiar softness and harmony. This fair form, however, is devoid of music, and generally the notes which sound through the American woods are dull and dissonant when compared with those to which our groves are attuned. Yet Virginia possesses the mocking-bird, to whose note the palm over every other is generally assigned. This pride of the western songsters is chiefly distinguished by the talent of reflecting with superior beauty the song of every other bird, the cry of animals, and even the sound made by human voices and instruments. After a little practice, it performs in perfection a French or Scots air, or an American popular tune. With equal readiness, when brought within its sphere of hearing, it imitates the mewing of the cat, the bark of the dog, and even the grunt of the hog. This flexible imitation, however, though it amuses and surprises, does not seem to mark the same genuine musical excellence as a fine natural note like that

of the nightingale, to which the mocking-bird, when reduced to its own resources, is said to produce nothing equal.

The Amerians have few examples of the eagle, and the vulture, those mighty and kingly birds of prey, which build in the cliffs and rocky shores of Europe.\* The humbler descriptions of the raven and hawk occur; but their ravages are not much complained of. The Turkey buzzard is a huge carrion bird, employed by the southern cities as a scavenger. The feathered game consists in a great measure of the domestic fowls of Europe, turkeys, geese, ducks, flying about in a wild state, of larger size and more delicate taste than in our poultry-yards. According to Mr Cooper, a wild, delicious, and peculiar flavour exists in every thing that ranges the American forest. Fire-flies glitter in the forests of the south; but mosquitoes and other insects armed with stings render the damp and low situations in summer and in the south almost untenable.

The serpent brood, in the deep thickets of America, swarm in monstrous and terrible numbers. Among the varieties of this odious species the rattlesnake is gloomily pre-eminent. This serpent is from three to five feet long, and nine feet only in the largest specimens. The alarming rattle from which it takes its name is formed by a bag of hollow bones,

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\* The calumet eagle, observed by Lewis and Clarke to the west of the Rocky Mountains, has not yet been very fully described.



loosely connected with each other, and producing this sound when the animal stirs. Rattlesnakes move slowly, and are said not to attack man unless molested; but this is often done unguardedly by treading on their dark haunts. When thus provoked, they coil themselves round, and, shaking their rattles, give the warning alarm; their whole body swells with rage, rising and falling like a pair of bellows; their cheeks become swollen and their lips constricted, discovering their fatal fangs; their eyes, red as flame, and their brandishing forked tongues, threaten instant death. They never strike unless sure of their aim. They have been alleged to possess a peculiar fascination, by which birds, squirrels, and other creatures, which are their chosen prey, lose all power over themselves, and rush by an irresistible impulse into the mouth of their destroyer. It does seem to be true, that their frightful aspect, and the sound of their rattle, when seen and heard by animals which recognise in this object their mortal enemy, paralyze them with terror: they quit their hold of the branches, and fall down an easy prey. A dog has been killed by them in a quarter of a minute and a man in two minutes; but in general the poison is of slower operation. In slight cases, decoctions of roots have been tried with success; and when the wound is in a fleshy part, the cutting out of the piece has proved a remedy; but when the poison has entered any of the main veins and arteries, the case is considered from the first as hopeless. The mocassin, called by the vulgar the copper-head snake, though it does not act with such a parade of terrible circumstance, is

considered to afford ground for still more serious alarm. When it coils itself, raises its upper-jaw, vibrates its long purple forked tongue, and directs its sickle-shaped poisonous fangs against an enemy, its aspect is said to be truly terrific. Though it does not pursue, it puts itself in the way of a passenger: its venom is equally deadly as that of the rattlesnake; and, according to Mr Pierce, its strength is neither diminished by time, nor extracted by boiling. The black snake is represented by some as venomous, which others deny. Certain it is, that his poison is by no means so deadly as that of the other two; and if he kills, it is rather by coiling round his victim and squeezing it to death. On the whole, however, he is considered so comparatively harmless, that the farmers rather favour his multiplication on account of the benefit derived from his hostile operations against rats, mice, and other vermin. We shall not pursue this species through their other varieties, as the bull-snake, the glass-snake, the coach-whip-snake, &c. Several of these are larger than those just described, but are not armed with any destructive qualities, at least against the human species.

The fishes which fill the coasts and bays of the United States are generally of the same species as on the opposite coasts of Europe. They are abundant, especially along the shore of the New England States; which, however, have no bank of the same extreme richness as that of Newfoundland. On the western coast, the whale, the seal, the porpoise, and other large and fatty amphibia of the Arctic seas, come down in great numbers; but the most valuable

tenant of those coasts is the otter, so distinguished, as already observed, for its rich and glossy skin, which forms a valuable article in commerce. The great rivers are infested with an alligator or cayman, of large dimensions, from twelve to twenty-three feet long, and with a mouth which opens nearly three feet wide. The body is as long as that of a horse, and its scales are said to be impenetrable to a rifle-ball. Its roar during the breeding season is like the sound of distant thunder. The alligator feeds on dogs, fishes, and insects. He lays himself on his back, opens wide his mouth, in which, unconscious where they are, numerous flies and other insects settle, when it suddenly closes on them, and they are all devoured.

The vegetable kingdom in America presents some bold and original features. Boundless forests, unless on the prairies and the barrens, cover its entire surface. The woods in the more northerly States are of species similar to those of Europe, and grow often to a remarkable size and height. The timber is often finely-veined and susceptible of a high polish; but it is observed not to be of so firm a texture, and consequently so fit for ship-building and the substantial parts of houses, as the oak of Britain and the fir of the Baltic. The forests of the south are adorned with many majestic and beautiful species; the superb magnolias, different kinds of palm, evergreen oak and walnut. Dr Hooker mentions particularly the majestic tulip-tree, (*liriodendral tulipifera*,) reaching to the height of 140 feet, and loaded with large and brilliant flowers. Beneath the shade of these

forests grow numerous beautiful plants peculiar to North America, and to the introduction of which our shubberies owe a great part of their beauty. The gardens of the curious also are adorned with many of the choicer shrubs and plants peculiar to this part of the American continent. The fruits of Europe transplanted thither have not only succeeded, but many of them have improved in a remarkable manner. The apple was not a native of this continent, yet there is now produced in New York an apple more grateful to the palate than in any other country. The peaches likewise are here excellent and most abundant ; insomuch, that, besides contributing to the luxury of the table, they are occasionally employed in the fattening of hogs and in the distillation of a peculiar kind of spirit. Among the most remarkable of North American productions is the sugar-maple, which, on being skilfully tapped, will yield twenty or thirty gallons of saccharine gum, whence may be drawn five or six pounds of sugar. Unlike the cane, it thrives best in cold, wet, and mountainous countries.

## CHAPTER II.

## POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

*America a Federal Republic.—Principles on which it was formed.—Congress.—The President.—Salaries.—Revenue.—Military Force.—Navy.—Judicial Department.—Negro Slavery.—Indian Connexions.—General Estimate.*

THE political system of the United States forms the most prominent feature in its social existence, and that on which all the others in some degree depend. Their constitution, considered in reference to the great extent of country over which it rules, is of a peculiar and almost unique character. Its merits and demerits have been a subject of dread debate among the politicians of the western hemisphere, being connected with questions which, in this eventful age, have most divided mankind and agitated the world. In the eyes of one class, the American government, and every thing relative to America, appear almost as the centre of all possible perfection, while to the other they afford the ceaseless object of the most severe and embittered criticism. In the rapid outline which is now to be given, it will be our wish to avoid ting-

ing it with the passions of the day ; to consider the Americans only as a great and growing portion of the great family of mankind ; as those whom, being already our children, though they have left their father's house, we would wish still to esteem as such, not shutting our eyes to their infirmities, or raising higher an estimate reported already to be somewhat too high, yet studying to view the subject in a friendly light, and by no means to imbitter those partial animosities which already exist between the two nations.

The political system which thus so strikingly characterizes America is that of a pure democracy. It recognises no right of hereditary rule or distinction of birth. This system arose, perhaps necessarily, out of the circumstances under which the colonies separated from the mother country ; and the wise and able individuals who had then the chief influence, instead of seeking to increase the popular action, studied, on the contrary, to introduce checks and springs, which, without actually being monarchy or aristocracy, might imitate the action and produce the effect of these political elements. Means of attaining this object were found in the federal combination, and in the division of the general government into several distinct branches.

The principle of the United States' constitution is federal, and it forms as it were less one distinct nation, than a very close alliance between a number of independent States. The colonies were founded without any dependence on each other, or any tie but that of a common origin. These, however, con-

stituted them all substantially the same people, and the revolutionary cause in which they all so cordially united superadded a tie of the closest nature ; yet the original distinctions and feelings by which they were constituted different States continued still to subsist. A central government was formed to combine and unite their efforts ; but this was without any prejudice to the independent jurisdiction and peculiar fabric of the States as they originally stood. This separate federal existence, though attended with inconveniences, was perhaps auspicious to the well-being of the States, and even necessary to their stability and duration. It afforded to patriotism that local and limited sphere, within which alone, perhaps, its flame can burn very brightly ; and these separate state-legislatures, by being fixed in different parts of the Union, and even by drawing in different directions, steadied the central movement, and prevented this vast political mass from being carried along by the rapid and violent impulses to which single individuals or detached popular assemblies are liable.

Although, however, the central government of America was thus destined chiefly as a bond to hold together a number of separate States, it was fortunately and judiciously invested with powers much more extensive than those of the Greek Amphictyons, the German Diet, or even the States-General of Holland. The two former were little more than treaties of alliance, which soon became exceedingly nugatory ; and the last, which demanded the accession of the provincial States to every great national measure, rendered the movements of the political machine in-

conveniently slow and cumbrous. The Americans therefore acted wisely when they vested all the general concerns and external interests of the Union in the central government. To them belongs the entire power of making peace or war, conducting negotiations, and concluding treaties with foreign states, supporting a regular military and naval force, and providing the funds out of which these expenses are to be defrayed. They have even the sole regulation of foreign commerce, which tends to and has actually had the unfortunate effect of causing these arrangements to be swayed by political motives and impulses. At the same time, by securing a complete freedom of interior intercourse, it has probably been on the whole better than if the affair had been intrusted to the separate States, who, actuated by local jealousy, might easily have been led into pernicious restrictions in relation to each other.

The general government consists of three members, the Representative Body, the Senate, and the President.

The House of Representatives forms the basis of the legislature, and is an assembly purely democratic. The members are elected by the whole body of the people, with the exclusion of Indians and Negroes. The members sit for two years, when a fresh election takes place. The proportion is nearly as one out of 40,000, which produces at present 118 members. The state-legislatures have no share in the elections, though each sends a member entitled to sit and speak, but not to vote. The elections, as may be supposed, among a people eagerly interested in political concerns,



and not endowed with the meekest and most softened temper, are carried on with considerable asperity. Even Mrs Wright, though disposed to view America in a favourable light, was shocked at the virulence displayed on these occasions. Every species of vituperation is lavished on the hostile candidate; pasquinades are put up, the streets resound with flaming orations, the newspapers are filled with imbittered paragraphs, the subject engrosses every company. Mr Cooper observes, that instances of proceeding to personal combat were not observed by him, and in his opinion are not numerous, but they are not without precedent. When, however, the choice is made, the storm is hushed, and affairs go on in their usual train till another similar period arrives. It is meantime remarked, that the multitude do not usually select representatives similar to themselves, but grave and respectable men of talent and experience.

The aspect of this august body, which sways the destinies of so great a portion of the earth, has not inspired much reverence into European spectators. The hall in which they meet, though it possesses, in Mr Cooper's eyes, a simple grandeur, is viewed by most others as humble and even shabby. The members lounge about, look out at the window, talk to each other, write and fold letters, and bestow, unless in special cases, scarcely any attention on the orators by whom the floor is occupied. It is indeed on all hands admitted, that their harangues are spun out to a length which is perfectly unreasonable and intolerable. It is not at all rare for a speaker to keep possession of the floor for three

successive days ; and the number who can hold on for two or three hours is lamentably great. These lengthy effusions, as may be expected, by no means adhere closely to the subject, but run out into all sorts of extraneous and irrelevant topics. The necessary consequence of these wordy impediments is a great slowness in the progress of public business ; and yet this slowness is deemed by Mr Cooper to be not, perhaps, an unsafe fault in a government, the greatest evils of which have hitherto proceeded from rashness and precipitation.

The senate is constituted in a manner entirely different, and without any direct agency from the body of the people. The legislatures of the different States elect each two members ; and thus Delaware, which has only a population of 70,000, elects as many as New York, with eighteen times that amount. Now that the States are twenty-four, the senate of course is composed of forty-eight members. The senators must have attained the age of thirty, and they sit for six years ; a third, however, being changed every two years. They form thus, not indeed a body really aristocratic, but one which has somewhat of aristocratic action, whose gravity and stability tend to check those too rapid and violent movements to which a pure democracy is liable.

The executive part of the administration remained still to be formed, and for this purpose an entirely new machinery is brought into play. There is created within each State, by arrangements of its own, sometimes by the legislature, sometimes by the whole people, and sometimes by only a part, a body of elec-

tors who name the candidate on whom they wish that the choice should fall. This vote is transmitted in a sealed packet to Congress, by whom all the votes are opened in one eventful day, and the office given to him who commands a majority of States. He must possess indeed more than half the entire number, or eleven out of the twenty, otherwise the choice devolves upon Congress. The functions of this officer are more ample than might be expected from the basis upon which the constitution rests. He has the entire command both of the military and naval force, though it is not understood or expected that he should head either in person. He appoints to all civil and military offices, subject to the approbation, that is, to the veto of two-thirds of the senate, which is not, however, very often interposed. Upon the laws which have passed the two legislative assemblies he does not possess an absolute negative, but he can suspend and arrest the operation of any particular act till it is presented to him again with a majority of two-thirds in its favour; his opposition must then cease. The President is elected for four years, at the end of which period he may be re-elected, and so on indefinitely; so that there might be room for an eminently popular character to slide insensibly into the possession of this high station, and the constitution to become monarchical.

It is a subject of boast that the emoluments of the President are singularly moderate. To the supreme functionary of a nation of twelve millions, an allowance of 25,000 dollars, (about £5400,) with a furnished house, certainly deserves that appellation. Mr Cooper

indeed contends, that he may live well, and save a good proportion of it ; but we rather incline to concur with Mr Warden, that it cannot defray the expense of the open table which he is expected to keep. He is understood to give dinners twice a-week to members of Congress, public functionaries, and any eminent strangers who may happen to be at Washington. Once a-fortnight also the " White House," as it is called, is thrown open to citizens, male and female, of every description, with only the tacit understanding of their being tolerably well-dressed. Mr Cooper mentions among those present on such an occasion an innkeeper, a petty shopkeeper, and the daughter of a mechanic of Baltimore. It is not even very uncommon for a carman to leave his waggon at the door, and come in to shake hands with the President, when he is well received, though this action is considered not strictly according to *bienséance*.

The salaries of all the other officers of state, when measured by the European standard, appear excessively moderate. The Vice-president has only 5000 dollars, (£1100,) the heads of departments 6000, (£1300,) the chief justice 5000, the inferior judges 4500. The ministers at foreign courts have 9000 dollars, (£1950,) with travelling expenses, which, to support the character of republican simplicity, does not appear to us so very inadequate as to Mr Cooper. According to his idea, the Americans pay their officers, not with any reference to dignity, but simply according to the time which the employment occupies, and the expenses which it involves. Hence all the lower departments of the service, which in Europe

are restricted to the smallest possible salary, are handsomely paid in America. Collectors of the customs have in some instances upwards of £1000 a-year, and even the subordinates from £200 to £250. A captain in the navy has appointments to the extent of £800 or £900, and many stations of no great dignity have from £500 to £600.

The cheapness of the American government, and the extreme lightness of its taxation, are themes which have been much expatiated on, not without an invidious reference to other governments not supposed in this respect to be so happily situated. The statement will, perhaps, on close inspection, appear to be somewhat exaggerated. The produce of American customs, which affords almost the entire revenue of the general government, is stated by Mr Cooper at twenty millions of dollars (£4,300,000.) The duties which produce this sum cannot be exceedingly light, and are not, perhaps, in any enlightened view of the subject, rendered more eligible by being partly destined to force the growth of American manufactures. However, with this revenue, the finances of the general state in time of peace are in a very flourishing state. The estimates for 1828 amounted only to 9,947,125 dollars, say ten millions. Of this there was for civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous, 1,828,385; military, 4,332,091; navy, 3,788,349. It seems vain to say with Mr Cooper, that these charges are in a great measure extra and occasional, because such charges always must and will occur in the conduct of so great a machine. This leaves, however, ten millions, of which three and a half defray the

interest of the public debt, while there remains a sinking fund for its extinction of more than seven millions. The sale of public lands, though at a low rate, takes place on so great a scale, that it might seem an important resource; yet it is said not to do much more than cover the expenses.

The expenditure of the general government, meantime, constitutes by no means the whole of the payments made by the American citizen. Each State has its separate machinery of government, assembly, courts, and militia, the expenditure of which must be defrayed by local and interior taxes. Some of these would be considered odious, even on this side of the Atlantic. A poll-tax, and a tax on horses and cattle, form part of the resources of Virginia. The levying of taxes by distress is reported by Mr Feron as a crisis by no means rare. In a country where there is little money, and little means of converting goods into specie, even small sums often cause a very severe pressure. The following statement of the revenue of the principal States is collected from Mr Warden's work :—

		Dollars.
Massachusetts,	-	306,000
New Hampshire,	-	30,000
Vermont,	-	23,000
New York,	- -	317,000
Connecticut,	- -	79,000
Pennsylvania,	-	701,000
Delaware,	- -	72,000
Virginia,	- -	414,000

		Dollars.
Kentucky,	-	105,000
South Carolina,	-	313,000

The regular military force of the United States, when considered in reference to the immensity of the frontier which it defends, is singularly limited. Ten thousand,—a great increase over the former peace-establishment,—was the number fixed by Congress in 1815, after the long war with Britain. Of these 5440 were infantry, 680 rifle, and 3200 artillery. The main defence of the country is made to rest on the militia, who comprise all the population between eighteen and forty-five, and amount, according to the latest returns, collected by Mr Warden, to 748,000. This militia cannot be, and is not, in a very high state of discipline; its manœuvres have even afforded scope for the pen of the satirist. According to Mr Lambert, the country militia meet only to eat and drink; and even in towns, canes and umbrellas are as numerous at a review as guns and bayonets. The American militia-officers make rather a misplaced display of their warlike titles, by which their effect is somewhat degraded. A major will be seen driving a stage-waggon, a colonel comes in to take your measure for a coat, and a general sells tape behind the counter. It has been observed indeed in England, that, during the period of her *volunteer* ardour, her high commands were disposed of in a similar manner. Her commanders, however, did not then carry their dignities beyond the field, and as soon as they entered the shop or the counting-room, resumed their civil denominations. The regular force seems in America

to be too small to establish a standard by which the militia may measure themselves ; it is too small also to form a nucleus, round which, in the hour of exigency, an army can be speedily formed. In the event of a new war, the Americans must again purchase efficiency by passing through a series of defeat. In the last an army was formed by quotas of militia from the different States, sent to the frontier, where they remained only six months in actual service. The States soon discovered that they could never upon this system arrive at a military force of the smallest efficiency ; they therefore began to enlist troops for five years, or for the term of the war. After being constantly beaten for two years, they began to fight well. They do seem to be naturally brave, and are said to take a more sure and deadly aim, and to effect greater execution, than most other troops, as seemed testified by the severe loss sustained by our troops at New Orleans. It was in the hands of the Americans, during the revolutionary contest, that the rifle first began to act powerfully on the destinies of war, and being adopted with powerful effect by the French, overcame the chivalrous repugnance of the old powers ; and a rifle corps has become an established part of a modern army.

The navy, since the late war, has been a favourite service in America. The nation then fought certainly with signal bravery, and the guns and men being beyond their ratings, her frigates beat repeatedly a nominally superior British force. These, however, were only casual encounters, and America had no force which, ranged in the open sea, could enable her



to hold rank as a naval power. Since that time she has made extraordinary efforts to create for herself a maritime existence. In 1812 she had only seven frigates, four of which were of very small dimensions. Her present force consists of twelve sail of the line, one sixty, twelve forty-fours, three thirty-sixes, with some smaller vessels. The force in commission, however, is only a ship of the line, six frigates, two corvettes, and some smaller vessels, manned by 5318 men.\* It has been observed, that the United States have too small a coast, as compared to the immense extent of their inland territory, to admit, in the future growth of their destinies, maritime greatness to become ever prominent. As, however, they have a coast, so they may come to have a navy, equal or superior to that of any European power. During the present age indeed they never can have one that will face Britain on the ocean: their efforts to form any thing more than a privateering navy cannot lead to much practical benefit. Much of the American timber wants the solidity necessary for ship-building; and hence several of the finest vessels constructed during the war, when there was not time to search or select, are now in a state of great partial decay; but it is asserted, that, with due leisure and caution, America contains materials of which perfectly good ships may be constructed.

The judicatory of the United States is rendered somewhat complicated by the existence of two sepa-

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\* *Notions*, II. 111—466.

rate systems of courts, and in some degree even of laws, one proper to the general government, the other to particular States. The United States have a supreme court, composed of a president and nine judges, and also a judge in each particular portion of the Union. To these tribunals belong all offences committed on the high seas, all questions between State and State and between the citizens of one State and another, all in which the general government are in any shape parties. The functions of these two sets of judges, however, are not so fully defined that embarrassing questions are not apt to arise. The Americans are a litigious people, and the proportion of lawsuits exceeds that which takes place in any European country. The Bachelor excuses them on account of the great extent and loose titles of their landed property, their large commercial transactions, and the cheapness of justice, which becomes in this view a sort of evil; but there does seem, moreover, to be a spirit of contest seeking to vent itself in this channel. The swarm of lawyers exceeds even the great demand which this disposition creates. The bar, as an able journalist has observed, is "the repository of American talent, the school in which their statesmen are educated." All the presidents, except Washington and Adams, most of the ministers and diplomatic agents, and a great body of the Congress, have been and are lawyers. The proceedings of supreme courts, and of those which sit in the great cities, are said to be marked by dignity and impartiality. In the country courts, the former quality at least is not quite so conspicuous. The emoluments

seem in many cases not sufficient to allow the occupation of judge to be followed as a separate profession. Mention is made of a butcher who in the morning cut up and sold legs of mutton, and in the evening ascended the seat of judgment, and decided on the lives and properties of his fellow-citizens. Indeed, in these outer quarters, physical strength and prowess seem as often called into requisition as profound erudition. The judge, who, in going on circuit, has to swim his horse sometimes ten times a-day, and to travel under a temperature below *Zero*, must combine the attributes of a hunter with those of a lawyer. At other times their prowess and hardihood stand a still severer test. A judge having been insulted by the foreman of a jury, seized a large cow-hide, which he applied with such vigour, that his adversary, though attempting to defend himself with a formidable knife, soon had his clothes reduced to tatters. Another, learning that a culprit just condemned at his tribunal had made his escape, and was riding armed through the street setting justice at defiance, ran up to him, and, presenting a pistol, shot him through the heart. Nor do the judges always discourage in others these *voies de fait*. On one occasion, when a question had become somewhat intricate, the two parties having overtured to decide it with their fists, the judge gave his cordial consent, and even assisted in forming the ring. Even when matters do not proceed to these extremities, there is an anxious study to gratify the appetite of the audience for coarse buffoonery. At the circuit-court of Indiana, Mr Flint noticed a large jug of water, which

stood for the convenience of the bench, on which the lawyer had contrived to get delineated the caricatured portrait of a judge. To this figure, in the course of his pleading, he frequently bowed and addressed himself,—an elegant sally, which threw the spectators into bursts of laughter. In these quarters, to have read Blackstone, and attended an attorney for a year, is thought quite sufficient training for a practitioner. These tribunals in fact do not command much of the public confidence, and an impression prevails that, all judges not being of the heroic temper of those mentioned, fear or the love of popularity induces them to allow impunity, or to inflict very inadequate penalties on offences that deeply affect the public safety. Under this impression, the people have instituted what they term Lynch's law, administered by a body of *regulators*. These sages mark with a critical eye the course of the tribunals, and whenever due punishment appears to them not to have been awarded, take into their own hand the care of supplying the deficiency. With this view they provide arms and a cow-hide, and, having watched and waylaid the unfortunate culprit, inflict such a portion of stripes as his iniquity may seem to deserve. Lynch, however, not being subject to the same checks which operate in the case of ordinary judges, his decisions are alleged to be sometimes as rash and partial as their mode of enforcement is irregular. Yet this kind of justice, which can only be tolerated in the rudest infancy of political life, is said to be so deeply-rooted, that, till a district is somewhat densely peopled, and cities of

some magnitude are formed, scarcely any attempts are made to check it.

Another and a deeper blot in the political system of America is the existence of negro slavery. It has indeed been banished from about half of the States; but it prevails in full force among the rest, and several of those newly-formed have incorporated into their constitution the right of maintaining slaves. Contrary to what obtains in the West Indies, their numbers increase, and even with rapidity, which seems to justify the assertion, that, so far as the mere supply of their wants is concerned, they are well treated, and that no overpowering labour is imposed upon them. There seems yet to be no excess of meekness in their treatment. The whip is still the instrument of discipline, and even fair hands do not hesitate to apply it. Mr Fearon mentions a fine lady at Washington who gave parties and attended the levees, but who at home exercised such merciless discipline, that the cries of her negroes scared away an English family who had taken up their abode in the vicinity. The Western States seem liable to peculiar exception as to their treatment of this unfortunate race. Mr Hodgson used to hear the sound of the lash across the great bank or *levée* of the Mississippi,—a distance of half a mile. One planter made his negroes work during half the night, holding in his hand a gun, with which he shot those who appeared to slacken in their exertions. No means appear to have been taken to check this enormity; though, when the negroes themselves rose and killed him, the thing was

winked at under the circumstances. Once indeed Mr Fearon thought he saw a spark of humanity when a gentleman, speaking of a negro not his own, but under his charge, having been unjustly flogged in his absence, declared he had not been so vexed for seven years ; but this view of the subject was soon changed, when the gentleman added, that he would not have cared at all, had the negro been his own, but could not bear the idea of a friend's property suffering in his hands. After all, the most rooted evil appears to be in that dire proscription which exists in the mind of the white American against his sable fellow-creature, and which is in no degree abated by his becoming free, industrious, and respectable. In South America there is a nice gradation of ranks, always rising with the proportion of white blood which flows in the veins of each race or individual. In the North there exists no gradation ; every one who has a drop of black blood in his veins is branded as negro. No property, no character, will induce the meanest white to be seen walking or eating with a black. The spirited American will not enter a public carriage or conveyance in which there is a being of a different colour. Even in the liberal city of New York, Mr Fearon saw a black man driven with contumely from a barber's shop, where he came to have his hair cut, being told " they did not cut coloured men here." Mr Fearon, remonstrating upon this system as very unprofitable in a professional view, was answered, " I reckon you do not know that my boss (employer) would not have a single ugly or clever gentleman

come to his store, if he cut coloured men ; now my boss, I guess, ordered me to turn out every coloured man from the store right away, and if I did not, he would turn me off slick." The fact was fully confirmed at dinner by some gentlemen of liberal education and professions, who declared, " Right, perfectly right,—I would never go where a coloured man was cut." Even on ground, where the king and the beggar should stand on a footing of the most sacred equality, America interposes a fatal separation. In the awful presence of Heaven the white will not appear in the company of his dark brother ; he must have a church for himself ; or, if the size of the place does not admit of this, there must be at least an entirely separate place allotted to the two colours. These feelings are the more preposterous, as they belong to those who publicly and daily proclaim that their political system is founded on the basis of the most perfect equality of all mankind, and the acknowledgment of no distinctions but those of mind and talent. Yet so inconsistent a creature is man, that the Americans are not singular here, and the same frightful anomaly is found in the most celebrated of the ancient democracies. But sentiments thus hourly repeated cannot fail to reach these sons of bondage ; and what are they to think ? The author of ' Excursion, &c.' does not hesitate to predict from this dark source, a civil war and a future black empire to America. No friend of mankind could desire to remedy the present evil by a crisis which would be attended with so many horrors. Some hopeful symptoms are in fact beginning to appear.

All Americans of a high class, as to intellect and character, plead grieved and guilty upon the subject. They urge in palliation, that the Americans, when they assumed the republican character, did not make slavery, but found it already existing on such a scale, that to have set free, men wholly unfit for liberty, would have been a step equally ruinous to all parties. They observe, that one-half of the States have abolished slavery; that New York since 1826 has set free 10,000; that emancipations are everywhere numerous; and even in Maryland, though a slave State, there are 38,000 free negroes. Societies even have already been formed for the purpose of promoting emancipation. The Bachelor complains of it as unreasonable, that the white man should be called upon to marry a negro or any other person when he has not the least inclination to do so; though we cannot but remark, that there are many stages between marrying an individual and treating that individual with every excess of contumely; and that, above all, the legal prohibition of such a union, wherever there is the smallest tincture of the degraded blood, is giving the full sanction and support of government to separations which it ought to be their first object to narrow and soften down. Altogether we are inclined to hope that the cause of reason and humanity is gaining ground, and will continue to advance; and that, as the American character becomes more intellectual and refined, physical distinctions, which absorb the attention of men of uncultivated minds, will cease to be viewed in the same prominent and important light.

There is another race to whom the United States



stand in a peculiar and painful relation. They have driven before them the Indian hunter and warrior, who had remained for ages the undisturbed tenant of his boundless immensity of forest. Whatever study there may have been to do this in an amicable and conciliatory manner, the views of the Indians respecting it are clearly manifested by the eagerness with which they fly to any standard raised against America. Yet it is evident that the Indian name must ultimately melt away before this race of strangers from beyond the ocean. It is manifestly impossible to discover any law of nations, according to which the Americans claim the dominion of these vast regions in disregard to occupants so long prior. Yet the well-wisher to his species is irresistibly forced to sympathize in their views. There are great interests of the human race, before which the strongest claims of antique right and pre-emption must give way. Such an interest is that of covering these boundless plains with civilized and enlightened millions, instead of the few scattered and savage thousands who now wander over their surface. The States do seem to have made it their study, since the thing was to be done, to effect it with the least possible wrong. Their system, as we have seen, was to purchase from the Indians their country; and though the price with which they bribed them to this act of self-destruction was most inadequate, there was certainly no other way which would not have been more unjust. With regard to the details of Indian warfare, it appears that there is much of violence and even of atrocity, and that often, instead of softening the horrors of savage

warfare, the Americans have copied them, and even taken the scalping-knife in their hands ; but these outrageous proceedings appear to be carried on chiefly by that lawless frontier-race who exist beyond the pale, and are bound by none of the ties of society. They seem to form no part of the regulated and authorised course of national proceeding. The States government, it appears by Mr Cooper's statement, spend six millions of dollars, considerably above a million sterling, in friendly dealings with the Indians, sending missions, fulfilling treaties, paying annuities, making presents, and a little in supporting schools and promoting civilization. There are 1291 Indian scholars, and even missionaries are employed, though it is contrary to the principles of the government to pay for religious instruction. In general the Indians have retreated from the vicinity of the whites to the great western prairies, on which a confused assemblage of nations and languages is now collected. Some, however, lingering round the graves of their fathers, still hold to those little tracts called reservations, which, by a remnant of prudence, they kept back out of the sweeping sales made of their paternal domain. The whole number east of the Mississippi, and thus enclosed within the territory of the States, has been estimated at 30,000. They are chiefly in the extreme Southern States, which have not felt so long the pressure of European occupation,—Creeks, Choktaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles. Among some of these tribes rude approaches have been made to civilization ; the lands are imperfectly cultivated, and some cattle are seen grazing. The Chickasaws, and one

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or two other tribes, have even been observed slowly increasing their numbers. But in general this close contact with civilized people has the effect of corrupting the Indians, of breaking down whatever is lofty and estimable in their character, and of gradually thinning their population.

Such generally is this celebrated constitution, which has attracted so remarkably the attention of mankind, and has furnished a model and impulse to such mighty revolutions in the eastern hemisphere. It is boasted by the votaries of popular government, that all the objections which have for ages been urged against a republican form are refuted by this single example. The allegation, that such a government must be swayed by the blind passions and shortsighted views of the multitude, is put to silence, it is said, by that train of lofty and dignified wisdom which has guided all the councils of America. There is really no wish here to criticise severely the American government; but when such high pretensions are advanced, and such important inferences drawn from them, it behoves us to meet steadily the realities of the case. It must then be fully conceded, in the first place, that the American government has for a long period fulfilled towards its subjects those essential obligations which every people are entitled to demand. It has preserved, unless on some of its savage borders, full security of life, person, and property; and has thus afforded full scope to that rapid increase of wealth and population, of which the means were afforded by their vast natural advantages. But that no acts of signal folly have been committed is an assertion which their

best friends neither can nor ought to hazard. The embargo was surely one of the most absurd and suicidal steps that ever were adopted by any nation ; of which, when it was found incapable of being executed, the non-intercourse system was only a mitigation. Nothing shall be said of the war into which they plunged with this country, lest the remark should be, or appear to be, influenced by British feelings. But it cannot fail to be admitted among the higher class of politicians, that, at this moment, thick darkness covers America, as to the first principles of political economy ; that maxims, which, in all the enlightened circles of Europe, have been finally exploded, reign at Washington in full sway. It is remarkable indeed, that illiberal and exclusive commercial views have very generally prevailed with democratic governments : they prevailed at least with the Cortes of Spain and the Diet of Sweden. The principle of encouraging our own workmen, and keeping money, as it is supposed, in the country, addresses itself to a sort of limited common sense, and feeling of nationality, which is congenial to the mind of the multitude, whose influence, however, in swaying the decisions of government is thus rendered manifest.

Another maxim, which had become fixed among political theorists was, that the republican form can never exist, unless on a small scale, and with a limited range of territory. All the great democratic States of antiquity, in proportion as they extended their dominion, lost their liberty ; but America, with the most extensive territory of any existing nation, has retained her republican form for upwards of

forty years, without its being exposed to any violent or alarming convulsion. The representative system, that great modern improvement, which rose as it were out of the chaos of the dark ages, has rendered the arrangement possible. Yet it must be remarked, that the States, in their present comparatively early stage, are exempt from many sources of violence and tumult, which must grow with their rapid growth in population and wealth. They have as yet no immense capitals, with, on one side, overgrown fortunes and profuse luxury; on the other, a necessitous and corrupted populace. But all these are fast coming, and will bring with them dangers and crises that at present have no existence. Happily society has a power within itself of remedying its own evils, especially those of which the approach is gradual; and I am very willing to hope, that the political changes which must follow the social and commercial state may come on insensibly, without unhinging the frame of society.

## CHAPTER III.

## MORAL AND SOCIAL STATE.

*General Views.—Religion.—No National Church.—Advantages and Disadvantages.—Sects.—Numbers of Clergy.—Methodists.—Camp Meetings.—Learning.—Diffusion of Knowledge.—Universities.—Printing.—Newspapers.—Language.—National Character.—Varieties.—Spirit of Independence.—Fighting.—Duelling.—Curiosity.—Hospitality.—Inns.—Enterprise and Indolence.—Peculiarities of the New-Englanders.—Virginians.—Backwoodsmen.—Cities.—Washington.—New York—Philadelphia—Boston—Charleston—Pittsburgh—Cincinnati—New Orleans, &c.*

It is proposed in this chapter to contemplate America in relation to the higher attributes of mind and thought; to consider man as he there exists, in his capacity of an intellectual, social, and moral being. It is impossible under these high views not to regard with deep interest a people destined to become the greatest on the earth, whose population will ultimately surpass that of all Europe, and is fast covering the whole of the western world.

It will not probably be objected, that we should

begin with considering America in its religious state, both on account of the paramount importance of the subject, and of its peculiar agency in founding and creating the fabric of American society. The chief religious peculiarity of America consists now in a negative arrangement, which, both as to its local influence and its general expediency, has been the subject of much discussion. Church and state, between which, in other civilized countries, the connexion is so close, are here studiously dissevered. The nation, as such, makes no profession, provides no funds, but leaves to all its members to provide for themselves such mode and extent of religious instruction as to them may appear advisable. Thus, it is said, every form of opinion is left to exercise its natural and unbiassed influence on the human mind ; and those intolerant and even persecuting courses which have been adopted by the ruling religions, with the sectarian enmities which they have kindled, find no scope in the western social system. But though an established religion, like every human constitution, is liable to many evils and abuses, and has, perhaps, been always hitherto conducted on too exclusive a system, the question is, whether it is not accompanied with good sufficient to counterbalance evils that are the necessary result of human imperfection? The questions are, whether under the actual system there is enough of religious instruction? and whether that religious instruction is the very best that can be obtained?

Is there enough of religious instruction? The affirmative of this has been zealously argued by the advocates of America, from the number of clergy

supported in several of the great cities which retain still a portion of the ardent religious feeling under which they were founded. But the decision must be formed from a general view of the state of the Union. Mr Cooper, unable to deny that America has the aspect of being on the whole somewhat slenderly provided, argues, however, that the comparison with Europe must be made according to population, and not according to the vast and thinly-inhabited surface of the American territory. More space, however, calls for some extra exertion to place the means of instruction within the reach of its scattered occupants,—an object which, from its great importance, seems to have a fair claim on the general exertions of the society, and not to be left to the local resources of a small and poor population. But even considered as to numbers only, Mr Warden's Ecclesiastical Statistics exhibit America falling much short of any European country. It is observed, that in Britain there is somewhat more than one clergyman to a thousand persons, which seems a pretty fair allowance; but in America there is on an average only one clergyman to 2700 inhabitants. In the New-England States indeed the deficiency is not very serious; but in Virginia and Maryland there is only one clergyman to 15,000, and in North Carolina only one to 27,000; in Georgia only ten altogether. This deficiency is probably a consequence, reacting upon its cause, of the comparatively demoralized state of a great part of this southern population; and, generally speaking, the more need there is of instruction, the less inclination will there be to provide it. It may



be observed, that the above number is of clergymen regularly educated, and does not include itinerants, and persons who carry on the business of preaching along with other callings. But the most entire failure is in the case of new townships or settlements, formed often at an inaccessible distance from any other scene of civilized life. Mr Cooper indeed asserts, that a longer period than fifteen years seldom elapses before movements begin to be made for building a church and endowing a pastor; but it is certainly taking the matter very coolly to leave the settlers for such a period without any means of obtaining religious instruction. To this may probably be ascribed, in a great measure, that lawless and demi-savage character which reigns on all the outer border of the settlements.

Another and equally important question is, how this arrangement is likely to affect the quality of the instruction? Here, too, human imperfection leaves only a choice of difficulties. An establishment, well secured and amply endowed, is apt to despise popularity too much, and to sink into supine secular habits. On the other hand, a state of dependence on his congregation is in many respects unsuitable to the situation and unfavourable to the usefulness of a clergyman. Bound to inculcate truths which are unwelcome to a great body of his hearers, he ought to stand in an independent position, and to be able to make the pleasing of them only a secondary consideration. No body of men, perhaps, indeed, will demand or admit the preaching of doctrines absolutely immoral; yet there will often be chosen points on which

it will not be prudent to dwell very copiously. A national religion, though it may contain many errors, is likely to be organized in a deliberate manner, and by an enlightened part of the nation ; while that of which the arrangements are framed by the majority of a popular congregation must always be powerfully influenced by the unenlightened majority of which it consists. The religious state of America, accordingly, seems characterized by greater excesses of fanaticism than in Europe, and, as their natural consequence perhaps, by a greater prevalence among the thinking classes of slight and sceptical forms of belief.

To uninformed men, scarcely susceptible of any impressions but those derived from the senses, physical religion, or bodily exercise, however unprofitable, must always have a more powerful attraction than that of which the employments are more refined and spiritual. The straining of the voice to an extraordinary pitch seems an essential requisite, at least in the country districts ; the pulpit-orators appeared to Mr Flint to scream in emulation of the priests of Baal, while the audience joined in loud vociferations. Under this influence, indeed, there have been generated in America, sects whose devotional exercises consist solely of fantastic and irregular bodily movements, —Thumpers, Dunkers, and Shakers. Mr Cooper has candidly offered us a narrative of the formulæ of this last body. Their chief exercise is religious dancing, which they justify by reference to David's dancing before the ark, and the maxim of Solomon, that there is a time for all things. This exercise, however, has nothing gay or tumultuary, but is proceeded to in the

most serious and systematic manner. The two sexes, in attire neat and rigidly simple, arrange themselves in lines opposite to each other. At length one of the elders gives the signal by saying, "Let us labour;" but when Mr Janson was present it was, "As David danced, so will we before the Lord." They then begin moving forward about three feet, turning, shuffling, and performing during the whole time a similar round of evolution. By the last-mentioned writer their movements are compared to heavy jumping, or to those produced by paroxysms of ague. "It is scarcely possible," says Cooper, "to conceive any thing more ludicrous, and yet more lamentable. I felt disposed to laugh, and yet I could scarcely refrain my tears." The members of these bodies seem to subject themselves to a spiritual tyranny, exceeding that which was exercised by the Catholic religion in the utmost plenitude of its sway. They have renounced all private property, placing the produce of their industry altogether at the disposal of their minister, or spiritual head. They have also adopted the principle of the most rigid celibacy, not as the means of raising a peculiar body to a higher state of perfection, but as incumbent on every Christian; so that, if all the world were Shakers, the human race would soon be extinct. Yet so salutary is the influence of the religious principle in despite, and perhaps rendered stronger on vulgar minds by the influence of these odd accompaniments, that the Shakers and their kindred sect, the Harmonites, present models of decency, good order, industry, and neatness to a people rather deficient in these useful qualities. The nice arrange-

ment, and the agreeable aspect of their settlements, are never viewed by strangers without admiration, and, amid the slovenly and disorderly habits which prevail in the new settlements, their example might be of the greatest benefit, were it not neutralized by the extreme oddity of their creed and deportment.

The sects who thus carry their fanaticism to the utmost pitch of folly are few in number. A great proportion, however, of those known under the general name of Methodists, present during their public assemblages violent scenes of physical agitation, which are never witnessed in Europe. The discourse of the preacher has an accompaniment from the audience ;—screams, convulsions, and even fainting, supposed to indicate the moment of conversion, are sought to be excited during the course of divine service. The female part of the congregation appears on these occasions to act a conspicuous part. Such is the scene described by Mr Fearon, as witnessed in Ebenezer Church, Philadelphia. “ The male part of the audience groaned, the female shrieked ; a youth standing before me continued for half an hour bawling, ‘ O Jesus ! come down, come down ; my dear Jesus, I see you ! ’ &c. A small space farther on, a girl about eleven years of age was in convulsions ; an old woman, who I concluded was her mother, stood on the seat, holding her up in her arms, that her ecstasies might be visible to the whole assembly. In another place there was a convocation of holy sisters, sending forth most awful yells.—The madness now became threefold increased, and such a scene presented itself as, I trust, for the honour of true religion,

and of human nature, I never shall see again. From forty to fifty were praying aloud at the same moment; some were kicking, many jumping, all clapping their hands, and crying in chorus, 'Glory, glory, glory!' &c. A girl of six years of age became the next object of attention. A reverend brother proclaimed that she had just received a visit from the Lord, and was in awful convulsions; so hard was the working of the Spirit."

These scenes are exhibited on a greater scale at the camp-meetings in the south. A camp-meeting is announced as to be attended by a number of leading ministers in the Methodist connexion, when presently all the roads, sometimes for a hundred miles round, are covered with travellers on foot, horseback, gigs, or waggons, conveying themselves and families to this grand celebration. The centre of a forest, "deep, dark, lonely, and almost impenetrable," is the theatre usually chosen. The native tenants of the wood being frightened away by the noise and tumult, it is taken possession of by this immense congregation. The horses being tied to the trees, and the waggons ranged in rows along the skirts of the forest, the interior is prepared for the purpose by cutting down the trees, and laying their branches along the ground to be used as seats. The space is railed round; but an inner sanctuary, about thirty feet square, immediately in front of the elevated pulpit, is reserved for those who undergo spiritual awakenings, and feel themselves in the physical throes of conversion. From this circle a hollow sound is emitted even before the sermon begins; but after that period it soon swells

into a complete choir of sounds and movements, shouting, screaming, clapping of hands, leaping, falling, and swooning. Scarcely can the clergyman, notwithstanding his elevated position, and a Stentorian voice strained to the highest pitch, make himself be distinguished above the tumult. The attention of the congregation indeed is intensely fixed on what is going on in the interior circle, though the young females, who are the chief actors, being surrounded by their seniors, are visible only at intervals through the high leaps which they make into the air. As one party fall down exhausted, others supply their place, and the scene is kept up for several days and nights, with only the necessary intervals of rest and food. Mr Flint, who retired to a little distance to view the midnight effect of this scene, thought it peculiarly wild and striking, reminding him of the mystic meetings of unearthly beings, and even of the scene beheld by Tam o' Shanter at Alloa Kirk. The author of "Excursion, &c." who certainly is a severe critic upon this subject, roundly contends, that the antique orgies of the Bacchanalians and the Corybantes combined nothing more absurd and extravagant than is here exhibited; nor does he hesitate to assert, that these meetings, after a certain interval, are followed by a large increase from unexpected quarters in the population of the colony. Without giving too entire credit to this report, the existence of a considerable degree of disorder seems generally admitted, and is proved indeed by the very strict precautions which Mr Flint a few years after found taken for its prevention. The sale of whisky was prohibited,—se-

parate enclosures were assigned to the two sexes,—and sentinels were stationed to prevent the devout ladies from walking out into the woods after dark. It must at the same time be added, that Mr Cooper, who does not seem himself imbued with any extravagant zeal, undertakes with ardour, though not in much detail, the defence of these meetings, which he calls “alike impressive and beautiful,” and considers the celebration to be as striking by its peculiar simplicity as it is touching by the interest and evident enjoyment experienced. The disorders, he contends, are merely produced by a few profligate persons, who resort thither as to any other crowd, for the express purpose; and while new and awakened zeal in ignorant persons frequently breaks out in extravagance and folly, these pass away with the exciting cause, and leave behind tender consciences and a chastened practice. We submit these remarks, at the same time suspecting that the unanimous testimony of all British observers must outweigh that of one zealous American advocate, however respectable.

These excesses of fanaticism among the vulgar seem to have led among the higher ranks to an extensive profession of Deism, or of those creeds which consider Christianity only as an exposition of the religion of nature. The former is said to prevail in the south, though a late writer observes, that they have never dared to establish a worship conformable to it. This expression would seem to imply, that forcible means would be taken to put down such a worship, which seems inconsistent with the professed maxims of the American government. It seems more probable, that

the tenets of this class of professors, being, as usual, chiefly negative, they do not feel any such zeal for those which they still retain as to render imperative any outward mode of expressing them. In the north, the most remarkable feature is the extensive prevalence of Unitarianism, especially at Boston, the ancient seat of a faith so opposite. Mr Duncan calculates, that more than half of the churches of Boston are of this profession, and Harvard College, the principal seminary of the United States, is entirely devoted to it. This change, according to Mr Tudor, had been long silently preparing, though it is only within the last fifteen years that it has come forth into open profession. The Unitarians seem to be gaining in the great towns of the south, having recently erected an elegant chapel at Baltimore, at an expense of £20,000.

Among the various forms of worship throughout the States the most prevalent is that called Congregational, which seems to be the same introduced into New England at the first emigration, and which, in 1700, was finally arranged into a system, by what was termed the Saybrook Platform. The service is that of the church of England, cleared of many of the forms which appeared offensive to Puritan simplicity; but the church-government is independent, the clergy holding only synodical meetings for mutual aid on occasions of difficulty. The number of their congregations is stated by Mr Warden at a thousand for New England and two hundred for the other States. The Presbyterians, with a nearly-resembling form of worship, but governed by presbyteries,



synods, and a general assembly, have 772 congregations, chiefly in the Middle and Southern States. Since Mr Warden's time the number of congregations in these two systems appear to have increased, and are estimated by Mr Cooper at nearly three thousand. The Episcopal church is said to be on the increase, and her probationers have been released from the inconvenient necessity of studying in the mother-country. This church, containing at present ten bishops and 394 clergymen, meets in a general convention, consisting of two houses, the upper composed of bishops, the lower of delegates from the inferior clergy and lay members. The Baptists have also many churches, though the members are not numerous. In 1817 their churches were stated at 2727, the members in fellowship at 183,245. The Methodists in 1809 amounted to 159,000, and are supposed to have since increased. The Catholics, who founded Maryland, still occupy it to the number of 75,000, and have not spread wide into any other State. The Lutherans and the German Calvinists have a hundred congregations each, which have sprung out of the large emigrations from Germany. The Dutch Reformed Church has eighty, from a similar origin. The Moravians, the Universalists, the Tunkers, the Dunkers, the Shakers, though they have drawn notice by their peculiar observances, are not in such numbers as to be of national importance. It seems admitted, that these sects in America live, on the whole, in great harmony, and with less of bitterness and intolerance than in the mother-country ; which may, no doubt, be much ow-

ing to none of them possessing the invidious distinction of a state-establishment.

The Americans seem to provide temporal things very handsomely for their clergy. There are livings as high as 5000 dollars, (£1100,) with a house and with marriage-fees, which are spontaneous, but liberal. Half that sum is the common living of a respectable clergyman in the large towns. Even in the country it seldom falls short of 1000 dollars, with presents. The clergy are generally diligent in their parochial duties; but, from this very diligence exercised towards large congregations, they have little leisure for profound study, and have not made very large contributions to theological knowledge. The works of Dwight, however, enjoy reputation even in this country. Mr Janson and other profane travellers complain bitterly of the rigid observance of the Sabbath, especially in New England; of travellers being stopped short on the most necessary journeys, and having even been seized and dragged to church by main force. There is, however, something peculiar in the American Sabbatical observance; it begins at sunset on Saturday, and ends at the same period on Sunday; so that Mr Duncan was not a little amazed in spending the latter evening with a strictly religious family, when, after prayer and the reading of a chapter, one of the young ladies was invited to sing "Down the burn, Davie." It seems impossible not to agree with him, that the devotion of one whole day to religious duties is more convenient and more seemly than this mode of dividing it into fragments.

In regard to literature and science, especially all their higher branches, America is still in an infant though progressive and not unpromising state. There are many readers, much printing, but little writing. The government have shown extreme solicitude for the diffusion of the first elements of knowledge,—little for the formation of literary and scientific characters of a high class. Each of the Northern States has a fund for the support of common schools, sufficient to secure the elementary instruction of the whole body of the people; and in the new States there have been reserved 640 acres out of every township, besides an entire township in each State. In the schools, history and geography are taught; and the North American Review, while criticising the qualifications of the teachers, considers them yet decidedly superior to those of Europe. On the whole, elementary knowledge is perhaps as thoroughly diffused in America as in any existing country. There are twenty-five universities in the United States, though to some the name of college or even of academy would be more appropriate. The most eminent and amply endowed is Harvard College, which now calls itself Cambridge. It has eight buildings; the largest of which was finished in 1814, at an expense of £17,000; several others cost five or six thousand. The students, as in the English universities, reside within the walls; but in the variety of objects taught, and the mode of teaching by the lectures of twenty professors, the system rather resembles the Scotch, though with more extensive examinations. At Yale College it is optional to the stu-

dents to live within the edifice or in private houses. The curriculum of study in both is four years; so that, though these universities send out their students with a considerable stock of general information, they do not and cannot produce many profound scholars. The university of Pennsylvania enjoys high reputation as a medical school; yet most of the ambitious students repair to Europe to complete their studies. The number of students at Harvard is usually between three and four hundred; at Yale not quite three hundred. These are thin attendances, and, reckoning the above as the most crowded universities, will not give a very large proportion of Americans receiving the benefits of a university education. Probably there may be as many in the four universities of Scotland as in those of all America.

The authors of America have not hitherto been a subject of boast, even to Americans; yet they are a reading people, and there are said to be few houses, even of the lowest ranks, in which some books are not to be found. The supply of this intellectual want is sought almost exclusively from Britain. There are few whom their situation exempts from the constant pursuit of external accommodations and comforts; and to these a more brilliant and animating field is opened in the numerous public employments, which talent and popularity render accessible to the humblest candidates. Few follow writing as a profession; nor is literary fame attended with such flattering distinctions as to become a promising object. Even the Americans, while they boast of the

superior intellectual character of their countrymen, do not willingly read any books except those which come from Britain. The books themselves, however, are sparingly imported, the works of popular authors, as soon as a copy can reach America, being instantly reprinted in a more frugal form; and the stately quarto and handsome octavo soon appear in humble duodecimo, and are sold at a third, fourth, and even a fifth of the original price. This, however, is not owing to the work being done cheaper; on the contrary, all things being equal, American printing is dearer than British; but the price of the book is not enhanced by copyright, nor are the luxuries of typography necessary to a Transatlantic purchaser. The American bibliopole indeed travels along a smooth path compared to that of his brethren in London and Edinburgh. There are scarcely any risks in his trade. He has not to begin with paying large sums to authors, and before undertaking any work he can form a pretty sure presage of its reception from that which it has found in the mother country. Philadelphia is the main seat of the printing trade, and some works of very great extent, particularly Encyclopædias, do credit to the enterprise of its booksellers. They began in 1790 with the Encyclopædia Britannica, which they followed up since with those of Rees and Brewster. All the works of Sir Walter Scott, with the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, are immediately reprinted.

After all, it cannot be doubted, that America will ere long have a literature of her own, which, as being more adapted to her peculiar character and ideas,

will doubtless be more popular than any imported one. Already this literature is beginning to dawn even in brightness. Irving has taken his place among the most classic writers of Europe ; and, what might least have been expected in this young effort of a republican literature, his style is marked by a polish and elegance which few indeed of his Cis-atlantic contemporaries can rival. Cooper, on the other hand, throughout displays that homely roughness which is attached to our idea of American manners. In pictures of elegant and fashionable life he is not always happy ; but on the ocean, the forest, or the prairie, he paints the external aspect and movement of nature, not poetically, but with a graphic force and truth which have scarcely been equalled. The North American Review, which issues from Harvard College, has long been conducted with distinguished ability, though Mr Everett, its original editor, has, by one of those counter-influences above noticed, exchanged that station for the career of political life.

The American newspaper press is the most prolific assuredly of any in the world. Mr Warden calculated, in 1817, the number of newspapers at 500, but Mr Cooper does not think they can now fall short of 800. Mr Wright, while travelling in a public coach through the most unfrequented tracts of the State of New York, saw the driver throwing out newspapers on each side among the woods, and was tempted to ask if he had the bears for his customers, but was assured that ere long human tenants from the interior of the wild would find them on the well-known spot. It might have been expected from a people so inquisitive, and

who take so eager an interest in political concerns, that their journals would teem with the same varied information and animated discussion which are so conspicuous in those of the mother-country. On the contrary, we are assured by Mr Fearon, that they are bald and meagre in the extreme; that they embrace neither political disquisition, nor even a report of debates in Congress; that they are filled almost solely with news from Europe, and commercial advertisements. Mr Cooper, without acquiescing in this charge to its fullest extent, does not deny that these newspapers are very inferior in talent to those of the mother-country, and that they confine themselves chiefly to the bare narration of facts. It surprises us, to whom the practice has been so long familiar, to find this writer stigmatizing the reporting of law-proceedings as a licentious abuse of the liberty of the press.

The Americans have shown a genius for painting, which circumstances, hitherto unfavourable, are beginning to develop. Mr Cooper seems rather too modest, when he renounces for his country every claim in respect to West; who, if we mistake not, had made very decided displays of native talent before leaving America, and was sent to Rome by American patronage. In the present day, Leslie, by native force and truth, and Martin, by high poetical conception, have placed themselves on a level with the first artists in Britain; to which, however, they have been obliged to resort for distinction and patronage. The same may be said of Audubon, whose representations of the feathered creation are almost

unrivalled. Yet, by Mr Cooper's statement, it appears that ample remuneration is in some cases given to artists in America. Trumbull, for four national pictures, destined to adorn the great hall of the capital, received 32,000 dollars, (about £7000.) A picture by Alston, a pupil of West, representing "The Hand-writing on the Wall," was purchased in advance by a company of gentlemen for 10,000 dollars. Cole, a landscape-painter, whose merits seem to be a subject of controversy, is said to dispose readily of his cabinet-pieces at from 300 to 1000 dollars. Portrait-painting, however, appears to be the branch which meets with the most regular encouragement, and which is followed by a great majority of the resident American artists.

Dramatic representation has only been of recent origin, and had a hard struggle to maintain before it could find a place. This elegant amusement, rendered often dangerous by its abuses, has always, under this latter view, been an object of severe censure to the more zealous religious sects. When the theatre, about twenty years ago, began to be introduced, many clergymen of different denominations petitioned the legislature that these scenes of public resort should be closed. At Hartford, in Connecticut, and there only, the triumph was complete and final, and the edifice built for this profane purpose was converted into a church. In Boston the contest was long and doubtful; and plays, after being subjected to an interdict, were brought out under the covert title of Lectures and Recitations. The managers announced a "Moral Lecture, the affecting History of Jane Shore,"



and "the entertaining Tale of the Poor Soldier, by the facetious O'Keefe." At length the public taste became too strong to be controlled, and in 1798 the legislature abolished all the laws against theatrical representation. About 1808 a general improvement took place in the embellishment and fitting up of the American houses; actors of merit were invited over from Europe, and fixed in America. That continent has not produced any native performer of high reputation; but Cooper, who has become almost naturalized, is said to be an eminent tragic actor, and several performers of the very first eminence have found a trip to the Western Continent extremely advantageous. For dramatic compositions the Americans are as yet equally dependent on the mother-country. These are imported with the same prompt activity as books, and hold exclusive possession of the American stage. Mr Warden has indeed produced a list of native pieces, for which he claims a certain share of merit; but none of these have reached the Old World, and Cooper does not second him much when he states the American dramatists as none, or next to none. He even modestly imputes this deficiency to a certain baldness in American life, and to a uniformity of character which pervades the people. This may be ascribed in a great measure to the absence of any of those varieties of station and position which are assigned to mankind by the numerous grades of a monarchical and aristocratic society. Yet it seems difficult to suppose that a form of government which gave birth to Aristophanes and Menander can be incompatible with the most vigorous exertion of the

*vis comica*. If it does not afford these conventional and factitious varieties which arise out of the distinctions of rank and station, a richer vein of humour may be found in the freedom with which each individual gives scope to his peculiar bent and inclination. From this source there has been found a more fertile vein of humour, though perhaps less refined wit, in England than in France. America, however, has not perhaps arrived at the stage when these peculiarities are largely developed. The moderate fortunes and constant occupation of the bulk of her citizens check the rise of individual humours, which generally spring out of wealth, leisure, and ennui.

The language spoken throughout the States, in by far the greater number of instances, originally was and continues to be substantially English. Yet usage, in the absence of any fixed standard, has introduced a considerable variation in the detail. Mr Pickering has composed a vocabulary of words and phrases conceived by him as peculiar to the republic. Some of these, however, as Demoralize, Insurrectionary, Exchangeable (commodities,) though of a somewhat modern character, and not perhaps to be found in Johnson, would not now be rejected by the most fastidious English writers, especially the last, so fully sanctioned by Smith. Others are provincial, and even Scotch expressions, as Knoll, Slush (half-melted snow,) Sappy (juicy.) We cannot say the same as to some pompous political terms, as Gubernatorial, (relating to the election of a governor;) Irrepealability; Declension (for declining of office.) In the course of the life which is led in the west there arise new

processes and new trains of thought, which must find new terms to express them. Thus the "girdling" of trees, being an operation peculiar to the western emigrant, could not have had a term to express it in the old country. The republican pride of America repelling the terms of master and servant, others (such as Boss and Help) must be of necessity substituted. The expression "slangwhanging," which signifies making violent political harangues to the multitude, seems to arise out of the frequency of that species of proceeding. In the course of familiar conversation, however, there seem to have arisen peculiarities which cannot be solved by any of the above theories. The most prominent feature appears to be the applying of the qualifying and conjectural term "I guess," upon all occasions, particularly those on which there exists the most absolute certainty. The citizen of New York goes a step farther, saying "I suspect," while the bolder Virginian says "I reckon." The following dialogue at a tavern-door is given by Mr Palmer, as embracing most of the errors of American familiar speech:—" *Landlord*. You have got two nice creatures,—they are right elegant matches. They cost a heap of dollars,—two hundred I calculate?—*Answer*. Yes, they cost a good sum.—*L. Possible!* going westward to Ohio, gentlemen?—*A*. We are going to Philadelphia.—*L*. Philadelphia, gentlemen! that is a dreadful large place, three or four times as big as Larington.—*A*. Ten times as large.—*L*. Is it by George? what a mighty heap of houses!—but I reckon you was not reared in Philadelphia?—*A*. Philadelphia is not our native place.—*L*. Perhaps away

up in Canada?—*A.* No, we are from England.—*L.* Is it possible? Well, I calculated you were from the old country; you speak almost as good English as we do.”

To the above Mr Fearon enables us to add the following post-chaise dialogue, which, while it illustrates American curiosity, contains some additional features of language:

“*Q.* Where are you going, middle on?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Do you keep at Boston?—*A.* No.—*Q.* Where do you keep?—*A.* Fairfield.—*Q.* Have you been a lengthy time at Boston, eh! say?—*A.* Seven days.—*Q.* What is your name?—*A.* William Henry I guess.—*Q.* Is your wife alive?—*A.* No, she is dead I guess.—*Q.* Did she die slick right away?—*A.* No, not by any manner of means.—*Q.* How long have you been married?—*A.* Thirty years I guess.—*Q.* What age were you when you were married?—*A.* I guess mighty near thirty-three?—*Q.* If you were young again I guess you would marry earlier?—*A.* No, I guess thirty-three is a mighty grand age for marrying.—*Q.* How old is your daughter?—*A.* Twenty-five.—*Q.* I guess she would like a husband?—*A.* No, she is mighty careless about that.—*Q.* She is not awful ugly I guess?—*A.* No, I guess she is not.—*Q.* Is your son a trader?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Is he his own boss?—*A.* Yes.—*Q.* Are his spirits *kedge* (brisk)?—*A.* Yes, I expect they were yesterday.—*Q.* How did he get into business?—*A.* I planted him there. I was his sponsor for a thousand dollars. I guess he paid me within time, and he is now progressing slick.”

Lieutenant de Roos enables us also to make a few addenda. On calling for a lady, he was told that she was "quite prostrated," which, on explanation, proved to be ill in bed. Hearing afterwards a young lady declare she was "all for the commissions," he and his brother officers felt rather flattered, till they were told that this term meant commission-merchants.

The pronunciation of the English language is also modified in a peculiar manner, particularly in New England, otherwise more intelligent than the rest of the States. One blemish consists in uttering a sentence with the most excessive rapidity; in compensation for which they dwell upon the last word at such extraordinary length, that the whole does not consume less than the usual period. The error of the New-Englanders seems to arise partly from pronouncing by book, according to the general and what may be called the natural power of the letters,—an error shared in some degree by well-educated Scotsmen, who avoid their vernacular dialect, without being desirous or capable of speaking what is called "high English." This is the case in regard to the pronunciation of none, nothing, according to the natural power of the *o* instead of *nune*, *nuthing*. It is, however, peculiar to the Americans to pronounce the *an* in *angel*, *danger*, as in the article *an* instead of *ane*; a form, however, to which they are reported strongly to adhere. This defence cannot be urged in favour of making Does *dooze*, or Stone *stun*. Upon the whole, the Bachelor contends, that there is no speaking in America so bad as that of the Cockney and

provincial dialects used by so great a proportion of the English population ; that though there are many in England who speak much better, there are a greater number who speak much worse than any American ; and that much credit is due to the latter for never having created any of those incomprehensible *patois* which render in Europe the provinces of one kingdom unintelligible to those on which it borders.

The important question now arises, what is the American as a moral and a social being ? by what features is he discriminated from Europeans and from the people of his parent country ? These are questions beset with many difficulties, and which it requires a nicer tact than most travellers possess to delineate with precision ; and much error has been committed in applying these distinctions too hastily and sweepingly, as if they gave not merely a general national colour, but formed a picture of every individual. Yet all experience proves that, along with the greatest diversity among individuals, a certain mental physiognomy pervades all the great masses of mankind, and which a profound investigation may trace as arising out of the peculiar circumstances and situation of each. Yet this too is a process still more arduous and delicate than a mere observation of the actual results.

The American, derived from England, continues to be English in all the external forms of life ; but man, the creature of circumstance, when transported to another region and another position, soon undergoes modification from the external causes by which he is surrounded. The Anglo-American is in several

respect differently situated from his ancestor at home. He is the member of a pure and a new republic, in which no distinctions of birth or rank are recognised, nor any difference between one man and another that is not altogether personal. He inhabits a country, the resources of which are much more plentiful than there are people to call forth and enjoy. The necessities of life are amply placed within the reach of the humblest citizens. Men are scarce, and their labour is eagerly sought, highly paid, and can with difficulty be obtained. The humblest individual, therefore, feels in an extreme degree that proud independence of all others, a more moderate degree of which characterizes the Englishman among the other nations of Europe. In America there are few of great and almost none of hereditary wealth; all the arts and elegances of life are in an infant state; and man earns his comforts easily and abundantly, yet by a struggle with nature in a rude and unsubdued form. In this respect also the different parts of America are more distinguished from each other than the provinces of an European country. The great cities studiously copy the polish of Europe, in whose footsteps they are rapidly treading; while the inhabitants of the country, being very widely scattered, even when in easy circumstances, lead an insulated, solitary, and rustic existence; and the inhabitants of the western border, only partially subject to the order of civil life, partake often the nature of the outlaw and the bandit, and sometimes even that of the Indian savage.

The difficulty of forming a proper estimate of

American character is much heightened by another circumstance. Her social, in connexion with her political character, has become a grand debatable point among contending parties. Even among those who went out the most enthusiastic admirers of her institutions there have been some unfortunate circumstances for America. With these persons there for some time prevailed the belief, that a republican constitution was to be the final remedy for all the evils under which mankind had for ages groaned, and that, escaping from all the straits and difficulties in which they were involved at home, they were going out to an Elysian world of plenty and felicity. The possession of a large extent of fertile soil, which would convert them and their posterity into great landholders, appeared to be a complete exaltation in the scale of society. They had not long landed on the western shore when all these splendid visions departed. The Americans and American society were found amply to partake of the frailty of our fallen nature; the land was covered with impenetrable forests, distant from any market, and improveable only by years of unassisted labour. All the polish of society, all the ornaments and elegances of life, were only in their first dawn, and in these vast and savage solitudes the idea of home soon regained its empire; many, after spending the greatest part of their little capital in this western adventure, were fain to return with the remnant to their once despised England. They returned of course in the very worst possible humour with every thing and almost every person they had seen in America. Reversing the



career of the prophet of Midian, they went out to bless, and returned to curse ; and while they did well in dispelling from the minds of their countrymen the extravagant illusions under which so many had been seduced from comfortable situations at home, they contributed in some degree to spread the contrary error, and to make America be viewed as the centre of all that was rude, revolting, and disagreeable. For these reasons the weight of English testimony is rather against America, and must be qualified by the somewhat boasting testimony of native writers.


An immeasurable value for the great political system, of which they are members, appears to be the ruling passion of the Americans. They seem to have forgotten or renounced every tie which bound them to their parent country, and view it now only as a proud and domineering rival : all their feelings of country centre in the Union. This attachment is most especially displayed by the most lofty and unbounded panegyrics upon it and every thing American. National vanity and extravagant boasting are admitted even by sensible men among themselves to be national failings. The well-informed build on solid grounds,—the exertions of the nation in the cause of independence,—its rapid growth and sure prospects of almost indefinite extension,—its active commerce, and the great recent internal improvements. The less informed classes boast not of these particulars only, but of others to which the claims of the nation are most equivocal. Mr Hodgson, allowed to be a candid observer, conceives that it would not be at all surprising to hear them boasting that America

was not only the greatest but the oldest country in the world. Every day, according to Mr Flint, you hear persons boasting of American courage and intelligence, whose claim to these qualities is at least very doubtful. Yet it seems going much too far to say with Mr Faux, that while they boast eternally, nothing good or new is ever done in the country, unless by foreigners, and chiefly by their rivals, the English. The Americans have done much that is both good and new, and that we in the east have wisely copied ; at the same time it is not amiss that they should suffer taunts, as they do occasionally, lest the cheap mode of gratifying national vanity by mere boasting should become too prevalent.

While the Americans are thus ardently attached to their native government and institutions, their legislature opens wide the door to *immigrants*, as they are termed, from every nation and country, admitting them on easy terms to the full privileges of a citizen. Whether this statute is sanctioned by the spirit and feelings of the people, without which it must be in a great measure inoperative, is a point on which very contrary statements are given. Mr Flint declares, that he experienced on this point the greatest liberality, and never found any invidious distinction made on account of his being a foreigner. Mr Fearon, on the contrary, assures us, that the line drawn between citizens of native and foreign birth is strong ; and that the principle of excluding the latter out of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, has a firm hold on the mind of the Americans, who even hold in derision what might have been supposed the strongest passport to

their *injure*.—*expatriation* on account of republican *tenets*. To back these allegations, Mr Fearon has produced a document drawn up in 1809 by five hundred *emigrant citizens* of New York; in which they complain that, after having renounced their native country, complied with every requisition of the laws, and been regularly admitted as citizens, they continued still to be "treated as aliens, stigmatized as foreigners;" that "no zeal, no exertions, no services, however *disinterested, unremitted, or great,*" had been sufficient to shield them from this reproach. It is difficult to say how we can decide this question. Mr Cooper admits that a large proportion of the duels are between English and Americans. Yet it does not appear that travellers and emigrants, even of the most discontented class, complain that the being foreigners stands much in their way, or is the source of their greatest grievances. Perhaps it may be only when rivalry and the contest for office arises that this circumstance is brought so prominently forward.

That high sense of personal freedom, which every moment fills the breast of an American, has variously affected different observers. Some represent it as rendering him a lofty, open, frank, and generous being; others as surly, sulky, selfish, and gloomy. Probably, as the nature is noble or base, the same principle may turn it into different and even opposite directions. The principle of equal rights, however, seems extended to cases where its application is somewhat inconvenient. Servants can be induced to enter into that station only with great reluctance and at high wages, and even then cannot without the most



deadly offence be called servants. They are only helps, and their master and mistress must on no account be named as such. They work when and how they please, and take their departure on the slightest offence. Mr Birkbeck himself exhorts even the rich emigrant to make up his mind to do without servants, and rather to import from Europe some machinery which may supply their place; but we doubt if the mechanical arts are yet carried to such perfection. If tradesmen are brought in to do any work in the house, they must sit and eat with the family, otherwise they depart in high indignation. Even children must share in this universal freedom, and must not be chastized either in the family or at school, where they form often very tumultuous little republics. The applications of this principle are alleged to be sometimes still more irregular and perilous. "Liberty," says Mr Faux, "here means to do each as he pleases, to care for nothing and nobody, and cheat every body. My garden," he says, "cost me this summer fifty dollars, and all the produce was stolen by boys and young men, who professed to think they had the liberty to do so." A set of youths having stolen some sheep, thought it not necessary to assign any reason, but that they found it easier to take than to rear them; but could they have been brought before a border court, this plea, we presume, would not have been sustained.

Amid this republican equality, the love of titles seems to have apparently a strong hold on the human mind, and displays itself to an extent which renders them more common than in Europe. The use of

Esquire to gentlemen. Honourable to members of Congress and public officers, Excellency to governors, causes every public meeting to be crowded with these titles. Others, which are despised or declined in Europe, adhere closely in America. The shopkeeper or mechanic, who has combined with his trade a commission in the militia, continues, as formerly observed, major or colonel not only during its tenure, but for the rest of his life. The same is the case with the civil functions of Judge, Magistrate, and even the ecclesiastical one of Deacon. In regard to the titles of *Mr* and *Mrs*, equality is maintained, not by their disuse, but by applying them equally to all, even labourers and beggars: they cease thus to form any distinction: but it should seem more consistent with republican views to withdraw them altogether, than to nullify them by this universal application. Indeed it is asserted by the Bachelor, that this profusion of titles is beginning in the highest orders not to be considered as *en bon ton*, and that those who esteem themselves masters of etiquette have begun to address even the Secretaries of State as plain Mr ———. It may be admitted, that in country towns and less polished societies in this country, this giving of titles is apt to prevail sometimes even in opposition to the wish of the holder, and degenerating into nickname.

The Americans, we suppose, are, beyond all doubt, a pugnacious race. On this subject, their warmest advocates can only say, that, according to the usual practice of mankind, many stories are told of them that are either without or beyond the truth. The prac-

tice of duelling had been supposed to belong essentially to the aristocratic and polished society of modern Europe,—a dark and fierce guardian of feudal pride,—a necessary security to the high polish of the court and fashionable life. It was unknown to the republics of antiquity, and was supposed to have nothing in common with the genius of republican government. All this, however, the Americans have fully refuted, by transporting it among themselves, and carrying it on upon a greater scale than in any European people. Mr Cooper admits, that over a great part of America the proportion may be as four to one. They make it, moreover, a much more serious and deadly matter than we do. When a Briton goes out, it is under a supposed heavy necessity of vindicating his honour, and if matters can be so adjusted, that, without breach of the supposed laws of honour, both parties return from the field safe and sound, both probably esteem this a desirable consummation; but the American goes forth with a darker and more deadly purpose. His object is execution. He comes in disappointed if he has not killed his man, or at least inflicted a wound little short of mortal. With this view, there has been even a partial introduction of the use of the rifle. Mr Cooper boasts of this train of thinking as the result of the common sense of his countrymen, to whom it occurs as absurd to go out and shoot at a man without wishing to kill him. But if the thing be evil, it appears to us, that the less people are in earnest about it, so much the better. The courtesies

with which the duel is accompanied in Europe, the laws which honour has affixed to it, and the frequent absence of personal enmity, mitigate beyond a doubt its ferocious character, and pave the way for its gradual disuse.

The lower ranks, especially in the south, have other and ruder modes of settling their contests and manifesting their prowess. The English are noted in Europe as a pugilistic nation ; but, in our realms of the fancy, rules and maxims have been introduced which render boxing and cuffing little more than a civil game, but which are unknown in the combats of the western world. There, when the battle is joined, every limb and every member is employed with the most intense fury in inflicting the utmost possible damage on the adversary. The feet are placed in equally active requisition with the fists ; and other instruments, unknown in the annals of Cis-atlantic combat, appear on the field. The teeth are called forth to tear the visage of the hated opponent, and even to bite off the point of his nose, or a bit of his ear. Mr Janson records an individual who carefully sharpened his teeth with a file to improve their efficiency on these critical occasions. But the most dreadful outrage, and that which America can boast of as wholly her own, is *gouging* ; in which, by a dexterous application of the finger and thumb, an eye is scooped out, and exhibited in triumph to the admiring spectators. My researches really do not exhibit very precisely the actual state of gouging in America. Of course, from the first, its extent was

exaggerated ; for we can never listen to the hearsay report of Mr Weld, that in Georgia every fourth man had only one eye. The Bachelor declares that nothing of the kind ever met his own observation, and that he is obliged to believe in the existence of such a thing only because so much could never have been said of it without some foundation. Fearon and other writers unfavourable to America profess their belief that it still survives, and yet I have not met with any recent traveller who says, that he ever either saw the process or a man that had been gouged. It seems no great stretch of charity then to believe that this blot on the American name is approaching to its extinction. Mr Fearon severely criticizes a practice called gander-pulling. An unhappy goose is tied to a pole, when a number of persons riding past full speed, each endeavours to twist its neck, and he who succeeds is declared victor. Nothing can be said in favour of the practice ; and yet the writer of this is obliged to confess, that in his boyhood he witnessed annually the self-same exhibition at a rustic festival not thirty miles distant from the enlightened metropolis of Scotland.

The Americans boast that they are not drunkards ; and this is true to the extent that they are scarcely ever to be observed dead drunk. If any one is seen extended in this humiliating condition, he proves usually to be some luckless Irishman. Yet a traveller has put down the statistical fact, that of two equal numbers, Americans and English, a greater quantity of liquor is drank by the former than by the latter. If few or none are ever very drunk,



many are constantly 'half and half.' There is little social drinking; they do not sit and talk over their cups, nor do the taverns resound with riotous mirth. They have the greater fault of drinking at all hours, beginning with a morning cup of spirits seasoned with rice, bitters, or other condiment, called an eye-opener or phlegm-disperser. Dram-shops abound in the towns; and the inns have a corner in which the materials of grog are lodged, ready to be served to all comers. According to Mr Janson, the taker of a morning-draught in Virginia is called a slinger, while another taking one at eleven is called an elevener. When both these unfortunate habits meet in the same person, his constitution falls a speedy sacrifice.

Henceforth we shall have only venial faults to put on record against the Americans. Of these the most famous is their unbounded and uncereemonious desire to know even the most minute particulars respecting even the most perfect stranger whom chance presents to them. Curiosity respecting the concerns of others is indeed an active principle in all remote situations and among the less cultivated societies; but why should Americans carry it so very much farther than any other race? It may be, that the general equality obliterates those distinctions which elsewhere confine men's interest more within a particular circle, and establishes with others barriers of ceremony and etiquette. The inquisition thus established may also be considered as an application of the general principle of liberty. Though not confined to the remote districts, it seems there more intense and still less

ceremonious. Mr Weld complains, that in the recesses of the Alleghany, he was often stopped in so abrupt a manner as made him imagine that he was attacked by a highwayman ; but the only object proved to be that of gratifying curiosity by a string of interrogatories. Dr Franklin saved himself by the well-known plan of affixing to his person a placard, whereon was written,—“ I am Benjamin Franklin ; I am a printer ; I have a wife and five children ; I come from Philadelphia ; I am going to New York.” Mr Hodgson gives the following as a pretty fair specimen of what passes when an attempt is made to repress these eager inquiries without giving offence :—

“ I reckon, sir, you do not belong to these parts ?—No, sir, I am not from the North.—You are come a long way I guess ?—No, not so very far ; we have travelled a few hundred miles since we turned our faces westward.—I guess you have seen Mr ——, or General —— ?—I have not the pleasure of knowing any,” or “ I know all,” equally defeats his hopes.—“ I reckon there has been a good crop of cotton ?—Yes, sir, I understand the crops are abundant.—You grow tobacco then I guess ?—No, I do not grow tobacco.” His courage rises with his difficulties. “ I hope no offence ; I guess, sir, you are from the old country ?” It must be observed, that it does not meantime appear that Americans themselves are so much annoyed by this curiosity, or reluctant to gratify it. Indeed it is observed by Mr Flint, that there is a much more ready communication and intimate mixing of all classes than in Europe. The mutual civilities exchanged on the road or in taverns, and the readi-

ness with which strangers converse together, appear surprising to British reserve. This certainly gives an opening for persons whom there would be good grounds for excluding, to thrust themselves into the society of those with whom they come into contact. Founding on the principle that this is a land of liberty, they will even violate obvious rules of decorum, such as approaching and listening while two persons are conversing or doing business together.

It seems fully admitted, even by their best friends, that the Americans are not an excessively agreeable people. Coldness, generally charged against them, is admitted by Mr Cooper almost to its full extent, though he thinks it should rather be called a subdued manner; yet, according to Mr Hodgson, it amounts often to the "cut direct." It is asserted, however, and seems admitted, that this chilling outward demeanour is not the index of any want of real kindness. An appeal is made to those who have been the inmates of an American house, whether they have not experienced in fact the same regular course of friendly attentions which in Europe are combined with the most lavish politeness. Still it must be admitted, that those sweet courtesies of life, which "make the road of it so smooth," are often, from their frequent occurrence, felt as conducing more to its happiness than more solid benefits. A time, however, comes, when the barrier of American reserve is broken down, and this country is found to contain interesting, agreeable, and warm-hearted persons, in the same proportion as any other.

It must conduce very little to the polish of Ame-

rican society that the two sexes are little intermingled. The women are naturally modest, feminine, faithful to the duties of the wife and the mother ; but their minds, little enlarged by knowledge or intercourse with the world, do not afford large materials for general conversation. A certain interval of frank and innocent gaiety reigns between the very young of both sexes ; but this is soon terminated by those early marriages common in America, and the lively *belle* is plunged into the cares and duties of a household and family. Even Miss Wright, the general admirer of every thing American, demurs to the general applause bestowed on matches thus contracted by mere children, whose character is not yet formed, and who cannot estimate the importance of the duties prematurely devolved upon them. Hence, in general companies, conversation rests in a great measure with the men, and with them turns mainly upon politics, which are treated of in lengthy discussions and stout arguments, such as, even when not combined, as they too often are, with a good deal of roughness, must be extremely adverse to the ease and variety of social intercourse. Mr Flint complains of swearing as very prevalent, declaring that he had heard twice as much of it since he crossed the Atlantic as during his whole previous life ; but this we should suppose is confined to the Southern States, and to the western border ; it seems inconsistent with the character of New England, and other States founded upon a religious basis.

Already it has appeared, that in earlier stages of American progress, hospitality was practised with a liberal and almost unbounded profusion. Although

changes in the mode of living, and the general establishment of inns, have rendered the claims in it less frequent, it continues still to be a conspicuous American virtue. A stranger coming with any tolerable introduction, or even able to name a common friend, is received with the most cordial welcome, and furnished with a series of effective recommendations. In many instances even the experiment upon the hospitality of an absolute stranger would not be very hazardous.

The arrangements and modes of travelling in America have of course formed an interesting subject to the numerous recent travellers, who have made us well acquainted with this branch of western economy. There is one point on which it seems to merit high and unqualified praise. Steam-sailing is an invention which, with all our patriotism, and with every respect for our ingenious countrymen who have traced the principle and made partial applications of it, we hesitate not in allowing to America the whole merit of bringing into extensive and important use. This most valuable improvement, by which the rapid river, or the variable frith, may be traversed with the same precision as the smoothest high road, and a man may cross a continent with almost as little of toil as when sitting in his elbow-chair, has been actively adopted and extended in Britain, whence it is spreading over Europe; yet the steam-vessels of America seem still to be superb and commodious beyond any which navigate the streams and seas of the eastern part of the globe. Those which convey passengers up the Hudson, and across the lakes of

Erie and Ontario, are described almost as moving palaces. In consequence, indeed, of the immense extent of the river-courses of America, steam-navigation has become for her the grand instrument of interior communication. Through it the great and immensely increasing surplus produce of the great western valley is conveyed down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Its introduction for this purpose is recent, and, according to Judge Hall, has effected a moral change of the most beneficial nature on this western region. The boatmen on the Ohio and Mississippi, as indeed Mr Birkbeck had already apprised us, were a fearful nuisance. They formed a band placed almost beyond every pale of law or restraint; wherever they landed they committed the most dreadful outrages and robberies, and kept the whole country in a state of alarm. But the proprietors of steam-vessels are persons of property and respectability; those who navigate them are few in number, of a superior class, and, passing swiftly up and down, do not make those frequent landings which are perhaps the cause, if it be as Mr Birkbeck alleges, that inland-sailors are of a worse character than those employed in ploughing the deep. The arrangements for land-travelling are by no means so commodious. The American stage-coach is a long machine capable of holding twelve passengers, open in front and at the sides, and having a roof supported by posts, the intervals of which indeed are hung with leather curtains; but these coverings being often not in a very flourishing state, afford only an imperfect exclusion to cold and wet. The carriage is seldom hung on

springs, and though drawn by four good horses, makes its way so slowly through the rugged roads of the interior, that the impatient traveller often prefers walking as equally expeditious. In an inferior style, the common waggon for goods, consisting of a long cart drawn by two horses abreast, by having two chairs placed in it, is converted into the stage-waggon,—a rude conveyance, which causes severe suffering to the unfortunate traveller who employs it for the conveyance of his person.

American inns form another subject, which of course is much observed and commented on by travellers. The Bachelor indeed deprecates all discussion upon this subject, and insists, that, after the completion of so grand a work as the Erie canal, these and all minor blemishes in American economy ought to be buried in oblivion. A good canal, however, is one thing and a good inn is another ; and though the first be of much greater national importance, it does not supersede the utility of having the other also arranged on a judicious and commodious footing. The American taverns possess in some respects a more imposing character than those of the mother-country. The innkeepers generally rank higher in the scale of society. They bear often the titles of Captain, Major, and even Colonel ; they are Justices of the Peace, or Members of the Provincial Legislature ; they hold probably a wide extent of landed property around their tenement. In consequence also of the great system of emigration, travelling, and adventure, which goes on throughout the United States, they are sure of constant and even crowded employ-

ment. But these very circumstances, which might be expected to elevate the character of American taverns, are perhaps the causes of their defective accommodations. In Europe, whenever a party enters an inn, every thing within it must be disposed with a view to their convenience ; they become for the time its masters ; all other interests must yield to theirs. But in an American inn, the comfort and accommodation of the waiter and mistress is the primary object ; that of the guests stands only in the second place. Of that *empressement* with which an arrival of consequence is received in a European hotel, there is not the slightest vestige. Even Miss Wright, disposed on every occasion to praise America, admits mortification at the total want of any sensation on such an occasion. On the question being put if the party can have dinner or lodging, the master or mistress usually replies, " I guess so," without looking up or making any pause in their employment. Accommodations which with us are considered indispensable, are not so viewed on the other side of the Atlantic. A guest cannot have a collation, even slight, when he wishes or calls for it,—he must wait the regular hours of the table d'hôte. It is not considered irregular to assign one bed to two guests who are entire strangers to each other ; nor, in case of exigency, is there much scruple of introducing a third.

Another feature peculiar to American hostelry consists in obliterating all those divisions which take place elsewhere in this department of labour. No distinction is recognised between tavern, hotel, and



ordinary. At the common table, dine not only all comers, but all who lodge in the house, and a number of persons in the town who keep no private establishment. The company, therefore, often muster to the number of forty or fifty. The table groans with costly piles of substantial viands of good quality, and tolerably though not nicely cooked. The breakfast consists of a similar display of meat, fowl, and fish, as the dinner, with only the addition of tea or coffee; but pies and puddings begin to be viewed as uncouth and antiquated. The evening meal, whether it be held as tea or supper, is only a repetition of the breakfast. Each of those occasions is announced by two successive bells, the last of which produces an extraordinary rush. The whole company are soon seated, and begin to despatch the victuals with a rapidity of which there is no example in our eastern world,—all then rise and depart. Fearon felt rather disconsolate, when, before he had finished the first cup, he saw the room nearly empty. M. De Roos especially laments the necessity either to bolt or starve, in consequence of the ravenous avidity with which the dishes are made to disappear. Yet his observations were limited to the Eastern States, while Mr Hodgson assures us that this speed always augments in proceeding westward; so that the duration of a meal may be measured upon the degrees of the meridian. That, which in New York lasts a quarter of an hour, is reduced on the Mississippi to five or six minutes.

The Americans are certainly an enterprising and moving people, who will go to the ends of the earth

to compass their purposes. To journey from one extremity to the opposite of their vast domain appears to them less than with us to go from one county to another. Attached as they are to their community, they scarcely attach the idea of home to one spot above another within its vast limits. The American will, without hesitation, leave his birth-place to occupy a piece of land a thousand miles distant; and, after having with great labour brought it into some shape and cultivation, will, upon any promise of advantage, migrate without hesitation to another equally remote. In forming these new settlements he displays the utmost activity, and fells the mighty trees of the western forest with an energy of which the European settler is rarely capable.

Amid all this stir and exertion, it is rather curious to hear him branded by our migrating farmers with the reproach of excessive laziness. Mr Birkbeck, whose unfavourable report may be believed, hesitates not to consider indolence as the besetting sin of America. He found it indeed in its highest perfection among the Indians, and diminishing with the progress of settlement, but nowhere thoroughly rooted out. They made even a boast of it as characteristic of a land of freedom, saying, "You English are indeed very industrious, but we enjoy freedom." Thus they proudly left themselves surrounded with nuisances and petty wants, which a little pains would have removed, and whiled away life in a state of yawning lassitude. Mr Fearon indeed complains of the mode of killing time at an American tavern as the most senseless and comfortless he had ever witnessed.

Even in New York, he remarked on the surface of society a carelessness, a laziness, an unsocial indifference. Shopkeepers, with their hats on, lying along the counters smoking segars, presented a singular spectacle to an English eye. In the west, where these habits reign with the most unlimited sway, they seem fairly enough ascribed to the facility of acquiring the necessaries of life, the want of any society before which to display its elegances, and of any liberal pursuits to amuse its leisure. These habits of daily indolence, however, are not only compatible, but are usually combined with the most brisk displays of enterprise and activity, when a great occasion calls them forth. The savage, the hunter, and the new settler, usually present this combination.

This absence of regular and daily activity is perhaps the cause that the neatness and cleanliness in which the industrious and free nations of the English and Dutch place so much pride are not here conspicuous. America, as Mr Birkbeck observes, was bred in a cabin, and she has only partially laid aside her cabin-arrangements. In the cities, indeed, the houses are handsome, and even more spacious than those occupied by persons of the same rank in Europe. But in receding to the westward and the newly-settled regions, rude wooden fabrics pass gradually into the log-house, which not unfrequently merits even the appellation of dog-hole. These "rudiments of houses" are formed of roughly-cut trunks of trees, put together so as to form one or two apartments. No windows are required, the chinks left between the timbers admitting an ample

supply both of air and light. Similar apertures serve for the escape of the smoke ; or, if something like a chimney be constructed, it is often necessary to close in the top with a board, lest the rain should put out the fire. Chairs and tables are supplied by blocks of wood framed into something like the suitable form. One such apartment serves often to a family of ten for parlour, kitchen, hall, bed-room, and pantry. Such rude arrangements may be necessary in the opening of a settlement, but they seem often to grow into habit, and to satisfy the planter, after he might have leisure and means to supply himself in a much more sufficient manner. The same habits are apt to make the necessity no longer felt of shaving, washing the face and hands, and other arrangements of personal cleanliness. There are few to observe the want of these, and those few not unlikely to keep the failure in countenance. Indeed the above authorities very roundly charge the Americans with a want of cleanliness, both in person, floor, and furniture. Mr Faux asserts, with evidently too much asperity, that there is nothing clean in America but wild beasts and birds. The habit of spitting without regard to time, place, or circumstance, so far prevails, that even the ornamented floor of the National-Hall at Washington does not enjoy a protection. It may be observed, that though this practice be laudably banished from every thing like refined English society, it is said to be by no means so generally disused among even the polished nations of the continent.

American society is not subdivided to nearly the

same extent as that of Europe ; yet Mr Hodgson distinguishes three classes. The first consists of the remnant of the revolutionary heroes, gentlemen of the old school, whose manners were formed on those of England and by intercourse with the best English society. This class, however, are too few, and too fast dying out, to give any tone to the existing society. The second class consists of the *novi homines*, the leading men of the present day, those at the head of the liberal professions, legislators, and high functionaries of government. These do not possess the same polished manners, regular and classical education, as the same class in England. Their intellect, however, is as actively exercised and their information as general, and they may be considered generally as rising in the scale of intelligence. The third class are little farmers, shopkeepers, clerks, and the better class of mechanics, who are considered by Mr Hodgson as decidedly superior to the same class in Britain. They have more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity. The lower orders in general appear to be more intelligent, and to have less both of rusticity and vulgarity in their manners and ideas, than generally falls to their lot in the old world.

Another strongly-marked distinction exists between the Southern and the Northern Americans. The two extremes are formed by the New Englanders and the Virginians. The former are certainly the more respectable. They are industrious, frugal,

enterprising, regular in their habits, pure in their manners, and strongly impressed with sentiments of religion. Though strongly attached to home and to domestic life, they are spread over all the four corners of the Union, and everywhere in a flourishing state. The name Yankee, which we apply as one of reproach and derision to Americans in general, is assumed by them as their natural and appropriate denomination. It is a common proverb in America, that a Yankee will live where another would starve. Their very prosperity, however, with a certain reserve in their character, and supposed steady attention to small gains, renders them not excessively popular with those among whom they settle. They are charged, it seems, with a peculiar species of finesse, called "Yankee tricks;" and the character of being "up to every thing" is applied to them, we know not exactly how, in a sense of reproach. The Virginian planter, on the contrary, is lax in principle, destitute of industry, eager in the pursuit of rough pleasures, and demoralized by the system of negro slavery, which exists in almost a West Indian form. Yet with all the Americans who attempt to draw the parallel, he seems rather the favourite. He is frank, open-hearted, and exercising a princely hospitality. Both Cooper and Judge Hall report him as a complete gentleman; by which they evidently mean, not the finished courtier, but the English country gentleman or squire, though the opening afforded by the political constitution of his country causes him to cultivate his mind more by reading and inquiry. A large proportion of the most emi-

nent and ruling statesmen in America—Washington, Jefferson, Madison—were Virginians. Surrounded from their infancy with ease and wealth, accustomed to despise and to see despised money on a small scale, and no laborious exertions made for its attainment, they imbibe from youth the habits and ideas of the higher classes. Luxurious living, gaming, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and other rough and turbulent amusements, absorb a great portion of their life. Although therefore the leisure enjoyed by them, when well improved, may have produced some very elevated and accomplished characters, they cannot, taken at the highest, be considered so respectable a class as their somewhat despised northern brethren; and the lower ranks are decidedly in a state of comparative moral debasement.

A third division of the American people may be considered as formed by the border-residents, who pass insensibly from the more densely-peopled and regularly-organized districts of the Union to those boundless deserts which remain still in the almost undisturbed possession of the Indian savage. Man, though capable of high culture and civilization, is originally and naturally a savage; and whenever the causes which raised him higher are withdrawn or suspended, he has a strong tendency to relapse into this his original condition. The occupations of the savage are the favourite amusements of those in civilized life, whom wealth enables to dispose of their time and pursuits. The farmer and the manufacturer, even when they go to a new region as a favourable theatre for the exercise of these functions,

can with difficulty resist the opportunity of transforming themselves into the wanderer and the hunter. Some, in this life of wild and roaming adventure, may attain a rude grandeur of character and even an intelligence unknown to the peasant employed in a round of mechanical occupation ; but a great proportion become a lawless and licentious race, whose acquaintance with civilized life only renders them worse than the savage. They have not, like him, any antique and venerated maxims to rule their conduct, nor any of those warm attachments of kindred and tribe, which throw a lustre even on his crimes. This demi-outlaw race, however, of backwoodsmen, squatters, trappers, &c., are gradually driven before the advancing tide of dense emigration. Yet those who succeed them, removed from the examples and influences of civilized life, soon undergo a certain barbarizing process ; all the functions of life are performed in a ruder and coarser manner. To them especially seems to apply the charge made by Weld and Birkbeck against the Americans in general, that they have not even an idea of the beautiful in art and nature ; and that taste is a term as strange to their language as comfort is to that of the French. Elegant, indeed, is a word almost constantly in their mouths, but under an import diametrically opposite to that which it bears in England ; here it applies only to solid and substantial merits ; an elegant mill, an elegant tan-yard, an elegant road, &c. There are of course various gradations of civility and rudeness in proportion as these districts recede from the central seats of civilization ; and as



culture and population increase, a gradual improvement takes place ; while each town, as it rises into importance, studiously seeks to form itself on the model of the great capitals.

The cities of America are in so rapid a state of change and progress, that it is difficult to arrest and catch their features. Since 1790, New York has increased from 33,000 to 200,000 ; Philadelphia from 43,000 to 150,000 ; Baltimore from 13,000 to 70,000. Their wealth has increased in a still greater proportion ; and there has taken place a progressive change in the habits of life and the whole fabric of society. The aspect of the buildings is entirely altered ; the rude wooden tenements, of which they in a great measure consisted, have been succeeded by streets as broad and regular, and mansions as spacious and handsome, as are to be found in most European cities ; while their public edifices rival the classic elegance of those of the old world. This rapid growth has been produced under the influence of circumstances, and the ample scope afforded by the capacities of so great an unoccupied region. There is only one case in which the extension of a city was planned and eagerly desired by the national government, and in which it has not taken place,—this is Washington.

It was in 1800, that Washington was fixed as the seat of government and the destined metropolis of America. The situation appeared promising. It was placed on the Potowmack at its junction with the Chesapeake, the finest of all the Atlantic bays, and so far down that it could be reached by large

vessels. Associations aided by government had previously improved the navigation of the Potowmack, so that by it and its tributary, the Shenandoah, the produce of a large tract of territory was brought down. The river and bay together form a bend, enclosing a peninsula, upon which the plan of Washington was delineated. A space of four miles and a half long and two broad was regularly divided into streets, squares, and avenues. The streets cross each other at right angles, in the direction of the cardinal points ; but, to avoid the mechanical sameness, which these regular lines would occasion, the avenues which are to form the most splendid part of the city, intersect them diagonally, and produce thus a constant variety. The avenues are fixed at 130 to 140 feet wide, and the streets at from 80 to 100. At the places where the avenues cross each other, spacious squares are appointed to be formed. Nothing, in short, is wanting to make Washington the most magnificent city in the world, but that it should exist ; this, however, is a good fortune which has as yet only very impartially befallen it. In vain has government sought to render it the centre of the commerce of the Chesapeake ; this commerce has rapidly raised Baltimore from a village to a city of the first magnitude, while Washington labours under a slow growth which in America almost suggests the idea of decay. Accordingly the value of the sites has materially fallen ; and property which, in 1802, had brought 200,000 dollars, has been sold for 25,000. Unfortunately, too, while the whole city was at once laid out, the citizens have enjoyed the republican li-

berty of beginning at any part of it which might suit the fancy of each. Instead of forming in the first instance, a compact circle round the government-edifices, and gradually extending it, they have, without any motive or convenience that can be discovered, begun in different and distant quarters, raising straggling groups of from two to twelve houses ; so that, instead of the elegance and regularity which Washington presents upon paper, it displays in its reality a complete chaos. The stranger walks through a desert, in the midst of which he lights upon a palace. The desert is the heart of Washington, and the palace is the capital.—A crisis took place in the existence of Washington, through the somewhat barbarous conflagration made by the British when they penetrated thither under General Ross. It had before been under consideration to transfer the seat of government to another more fortunate spot, and after the above catastrophe, this came still more seriously into question ; but the national pride was roused, and it was determined to rebuild the fallen structures on a more splendid scale than ever. The duration of Washington as the capital appearing then to be fixed, people resorted to it in greater numbers, and the ground experienced some rise in value. The Capitol and the President's house are in the course of becoming very splendid structures. Of the former only two wings have as yet been erected, but the centre is in progress. The interior is to be adorned with twenty-two Corinthian columns, the capitals of which are to be composed of white marble, fashioned in Italy, while the shafts consist of pebbles of various

colours and sizes, and admitting of a high polish, which are found on the banks of the Potowmack. It seems questionable what effect will result from the combination of these rather dissimilar materials.

After somewhat mature consideration, there appears room to question what grounds the Americans really have for this deep mortification at not being able to make Washington a great metropolis? Perhaps it is rather a benefit. In European representative assemblies the aristocratic interest is usually very prominent, in which case it is often eligible that they should feel, and be in some degree influenced, and even overawed, by the movements of a great metropolis, in which there is usually a large infusion of a popular spirit; but in an assembly, that is radically and thoroughly popular, there can be no room for its being too little acted upon by the national spirit, and the danger may be, if exposed to the impulses which agitate a crowded metropolis, that it should be unable to proceed with the requisite independence and dignity. It was evidently by the impulse of the mob that the French National Assembly and Convention were hurried into those violent and fatal measures which rendered their political change so calamitous. It may, therefore, be very advantageous that the Congress, a body so essentially popular, should assemble in a scene of dignified retirement, exempt from any influence except what arises from the deliberate judgment of their constituents. It is thus that they are most likely to acquire a character of their own, and follow a steady and systematic career.

But it is urged that Washington, from its very

situation, can never be more than a temporary capital, having been chosen, with reference to the Union as composed solely of the Eastern and Atlantic States, not to that mighty empire which is destined to reach to the Rocky Mountains, and even to the Pacific. The centre of such an empire must be on the Mississippi; the village of St Louis on the Missouri therefore is already putting in its claim to be the future capital of America. Perhaps there is as little ground also for this objection as the other. We nowhere find, in the great kingdoms of the old world, that it is considered necessary, or even eligible, that the capital should be placed in the geographical centre of the territory. Neither London, nor Paris, nor Peking, nor Petersburg, though this last was created on the very ground of its position, have been placed upon this principle. They are all either upon, or a little within the frontier. The reason will appear obvious on a little consideration. The national transactions, which are most difficult and require the greatest promptitude, are those connected with its foreign relations, for which all the above-mentioned capitals stand much more conveniently than if they had been deep in the interior of the different kingdoms. But in America foreign relations are not only the most delicate and arduous, but almost the sole concern of the general government, the interior administration being chiefly conducted by the State governments. Now, all the important foreign concerns of the Union are, and probably must for ever be, carried on by the Atlantic coast; and there must therefore be the most extreme convenience in

having a capital placed somewhat in its vicinity. By this coast also must be carried on all the foreign commerce of the country ; and on it consequently will be situated the greatest cities, giving, as usual, the tone to the manners and ideas of the nation. Thus the Atlantic coast, however remote from the centre, will probably always be the prominent and vital part of the political system.

While Washington continues the seat of government, New York has rapidly risen to be the numerical and commercial capital of the United States. This pre-eminence it secures by its noble and safe harbour, and by its position on the Hudson, the greatest and most navigable river of the eastern country. These advantages have been prodigiously enhanced by the recent construction of the great canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie, affording a water-communication, and the only one which exists, with the western territory. Forests of masts surround the city on every side ; vessels are seen arriving and departing with every wind, and its quays are the scene of perpetual bustle. There is still in New York a remnant of the old Dutch houses built of brick and with their gables to the street ; but the English, on obtaining possession, soon had recourse to the noble forests which surrounded the city. In consequence a great part of New York is built of wood, with narrow and winding streets, and in a low situation ; and from this quarter as a centre rises and spreads the yellow fever, which has so repeatedly ravaged the city. The Broadway is the handsomest street in North America, and may come into competition with the finest

in Europe. It extends nearly three miles, and is about the breadth of Oxford Street in London. Many of the houses and public buildings are handsome, though the material of the former is only painted brick; and a row of Lombardy poplars, which border it, gives it a fresh and rural appearance. This street is the favourite forenoon promenade of the fashionable female citizens, when it has an exceedingly gay appearance. The Bowery-Road, branching off at an angle from the Broadway, and extending for a mile and a half, is also very handsome. The city-hall is the most splendid edifice in New York, and, with the exception at least of the Capitol, in the whole Union. It is above 200 feet long and 50 high, and the main body constructed of white marble; but its architecture is liable to some exceptions, and its basement of red granite and cupola of painted wood are out of harmony with the rich material of which the rest is composed. Of the thirty three churches, several are built with cost and splendour, and are considered by several travellers as elegant; but Mr Duncan, who seems backed by some candid American authorities, pronounces them to be glaring specimens of bad taste. The environs of New York present scenes of great beauty. From the spot termed the Battery is viewed the long strait or estuary on which it is situated, crowded with numerous sails, and bordered by the fertile shores and gently-swelling hills of New York and New Jersey. This view has been compared to that of the Bay of Naples, and Americans consider it even as injured by the comparison. The view of New York itself strikes with admiration those who

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approach it by sea. The country behind, and the opposite coast of Long Island, are covered with country houses, to which the merchants retire during the extreme and sickly heat of the summer. New York is the grand rendezvous of all the emigrants coming from Europe to the United States: in the satirical terms of Mr Faux, it is the spot "to which the scum of all the earth is drifted." From these it readily obtains all the additional population for which its own rapid growth finds employment. "As the summer destroys by the yellow fever," says Mr Janson, "the winter brings in a fresh supply." Through this constant influx, society in New York is less marked in its features, and less decidedly American, than in the other great cities. In the gay circles there is a contest between French and English costume, carried on almost with the vehemence of party-spirit, by the fair leaders of fashion. Even in this republican society two *sets* have been formed; the first of which, composed chiefly of political and professional characters, have formed themselves into a species of *noblesse*, who, with the jealous spirit of coterie, decline all connexion with the second, composed of persons employed in the various branches of trade. This seems by no means founded on superiority of wealth, since we find the second class, indignant at being excluded from the city-balls conducted by their rivals, setting up a ball of their own with a higher subscription, and conducted in a more liberal style of expense. In an intellectual view, New York is secondary to Boston, and even to Philadelphia. Its university has no pretensions to rank with Harvard; and of its two



public libraries, one contains only 5000 and the other 3000 volumes ; yet the taste for study is spreading, and the prejudice felt against it by the mercantile classes, as incompatible with their professional habits and pursuits, is gradually subsiding.

Philadelphia, notwithstanding its late origin, rose, as we have seen, by such rapid steps as to have become, at the time of the revolution, the decided capital of republican America. It was even for some time the seat of the legislature, and contained a house of considerable splendour, built for the president. Philadelphia, though now reduced to the second place, is still a very handsome and respectable city, retaining much of the simplicity and steadiness of the sect from whom it derived its origin. It is built on a regular plan, neat, simple, and commodious, though somewhat too uniform and mechanical. All the streets cross each other at right angles, making the whole city like the divisions of a large chess-board. A great part of them are designated according to numbers, First Street, Second Street, Third Street,—a convenient but somewhat dry nomenclature ; and the Friends seem, with happier taste, to have given to others the rural though somewhat fanciful names of Vine Street, Mulberry Street, Walnut Street. Market Street, 100 feet broad, and crossing the whole town, ought to have been superior to any of the rest ; but the convenience of the citizens having induced them to erect in the midst of it a piazza, beneath which is a profuse display of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, with sundry fabrics of earth and wood, while its sides are flanked with carts and wheelbarrows, this range has lost every pre-

tension to elegance. Upon the whole, however, the streets of Philadelphia, though they can produce nothing to come into competition with the Broadway and Bowery-Road, are more uniformly good, better paved, and better cleaned, than those of New York. This last merit is greatly promoted by the copious supply of fresh water, conveyed by pipes to every quarter. A series of fires has nearly extirpated the wooden houses, whose re-erection has been prohibited for the last thirty years. The public buildings, though not so spacious, appear to be constructed in a purer classical taste. The bank of Pennsylvania, and the more recent edifice destined for that of the United States, are reported as in a very correct and elegant style of architecture. The benevolent institutions of Philadelphia are on a greater scale than in any other American city. The hospital is a large edifice, built of brick only, yet not unhandsome. It can accommodate upwards of two hundred patients, besides many relieved at their own houses ; but payment is required from those who are supposed able to afford it. To this hospital are attached a good anatomical museum and library ; and a more singular appendage, the celebrated picture, by West, of Christ Healing the Sick, has even by its exhibition become a source of emolument. The new Philadelphia penitentiary, comprising a space of six hundred and thirty feet square, and containing two hundred and fifty cells, is now affording a trial, on a great scale, of the efficacy of the system of prison-reform. Philadelphia enjoys a progressive prosperity which, if not so rapid, is perhaps more solid than that of New York. If the last

stand foremost as a commercial city, Philadelphia is equally prominent in manufacturing industry; being in this respect indeed almost single among the cities of the Union. The value of its manufactures in 1810 was reckoned at nearly four millions sterling. The shipping belonging to its port amounted in 1816 to 101,830 tons. Philadelphia is more literary than New York, and than any other of the American cities, except Boston. There is a public library founded in 1742, under the auspices of Franklin, which, having received accessions from various quarters, comprises now 22,000 volumes. There are libraries also of some value belonging to the American Philosophical Society, to the Academy of Natural Science, to the Athenæum, to the Society of Friends, and to the University. Although the reputation of the latter, as to general science, is not equal to that of Harvard, it is considered the first medical school in the United States. In this department it has seven professors, and is attended by about five hundred students, each of whom pays twenty dollars to each professor. Great advantage is also derived from the clinical lectures at the hospital. We have already noticed the progress made by the art of printing; and the engraving of bank-notes, an art of so much importance for the prevention of forgery, is said to be more highly improved than even in Europe. There is a private museum, which contains a complete skeleton of that gigantic but extinct animal, the mammoth. It is eleven feet high, reaches seventeen feet in direct length, and its great tusk is ten feet long. The entire weight is a thousand pounds. The academy contains a few

fine statues, a good collection of casts, and some pictures ascribed to old masters, and which are really said to possess merit, with others by native artists, particularly Alston and Lesslie. The Quakers, who founded Philadelphia, are now greatly outnumbered by the other sects, and have ceased to give the tone to society, though Philadelphia still retains much of the sober and regular character which they impressed upon it. Among the fifty-nine places of public worship only six belong to them. Those who still hold that profession have abated much of their original austere simplicity, and of those peculiarities in dress and manners which drew so decided a line between them and the rest of society.

As New York is the commercial, and Philadelphia the manufacturing, Boston esteems itself the intellectual capital of the States. This is the earliest founded of all the great cities, and has been in a state of continually increasing prosperity. During the early progress of the colonies, and before the rapid rise of Philadelphia, it had taken a decided lead, and formed the centre of that spirit of resistance which issued in national independence. As its back territory, however, is not extremely fertile, and is now peopled nearly up to its capacities, and as it has not, like New York, any grand channel of communication with the interior, Boston has for some time begun to approach the ultimate point of growth, and has been stationary compared with its more southern rivals. Its active spirit, however, has produced a new export, that of men, who fill all the Southern States, and carry on there that busy traffic which is little suit-

ed to the genius of the natives. Boston, though now not containing a fourth of the population of either New York or Philadelphia, is still an opulent and flourishing city. It was founded, without any presentiment of its future extension, in a peninsula almost completely enclosed by a narrow and winding inlet. As this original space has proved inadequate to contain the widely-spreading extent of Boston, the suburbs of Charleston and South Boston have been built on the opposite side of this arm of the sea, and are connected with the main body of the place by long and costly bridges across its narrowest part. Boston, an old town, is built too much in the winding, irregular, antique style ; many of its streets are mere lanes and alleys. The present generation, however, has here, as elsewhere, done much to repair the imperfections of their forefathers. The usual anathema against wooden houses of more than one storey high was issued after a destructive fire in 1794 : several of the new streets are handsome, and many of the new houses splendid. The wharfs and quays are very numerous, no less than eighty, and many of them reach far up into the city, enabling the ships to reach the very door of the merchants. This produces a singular effect, the masts and sails being seen mingled with the buildings, and flags flying over the tops of the houses. Boston has a very strong and spacious prison, constructed on the plan of a penitentiary, and in which about 800 criminals are annually confined. The establishment seems well-arranged, the prisoners being classified and regularly employed in hewing stones and other work : yet the

effects, either in producing reform, or in the prevention of crime, have not been conspicuous. Boston is undoubtedly the literary capital of the United States. Its collections are more extensive, and there is a more general diffusion of information than in any other western city. The Athenæum, supported solely by subscription among the citizens, possesses a library of 20,000 volumes, which is receiving constant accessions. It is made also a depository of coins, minerals, and other interesting objects of nature and art. Boston is stated as the head-quarters of federalism and politics, and unitarianism in religion. The former is common to it with all the New England States ; but in religion, Newhaven, with its rival college of Yale, is orthodox, and the heresies of Boston are chiefly spread through detached congregations in the great cities throughout the Union. The inhabitants of Boston, however, still retain much of their regularity of conduct and strict attendance at public worship. Amid the boasted profuse hospitality of the south, Boston, among the cities, seems to have rather a particular fame for the exercise of this virtue.

From these northern cities we pass to Charleston, which has long been, and still in some degree is, a sort of metropolis of the south. A spacious and commodious, though not perfectly secure harbour, on a coast almost destitute of that important accommodation, has enabled Charleston almost to monopolize the commerce of North and South Carolina. Mr Lambert, to whom we are indebted for the most detailed account of Charleston, represents it as containing many handsome houses, but few elegant streets

or public buildings. The houses are spacious, surrounded with gardens, furnished with verandahs and balconies, and sometimes shaded with Venetian blinds, every arrangement being studied which in this sultry climate can preserve coolness and afford shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. The material is chiefly a brick, well qualified to resist the action of the elements, but of a somewhat gloomy red colour; while the inferior houses are of wood, and many of them very wretched. The streets are narrow and unpaved, unless for foot-passengers,—a very inconvenient circumstance, where the surface is formed entirely of dry sand, which, whenever the wind is high, is blown about in a manner very annoying to the eyes and lungs. In defence of this omission it is urged by the rulers of Charleston, that a pavement would reflect and augment the already extreme heat; but it seems justly replied, that no surface can be so arid or so hot as sand. The foot-walks, however, of Charleston are protected by rows of a tree called the Pride of India, which, though not very lofty, afford an ample and agreeable shade. Its leaves have the remarkable quality of being noxious to insects; so that a decoction of them poured over plants infested with caterpillars completely delivers them from this nuisance; but Mr Lambert seems thence rather too hastily to conclude that they must give out pestilential qualities to the atmosphere; yet the berries are eaten by animals without any bad consequence. The insalubrity of Charleston, and the dreadful ravages of the yellow fever, seem well accounted for in such a climate by other gross omissions on the part of its sanitary po-

lice. No steps are taken to fill up or drain the numerous pools, marshes, and swamps, with which the city is surrounded, and which emit at night very disagreeable effluvia; while the carcasses of dead horses, cats, dogs, and other animals, are exposed in the streets, or the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which are cleared from them only by the voracious jaws of dogs, and of a species of carrion-birds called turkey-buzzards, that are seen in vast flights hissing in fierce contention over the mangled remnants of their unfortunate victims. They cannot, however, in this climate finish their savage repast with such speed, that their prey does not previously emit the most offensive odours. In consideration of this service, these obscene birds are held almost sacred, and must on no account be killed or molested. So long indeed as they continue the sole scavengers of Charleston this toleration is necessary; but something more efficient in this department is loudly called for. The only edifice in Charleston which makes pretensions to splendour is that for the branch-bank of the United States, on which a very large sum is said to have been spent; yet the union of brick in the body of the building, of stone in the sides and corners, and of marble pillars at the entrance, excludes in a great measure any idea of taste and harmony.

The tone of society in Charleston is given by the planters, who resemble, as already observed, the country gentlemen of Europe, and who are praised for their manners and general deportment. Charleston has been described as the seat of hospitality, elegance,



and gaiety. It is observed, however, that only the gay side of the picture is exposed to public view, and that there is much in the Carolinean domestic economy which a sober judgment cannot approve. During the period of the year indeed which they spend in town, they live like princes, in a round of gaiety, hospitality, and indulgence in every pleasure; but this brilliant interval absorbs not only all, but more, than they can save by living the rest of the year on their plantations, destitute almost of common comforts. Hence, with incomes of from 6 to 50,000 dollars a-year, they have seldom a dollar in their pocket, and live in continual difficulty and embarrassment. The long credits which it is necessary to give them, and the slow and scanty instalments by which payment is made, are the subject of universal complaint among the merchants and traders. They seek indeed to indemnify themselves by laying 100 or 150 per cent. on their commodities, and when they succeed in collecting their debts are thus enabled to make rapid fortunes; but, even after retiring from business, years must be spent in collecting their arrears. Unlike the active farmer, or merchant of the north, the Carolinean lolls at ease under his shady piazza, smoking cigars and drinking sangaree, and leaving all the labour to his slaves and overseers. His amusements are not always of the most elegant kind, and consist less in the theatre and other places of public entertainment, than in horseracing with high bets, and hard drinking till the guest is laid under the table. They follow likewise with ardour all country sports, and are excellent marksmen. This

quality is greatly improved by the use of a species of lottery, where the goods instead of being awarded according to some chance-operation, are placed on a high tree and fired at with the rifle. A much less laudable use is made of this skill in the duels which, too general over America, occur with peculiar frequency at Charleston. They are attributed by Mr Warden to a nice sense of honour, but by others to merely quarrelsome propensities.

All menial offices in Charleston are performed by slaves, who form the bulk of the population. Those who cannot afford to buy one at £100 or £120, hire them at a guinea a month from persons who keep a stock for that purpose. The introduction of slaves has been prohibited since 1808 ; but sales of a painful and humiliating nature still take place for the interior or the western territory. Many, especially of the Carolinean ladies, are said to treat these poor dependants with great humanity, while others do not hesitate to employ their fair hands in the application of the cow-hide. For such as decline this exercise there are public whippers, who deal out lashes at a shilling a dozen ; but a lady has been heard to complain, that at this rate the charge mounted up too fast, and that she must endeavour to effect a contract on easier terms. The slaves are employed in various arts and trades, in which they often acquire considerable dexterity. The city slaves consider themselves as a superior race to those employed in country labour, and place a pride in the superior prices which they would fetch, boasting, " Me bring ten times the price of dem, if massa swap me." They are con-

verted to Christianity and attentive to the duties of religion; and if their favourite instructors, who are generally of the Methodist persuasion, do not always deport themselves in the most sober manner, and be liable to some of those physical excesses which prevail in America, this cannot justify the outrageous interruptions which they sometimes receive, and which Mr Lambert records with a blameable satisfaction. In a humbler walk it is told, to the credit of the negroes, that when disposed to make proof of each other's strength, they box in a fair and manly manner, and without any of those corrupted forms which are practised by the lower tribes in the Southern States.

Virginia, notwithstanding its importance and wealth, was long almost without a capital. Its planters, generally speaking, have little taste for a town; they live on their estates in pomp and ease, and in a manner generally happier and more respectable than their Carolina neighbours; and many of them bestow much pains in cultivating their minds and fitting themselves for public employment. Richmond was little more than a large village till about twenty years ago, when the copious exportation of tobacco and flour, the produce of the fertile surrounding districts, began to attract a numerous body of merchants, and Richmond has been since in a state of rapid increase. It probably contains now above 20,000 inhabitants, and the high price of houses and building-ground augurs a still farther progress. The most active adventurers are said to be natives of Old and New England; and the planters keep aloof,

viewing, it is said, with some jealousy this rise of a commercial interest. The urbane and social manners of the South, however, are said to prevail, and to render a residence there very agreeable.

Maryland was long nearly as destitute of a capital as Virginia, having none at least which could appear in competition with those of the Northern States. Baltimore, however, within the last thirty years having been by its two excellent harbours enabled to engross the commerce of the Chesapeake, has suddenly become the greatest city in the Union, New York and Philadelphia only excepted. All that prosperity, which was vainly desired and destined for Washington, has flowed into her. In 1796, Baltimore was supposed to contain 16,000 inhabitants; now nearly 70,000. Having risen to this greatness since the improved mode of building cities came into fashion, the streets are regular, with many extremely good houses, built chiefly of brick. A great proportion of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, the city and country being entirely founded by and for the adherents of that religion. A very spacious cathedral has been recently erected, and is the principal public building in Baltimore. The Socinians have also erected a smaller one of great elegance at an expense of £20,000, though the sect is said to be rather wealthy than numerous. There are two columnar monuments,—one dedicated to Washington, the other in commemoration of the battle in which General Ross fell. Baltimore has two universities,—one founded on a Roman Catholic basis, though it has educated eminent men in every profession; the other of more

recent erection, called the University of Maryland; but only the medical department has been yet organized. The society of Baltimore is chiefly commercial.

Having thus cast our eye over the eastern cities, we must now cross the Alleghany, and survey those which have risen like magic in the mighty domain of the west. Of them the first, and still the foremost in point of importance, is Pittsburgh. This city, happily placed at the point where the Mononghela and Alleghany rivers unite to form the mighty Ohio, is thus at the head of a river-navigation of nearly three thousand miles, and forms the connecting link between Old and New America. It is technically included in Pennsylvania; but as it has risen entirely with and for the Western States, it is really and clearly a western city. The Americans, who are liable to boasting, are said to exercise this propensity in a special manner with regard to Pittsburg. The view of this first manufacturing city, springing up like magic in the midst of the desert, is no doubt calculated to act strongly on the imagination. It is called the Birmingham of America, which even Mr Birkbeck could see nothing in any degree to justify. In fact, the enumeration of its manufactures given by Fearon and Flint shows clearly that they are mere workshops for the supply of a wide rural district with those bulky articles which cannot bear the cost of transportation across the Alleghany. The chief are smiths, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, makers of mills, machines, and waggons. There are only four or five employed in the manufacture of cloth, and those are said to find it a losing concern. The only one which

seems really worthy of the term manufacture is that of glass, a brittle substance, which could not be conveyed in safety across the rough western roads. Pittsburg, encompassed by great river-channels, and bordered by wooded heights, has a picturesque and almost romantic appearance, not very much akin to the pursuits of its inhabitants. However, these hills enclose most solid treasures,—a nearly inexhaustible deposit of coal, obtained almost without digging, by merely opening the side of the mountain, and laying a plank, over which the coals are driven in a wheelbarrow.

In descending the Ohio, we meet with a succession of newly-founded and rapidly-rising towns. Wheeling stands at the junction of the Ohio line with that of the great national road which crosses the Alleghanies from Baltimore. Although this road is stated by Major Long to be not good, it is however a road, and much the shortest from the Atlantic coast. It is likely, therefore, to become soon the great line of trade and emigration, and Wheeling, containing large mineral deposits in the vicinity, has all the materials of future importance. Farther down, the Muskingum and the Scioto gain the Ohio after traversing tracts favourable for trade and settlement. Zanesville on the former river, and Chillicothe on the latter, were both, as Mr Birkbeck informs us, founded by an intelligent person of the name of Zane, whose choice has been justified by their prosperity; but, unluckily, overlooking every thing but mercantile benefit, he neglected the fine elevated sites in their neighbourhood, and built them on a level with the river, where

they are both unhealthy and liable to inundation. The seat of government, formerly at Chillicothe, is now transferred to Columbus, higher up the river; but though this place, which in 1812 consisted of one log-cabin, exhibits, as Mr Long observes, a remarkable change in having acquired a population of 1500 civilized inhabitants, it is left much behind by other towns in the State, and possesses no natural advantages ever likely to raise it to their level. The Ohians do not seem very well able to say upon what principle they chose Columbus as the seat of administration.

Cincinnati, lower down the river, and almost at the frontier, is the real capital of Ohio, the chief seat of trade in this part of America, and the main halting-place to the numerous bodies of emigrants who proceed to the westward. Cincinnati was one of the oldest towns of the western territory, and till 1800 the official capital of the State of Ohio; but this was afterwards removed to the banks of the Scioto, as a more central position. In 1810 it had still only 2320 inhabitants; in 1813 it was found to have 4000; the census of 1815 gave 6000; that of 1819, according to Mr Flint, 10,330. Both he and Fearon, from the stagnation of trade, anticipate a stationary state, and even a decline; yet Judge Hall intimates that the number has now risen to 18,000. Cincinnati is built completely on the Ohio bottom, insomuch that a *levée* of six feet high would be required to preserve it from occasional inundation. Yet the ground rises immediately behind; but gain! gain! gain! is, according to Mr Birkbeck, the alpha and omega of the

founders of American cities. Cincinnati has been built on the model of Philadelphia, with parallel streets, crossing each other at right angles, and called First Street, Second Street, Third Street, &c. Many of the houses are neat, though few aim at splendour. Wilson the ornithologist thinks it the prettiest town beyond Philadelphia. As it slopes, however, somewhat rapidly towards the river, an inconvenient descent of water and mud takes place during the rains. Few towns abound more in the materials of building, having marble, freestone, earth fit for brick, and wood of various kinds in the greatest plenty. The last material is in most instances preferred by the haste or indolence of the new-comers. The houses of stone are extremely few; those of brick are about a fourth of the whole, those of timber three-fourths. They do not even paint the wood, though this precaution would be necessary to secure its durability. Notwithstanding the use of this combustible material, no good precautions are taken against fire, and luckily as yet no great disaster has forced upon them a sense of their necessity. The manufactures, as they are called, of Cincinnati are nearly on the same scale and of the same character as those of Pittsburg,—great workshops for the lower districts of Ohio and Indiana, and many persons employed in the extensive building concerns of the city itself. There are house-carpenters, 400; shoemakers, 116; blacksmiths, 90; boat-builders, 60 or 70; cabinet-makers, 54; brick-makers, 200; coopers, 84, &c. Cincinnati has made some efforts to raise itself to an intellectual character; and two universities have been set on foot, one called the



Cincinnati, and the other the Miami ; but though they exposed themselves to what Dr Drake calls the " stigma of mendicity," by sending a Dr Brown to collect money in the Eastern States, who returned with about 400 dollars, neither of these institutions has yet arrived at any importance. The public library did not in 1815 exceed 800 volumes. The first newspaper west of the Alleghany was begun here in 1793, under the title of the " Sentinel of the North-Western Territory." At present there are the Western Spy, with 1200 subscribers, and Liberty-Hall, with 1400. Dr Drake bestows on the printing of Cincinnati a degree of praise which is not borne out by the execution of his own book.

Passing now the great Wabash, we come to two States, Indiana and Illinois, which carry the career of settlement west to the Mississippi. This outer region presents a somewhat new aspect. The habitations are as yet thinly scattered, and the cultivated territory bears a small proportion to the immensity of forest and prairie. To Mr Birkbeck the settlers appeared a superior class, who, beginning their movement later, found the best districts on the Ohio already occupied, and came on to Indiana ; yet this does not very well accord with the miserable aspect of the huts which he discovered in his route. The society is here of very various aspect. The new settlers are mixed with a race of early French colonists, who, with the characteristic enterprise of their nation, came down to this tract from Upper Canada and the region on the lakes. Birkbeck observes, that the Frenchman, however long absent from his country, and en-

circled by strangers, never loses his natural polish and amenity, which render him a favourite of all the natives among whom he resides. The society of Vincennes has thus in some respects more of outward refinement than even that of some great cities. Along all the exterior borders of this territory, however, are found a numerous tribe of squatters, back-woodsmen, hunters, and even outlaws, who have sought refuge from justice amid these wilds. Generally throughout all the inhabitants of this region, there is a want of any disposition to obey laws which do not accord with their own inclination. Lastly appear bands of Indians, who have still reserved some portions of this last boundary of their ancient inheritance, and who repair to the towns to sell the produce of their red hunt, and intoxicate themselves with its proceeds. Such is the varied spectacle presented by the infant cities of Princeton and Vincennes. The latter being built too low, is unhealthy during a certain season ; and Princeton, though on a more elevated site, in the midst of an irregular and, what the Americans call, rolling country, does not exempt the new settler from the probability of a seasoning fever. In Illinois, Kaskaskia, though an old French settlement, cannot yet rank above a village, and the same may be said of the new capital known by the somewhat rude and fantastic name of Vandalia. It appears, however, by Mr Beck's plan, to be built on the same system of mechanical regularity of which Philadelphia had set the example.

The Mississippi, which we have now reached, sets limits to settlement in this quarter ; for that vast range which the Americans have annexed to their union

under the title of North-west Territory, remains still in the undisturbed possession of Indian natives. We have now, therefore, to cross the Ohio to Kentucky, which extends along its opposite bank. This river serves as a boundary between two very opposite forms and states of society ; all on one side belongs to the north, all on the other to the south. Kentucky was peopled from Virginia, and formed on its model. It is a state of slaves and planters ; its people are hospitable, frank, luxurious, and indolent. Mr Fearon, on his arrival at Lexington, saw the long-unwonted spectacle of a party sitting and conversing round a bottle of wine ; but they are proud, loose, and turbulent ; and it seems to be here chiefly that travellers still receive notice of the ancient brutal modes of waging combat. Mr Flint does not appear actually to have seen a *gouged* person ; but he discovered noses and ears which had been partially removed by the barbarous processes formerly recorded. The numerous dirks exposed for sale in the jewellers' shops showed the article to be in demand ; and being worn and concealed under the waistcoat, they acquired an affinity to the Italian stiletto. Swearing, another feature of semi-barbarous societies, is dreadfully prevalent. The system of slavery produces among the whites a disdain of honest labour, and an idea of disgrace attached to it, which often reduces the females especially to very great distress. It must be granted to them, however, that the zeal for knowledge appears to be ardent. Young as Lexington is, it has become the seat of a university, which Mr Fearon saw opened by a procession, accompanied

with music. A library and other literary collections are rapidly forming. Franklin is the state-capital; but, by a fatality which seems generally to attend America, it is completely eclipsed by Lexington, situated in a fine and fertile plain, and which, from being in 1797 a group of fifty log-houses, has risen to be one of the best-built towns in America. The main street particularly, eighty feet wide, has few rivals in elegance. Lexington, however, is likely to be surpassed by Louisville, built immediately below the Rapids of the Ohio, which render navigation above that point practicable only during part of the year. It is consequently becoming more and more the emporium of that vast trade which Ohio and Kentucky carry on with the Mississippi and New Orleans.

Tennessee, with its neat and rising capitals of Nashville and Knoxville, exhibits nearly a similar aspect to Kentucky, though yet in a less advanced stage of its progress.

The state of Missouri is situated wholly to the west of the Mississippi, and its counties extend along the banks of that river, and about a hundred and fifty miles up those of its mighty tributary the Missouri. The region, generally, is of great natural capacity, but its cultivation as yet extends only along the rivers, and is nearly confined to the production of maize. Now, however, that New Orleans has become the main emporium of the western territory, the Missouri, being nearer to it than the upper tracts of the Ohio are, is likely to increase rapidly, especially when it has recovered from the shocks sustained by excessive speculation. None of its towns have yet risen to any

great magnitude. St Louis, situated on the Mississippi, a little below the grand junction, affords the chief vent for the productions of the upper districts. It was originally a French town, in which capacity it had only three small streets, and a population of scarcely a thousand; nor did it increase till after the annexation of Louisiana, since which time it has rapidly grown to upwards of 5000. The American part is composed of parallel streets, called First, Second, Third, &c. after the model of Philadelphia. St Charles, on the Missouri, presents the same history, on a smaller scale as yet; but its command of the navigation of that great river promises a high future prosperity. New Madrid, below the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, was destined to a much more splendid lot than either. Colonel Morgan laid it out in 1817 with ten streets, of which one was 120 feet broad, and with six spacious squares; but vain in this respect are human plans and designs. After a short interval of prosperity, New Madrid declined so rapidly, that Mr Nuttall, in 1820, found it composed of little more than twenty miserable log-houses and stores, where a scanty supply of goods was retailed to the neighbourhood at enormous prices. This decline appears to have been in a great degree owing to the dreadful earthquake of 1812, which convulsed the whole country round; and it should seem that if things go on in their present train, there ought to be a great city here or somewhere in its neighbourhood.

The traveller, as he descends the Mississippi, has on one side the State bearing that name, and on the

other the Arkansa territory, composed of the great Mississippi bottom, which presents a dead and almost sunk level, varied only by a few gentle risings, and presenting a somewhat monotonous surface. The scenery, however, derives a great interest from the magnificent display of the vegetable kingdom. "The gigantic plum and maple trees, a large profusion of seventy or eighty species of American oak, sassafras, hickory, magnolia grandiflora, a hundred feet high, with its deep-green leaves, broad yellow flowers, expanded like a full-blown rose, remind us that we are far from home; while at night the brilliancy of the stars, the delicate fragrance of the surrounding woods, and especially the fire-flies, which sparkle on every side, seem almost to transport us into the regions of eastern romance." The planter of the Mississippi is much richer, and with less labour, than the North American farmer. He cultivates tobacco and cotton, commodities which have a sure sale in Europe; and though the latter has fallen to half its former price, it still amply repays the cost of cultivation. Provided he has capital to purchase an estate and stock it with negroes, a very slight inspection is necessary to secure its management. A planter who makes from one to two thousand a-year lives only in the style of a second-rate farmer in Britain, and thus, if otherwise economical, makes a rapid fortune. A good deal is spent, however, in excursions, which last often for several months, to the northern cities of New York and Boston. Mr Hodgson reckons that if the Mississippi planters could be cleared from the stains of slavery, they would be exceedingly honourable and

agreeable men. The towns are small and poor, every one making haste to buy and stock a plantation. The only place of any consequence is Natches, regularly and handsomely built of brick, and situated on a rising ground, whence it commands a delightful prospect. On the opposite side of the river is the Arkansa territory, on the great river of that name. The soil is extremely well fitted for tobacco and cotton ; but its distance, and the want of many accommodations, prevent it from being generally the choice of those who can afford to establish themselves east of the Mississippi. A large distribution of lands has here been made among the troops who served with distinction in the last war ; but those veterans do not appear to set a very high value on this mark of their country's gratitude, and most of them prefer to continue drawing their pay than to exile themselves on this remote possession. The towns of Arkansa and Arkopolis are still quite in their infancy.

New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, is the only great city in this part of America. Holding from its position the command of all the immense navigable river-courses of interior America, it is making the most rapid progress of any American city, and will doubtless one day become the greatest in that continent, perhaps even in the world. At the time of the cession, in 1802, it had only 8000 inhabitants ; in 1820 the census gave 27,000 ; and M. Sidon, in 1827, found it to contain 40,000. The inhabitants are a confused assemblage of the successive French and Spanish settlers, of Americans from every quarter of the Union, and of adventurers from the British

empire, who all, "as if the Mississippi rolled down gold," flock to its shore. There is in fact no part of the world where a fortune may be made more speedily and certainly. Contrary to what obtains on our side of the world, there is more employment in every trade than there are hands to execute: even a good tailor may make a little fortune in a few years. Indeed, all except the most wealthy import their clothes ready-made from New York and Philadelphia. Every kind of work, and all the provisions which must be raised in the immediate neighbourhood, bear an enormous price, and render living extremely dear. A still more formidable evil consists in the insalubrity of the air, arising from the extensive marshes and inundated grounds which border the lower part of the Mississippi. Yet the winter and spring are delightful, and so healthy, that New Orleans is even resorted to at these seasons for the benefit of the air. In summer it becomes intensely hot, and the resident is cruelly annoyed by the musquitoes; yet June and July still pass without any alarm from the yellow fever. That terrible malady makes its first appearance in the early days of August, and continues till October. During that era New Orleans appears like a deserted city; all who possibly can, fly to the north or the upper country, most of the shops are shut, and the silence of the streets is only interrupted by the sound of the hearse passing through them. In one year 8000 died of this fever. Since the morasses have been partially cleared, its ravages have been less destructive; and, as this good work is going



on, the city may hope in time to be almost wholly freed from this terrible scourge.

The moral aspect of New Orleans is the most sinister which is presented by any city of America. The adventurers who had flocked thither, and whom Sidon brands as the refuse of Europe and America seem to have imported all the vices without any of the virtues of their respective countries. Nothing is to be seen of that sober and orderly demeanour which is so creditable to the northern cities. The religious spirit which prevails there is here almost extinct. While Pittsburg has four places of worship for 10,000 inhabitants, New Orleans for 40,000 has only five. The visitant from the north has on a Sunday the dissatisfaction of seeing the shops and markets open, and the sound of music and dancing echoing from the ball-rooms. Gaming-houses abound in every quarter; and nothing prevents the inhabitants from plunging into the utmost excesses of dissipation except the avidity for making a fortune, which forms the ruling passion in the breast of every citizen of New Orleans. The North Americans, in particular, who are its most active members, live in a retired manner, and centre all their cares in that of returning rich to their native district. From these different causes it results that the public institutions, especially of an intellectual nature, do not exist on any scale commensurate with the wealth and greatness of New Orleans. A college which had been commenced, though on a very small scale, was shut in consequence of containing only twelve pupils. All attempts have failed to form even a reading-room,

though there is not in other parts of the Union a town of 2000 inhabitants without one. Masked balls, bull-fights, and sensual indulgencies, form almost the exclusive enjoyments of the greater part of the inhabitants. Whoever, according to Mr Fearon, wishes only to be rich, and to lead a short life and a merry one, should go to New Orleans ; but the merriment appears at least not to be of a very refined nature.

## CHAPTER IV.

VIEW OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN THE  
UNITED STATES.


*Peculiar Situation of America.—Its great Capacities.—National Lands.—Their Extent.—Mode of Sale.—American Agriculture.—Price of Lands.—Products,—Maize, Wheat, Tobacco, Rice, and Cotton.—Domestic Animals.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—Detailed Exports and Imports in 1810.—Exports and Imports in 1826.—Estimates by the Convention of Harrisburg.—American Tariff.*

THE processes of industry, those processes by which men procure for themselves the necessities, the accommodations, and the ornaments of life, form a fundamental and essential element in national economy. These afford to man, first, the means of preserving his existence; then of many innocent and substantial enjoyments; lastly, a certain advanced state in respect to them forms an essential prelude to more refined and elevated attainments. America, in respect to the various branches of industry, is in a state wholly different and even opposite to that which obtains on this side of the Atlantic. Here man has to maintain a continued struggle against nature, and

feels his progress in every direction curbed and limited by the want of materials; there nature, as compared to man, appears immense and exhaustless, and her choicest gifts are lavished in empty profusion for want of his hand to draw forth and enjoy them. Estates, which would be a patrimony for princes, may be purchased for what would not be the year's income of an English farmer; and lands of the most luxuriant fertility may be purchased in perpetuity for what in England would be esteemed a small annual quit-rent. To the European mind, the idea of a landed proprietor suggests the most brilliant images,—unbounded wealth, respect, pomp, and influence. But the possessor of thousands of American acres is far from being in the enjoyment of this envied lot. Both to himself and his country indeed a brilliant future vista opens; and the imagination can scarcely comprehend the immense amount of productive wealth which will one day be floated down the mighty western rivers. But he himself in the meantime has to struggle against much difficulty and poverty. Nature not only does not bestow her treasures without the labour of man; she resists his strenuous and above all his early efforts. It is a toilsome task to strip her of that luxuriant vegetation in which she spontaneously invests herself, and which she makes continual endeavours to reproduce, whenever human exertion is slackened. The want of servants too, the want of accumulated capital, the want of refined and costly machinery, paralyze all his efforts to carry on improvement on an extensive scale. In an age, when all the processes of agricul-

ture and art have been carried to the highest perfection, and even with a thorough knowledge of these processes, the farmer must be content with rude and infant modes of cultivation.

The entire surface of the United States, according to the latest calculation, is estimated at 2,360,000 square miles, or about 1530 millions of acres. Of this enormous surface about a thirty-eighth part, or 40 millions of acres, was reckoned in 1809 to be under tillage. There were also, indeed, in gardens and orchards about 12 millions; in meadow and fallow about 11 millions. The amount since that time has probably increased at least by one-half. In 1798, the sixteen original States had within their boundaries 164 millions of acres, the property either of private individuals, or of the State-governments. At that time, however, a transaction took place by which all right to the lands composing the states newly formed or to be formed hereafter, was placed in the hands of the general government, and the revenue which might arise from their sale was placed at its disposal. Under this arrangement, the land at the disposal of government was offered to public sale in lots of six hundred and forty acres at two dollars per acre, with four years' credit, which was afterwards, on payment of ready money, reduced to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dollars. Golden dreams, it appears, were indulged of the large sums which from this source were to flow into the national treasury. They might have continued for a hundred and fifty years, selling annually at the rate of ten millions of acres, which would have yielded a sum more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of



the general government. These hopes were not fulfilled. From the opening of the land-office in 1800 to the report of the committee of Congress in January 1818, the national sales had not exceeded nine millions of acres, and the produce consequently had not amounted to 19,000,000 dollars. Probably as much more has been sold since that time; yet this has made very little impression on the immensity of land to be disposed of; and the proceeds, by Mr Cooper's calculation, have done very little more than cover the expenses of sale and purchase from the Indians. In 1813, the commissioners of the land-office reported the public lands on the east of the Mississippi as amounting to about 205 millions of acres, 56 millions of which had been purchased from the Indians, and 149 millions were still claimed as the free hunting ground of that savage race.

The ground appropriated and disposed into farms includes thus only a small part of the United States' territory; and even of that part, only a small proportion is under tillage. Mr Warden gives, as a specimen of management on American farms, one of a hundred and fifty acres on Lake Ontario, of which fifty acres are in wood, seventy or eighty in pasture, and the acres under grain vary from twenty to thirty. The farms throughout the States are on a small scale, and mostly laboured by the hands of the proprietor and his family. There are few who find any advantage in purchasing land even at the low price for which it is offered, with a view to letting it on lease. Almost every man who has funds to stock a farm and make the first necessary advances, can also, in the course of

five years, make up the small quit-price exacted by the American government ; and he has much more pride and comfort in farming his own lands than in renting those of another. The only transaction at all similar has been that of individuals purchasing large tracts, and retailing them in small portions, by which we have had occasion to observe that several large fortunes were made ; but government has now taken this trade into its own hands. With as little success also does the farmer in general attempt to operate on a great scale by the hire of servants and labourers. These are scarce, dear, and intractable. The rate of wages is so high that a young man of any spirit or industry is seldom long before he can contrive to become proprietor of a little spot which he may cultivate with his own hands ; the servants who can be hired, therefore, are generally the idle, the thoughtless, and the dissipated ; and they are, moreover, deeply imbued with the principle, that they are not servants, but helps and comrades, who are to work only if and when they please. Mr Parkinson makes a rueful lamentation, that he and Mrs P. were obliged to rise in the morning and milk the cows, while they had four servants in bed. If any thing is said which appears to them unsuitable to their dignity, they hesitate not to throw up work at the busiest period of harvest. The only case in which either farmers or proprietors can live like gentlemen, and make a large income, is in the Southern States, where they can purchase as many slaves as they please, and devolve the labour upon them ; but this requires a large capital, and happily is not to the taste of British emigrants.

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As farming in the United States is thus conducted on a small scale, and generally also without any very elaborate and skilful processes, the nice rotation of crops, the careful enclosure, the housing of cattle, the collection and distribution of manure, which form the pride of the British and Flemish agriculturist, are almost unknown. The cattle find their food among the woods, or in the open meadows. The culture is carried on upon the principle formerly called in this country infield and outfield. About a third of the open ground is brought at a time under the plough, and when this is exhausted, another portion is taken, and then another, till the first, by this interval of repose, has regained its productive powers. This system, in fact, is adopted much less from the want of knowledge of a better, than because no other is yet compatible with the circumstances in which the country is placed. There is plenty of ground to admit of this succession of alternate labour and rest ; and the price which could be obtained for the produce would not pay the expense of raising a greater quantity on the same ground. The speculations, therefore, of English farmers who hoped to make a fortune by applying their own improved processes to land where there was neither rent, taxes, nor tithes, have proved very abortive. In some of the older and more peopled States, however, rapid steps are making towards an improved order of things. Long Island, from its close vicinity to New York, and easy water-conveyance, possesses all the advantages of a good market. There enclosures, or at least strong wooden palings, manure, and commodious reaping-machines, have been introduced. Mas-



sachusetts and Connecticut also, though they are defective in natural fertility, are nearly as much cultivated as if they were European countries ; and the timber remaining on them is not more than the great cities afford an increasing demand for. But the great valley of Pennsylvania, between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, is that which, according to Mr Fearon, may fairly come into competition with Old England. The superior cultivation, excellent breed and condition of live-stock, substantial barns, and opulent farm-houses, bear testimony to the diligence and opulence of the proprietors. Much of this merit is ascribed to German colonists. Societies for the promotion of agricultural knowledge have been formed in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and a general spirit of improvement seems to be spreading. Mr Spafford considers, that the introduction of gypsum as a manure has produced an entirely new era in the agriculture of New York.

The price of land, uncultivated and without any peculiar advantages of situation, has been observed to be two dollars an acre, payable by instalments in the course of four years, or 1½ dollars when paid in ready money. This price seems sufficient to ensure a continued succession of purchasers for the sake of cultivation, but not to afford any temptation to speculate with a view to sell over again. Congress in 1817 felt a disposition to raise the price ; but a committee appointed by them reported against the possibility of obtaining any advance. In the Eastern States, however, and even in favourable circumstances beyond the Alleghany, land bears a much higher

value. Mr Flint supposes, that if there were sales of land in Long Island, which is rare, it would fetch 140 or 150 dollars; but two lots that were actually priced by Mr Fearon were stated at only 70 dollars. In the environs of Boston he found the price running between 50 and 100 dollars; but at a distance of more than eight miles it fell to twenty or thirty. In the Pennsylvanian valley, farms of 200 acres, comprising ninety arable, fifty meadow, ten orchard, and fifty woodland, will bring 20,000 dollars. Woodland, close to the city, is worth 300 or 400. In the more remote parts of Philadelphia, twenty dollars is the highest price given for unimproved land. In the close vicinity of Pittsburg the price is stated at 100 dollars; but beyond five miles it falls to fifty and twenty. Mr Birkbeck mentions 50 dollars as familiarly spoken of in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati, and that he had been asked thirty dollars for a large tract without improvements in the Great Miami; but this must have been a very exorbitant demand, when there were such immense tracts in this quarter yet unsold at the government-price of two dollars. Mr Fearon reports 8 to 30 dollars as the current demand for land which was called improved, and in a tolerable situation, without being near any large town. It is obvious, however, that the greater part of this price must consist of the buildings, rude as they may be, which are included in it, and of the work put upon it in clearing the woods, draining the prairies, and breaking up the soil. Dr Drake reckons the price of fertile unimproved land in the settled por-

tions of the Miami country at 8 dollars ; if cultivated, at 12. In Kentucky, Fearon estimates the land in the immediate vicinity of a populous town to run from 20 to 40 dollars an acre ; between five and ten miles, 10 to 20 ; ten and fifteen miles, 5 to 15. In Illinois, the most choice lots bring only six dollars. The value of unimproved land is found to be indicated by the species of timber which grows upon it. The elm, ash, walnut, sugar-tree, honey-locust, and some others, are regarded as pointing out the very best lands ; that clothed in beech ranks lower, and a surface covered with white and black oak lowest of all.

Among the objects of culture, maize, the indigenous grain of this continent, is that which succeeds most universally. Although it be properly the grain of a warm climate, and in Europe succeeds there only, yet the intense though transient heat of an American summer is sufficient to ripen a grain of so rapid a growth ; and the same heat is unfavourable to oats, the prevailing grain in high European latitudes. The calcareous soil which covers the whole western territory is peculiarly favourable to maize. This appears to be the most productive of all grains. In Ohio it yields often a hundred bushels to an acre, though Dr Drake does not conceive the average to exceed forty-five bushels. The average of Massachusetts is stated by Mr Warden at only twenty-eight bushels. It is a coarse grain, yet, mixed with a third of rye, it constitutes the common bread of four-fifths of the people, and is superior to all other for fattening cattle, poultry, and hogs. Its straw and envelope, when dried,

are equal to the best hay. Wheat, however, the grain so decidedly esteemed above all others, is considered a more valuable crop in the soils adapted to it, and where culture has made the requisite progress. It is the grain used for the bread of the opulent, and the best fitted for exportation. The New England States, notwithstanding their temperate latitude, from their disadvantages of soil, and the want of a sufficient heat, do not bring it to perfection. The Southern States of the Carolinas and Mississippi have too much moisture, and a climate too tropical. The middle States, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and in the west Ohio and Kentucky, are the tracts in which this important grain is produced with that excellence which enables it to become a leading article of American export. Rye for mixing with maize in the common bread, oats for horses, and barley for distillation, are also raised, though the two last not on so great a scale as in the northern countries of Europe.

To the south a different class of products begin, not of the same solid and substantial value, but for which there is a greater demand over the world, and which form thus the main staples of American exportation. Of these the oldest and most standard is tobacco. This is an annual plant, which rises to the height of five to seven feet, and spreads out copious leaves, in which its value resides. That it may put out these abundantly, its top and many of its shoots are cut off. It requires if possible fresh ground, which is usually cleared for it in the course of the winter. The tobacco is planted in April, and cut down gene-

rally in October; but is liable to suffer both from several species of worms, and from the frost, which sometimes partially destroys it. The change of colour from green to brown marks the maturity of the plant, which is then reaped and spread in the sun for one day, after which it is removed into the tobacco-house, and six weeks are employed in drying it. The second crop is inferior to the first, and after the third the ground is almost quite exhausted. The tobacco of Virginia is reckoned the best for chewing and for snuff, though it cannot rival the reputation of Cuba for cigars. The best is raised on a tract of country about 150 miles by 80, extending along the Blue Ridge; but of late the opinion has become prevalent, that tobacco is a bad crop, which exhausts the soil, and does not repay the expenses of cultivation so well as wheat. The tobacco-planter of Virginia has also been much injured by the rivalry which has arisen in Kentucky and Tennessee; and Mr Beck even calculates that it will become a staple of the rising territory of Missouri. Rice, in the swampy ground along the seacoast of the Carolinas, is cultivated largely for exportation. Ground which can be inundated yields three barrels per acre, worth fifty or sixty dollars. In Louisiana and part of Mississippi there are vast plantations of sugar cane, which supply a great part of the consumption of the United States. But of late the all-absorbing article, in every district where it can be raised, has been cotton, for which in the manufactures of Europe, and especially of Britain, there exists an almost unlimited demand. This culture originated in Georgia, where that pro-

duced on the coast and on the range of islands opposite to it, called Sea Islands cotton, is of longer staple, and bears a higher price, than the cotton raised in any other district of the globe. One man can cultivate from four to six acres of cotton along with maize and other articles of provision. To such an extent has this culture been carried, that in the year 1826 Britain alone, which doubtless is the best customer, took off 138 millions of pounds valued at 4,595,000 pounds sterling.

The domestic animals of Europe, conveyed over with the first colonists, have prospered and multiplied as if on their native soil. Even the horses escaped from their Spanish masters on the Mexican frontier, and become wild, now roam in immense herds over the boundless prairies of the west. The horses of the middle States, especially Maryland and Pennsylvania, and which have been imported into Ohio, meet with singular approbation from Mr Birkbeck. He says they are of good bone, beautiful form, and denoting a strain of high blood. The old English hunter has been raised to a stout coach-horse, but comprising all degrees of strength and size down to hackneys of some few hands. Mr Fearon, in terms less enthusiastic, describes the horse of the Pennsylvanian valley as a medium between our saddle and cart-horses, and well suited for most purposes,—worth from £11 to £33. Near Pittsburg they may, it appears, be had from twenty to thirty dollars; but some saddle-horses rise so high as 150 dollars. Mr Birkbeck was much edified with seeing

horses which had carried their riders across the Alleghany retaining still their flesh and vigour unimpaired. He speaks in very different terms of the Virginian cattle, which he brands as "dog-horses." This may be true of the working animals ; but Mr Weld considers the riding-horses light indeed, but handsome, and only spoiled by the absurd style in which the Virginians ride. They abhor a trot, and instruct the animal only in a pace and a *crack*. In the pace he moves the two feet on one side at the same time, producing a kind of continued shuffle ; while in the *crack* the two fore-feet gallop, while the two behind trot,—a gait equally devoid of grace and contrary to nature ; but the Virginian insists that no other affords so easy a seat. Great attention is paid to horses for racing, which is a favourite amusement in this state ; and though the very finest are imported from England, yet Mr Weld considers many of those reared in the territory as very meritorious. The cattle have also been carefully improved by crossing with the best English breeds, and are in general good. The dairy forms an extensive employment in the New England States, particularly Connecticut and Rhode Island ; and large droves of fat cattle in fine condition are driven over the Alleghany from the prairies and bottoms of the western territory. The products of cattle, in the forms of salted flesh, butter, and cheese, form an important part of the national exports. Hogs also are copiously reared, and find abundance of food in the woods, especially of Kentucky. There is no animal on whose improve-

ment greater pains have been bestowed than sheep, especially the Merino breed, but hitherto with slender success.

Manufactures, so far at least as they relate to fine and splendid fabrics, destined for a distant market, do not and for a long time cannot flourish in America. For these the requisites are large capital which cannot be absorbed by agriculture, costly and complicated machinery, and a supply of cheap and steady workmen; all which requisites are at present wanting. The attractions of an agricultural life, where land is so easily procured, causes the labourer soon to desert the close and damp apartment, "where the pale weaver plies his sickly trade." This does not arise from any want of spirit and enterprise in the people. There is scarcely one of those magnificent fabrics which form the pride of Britain which spirited attempts have not been made in America to imitate; and they have been supported by the government, actuated by national jealousy and by false views of political economy. Being destitute, however, of the proper root, they have gradually withered away. The American manufactures consist mainly of homely stout fabrics made in the family and for family-use; or they belong to that class which in Europe are called trades, the products of which are too bulky to be imported, or which must be fitted on the spot to their object,—beer, shoes, hats, mill-work, farm-implements, and other machinery. Some of these, particularly shoes, are carried on with such spirit that they become an object of export, at least from one State to another. Timber is so abundant a material



that every thing made from it is produced within the country. The same cause favours the growth of ship-building, which is carried on very extensively in the Northern States ; and the steam-vessels of America are still superior to any constructed in Europe. Grain, in some remote districts, is made into spirits, as the shape in which it can be most commodiously transported. There are even instances in which fine manufactures have been undertaken with success, where circumstances opposed an invincible obstacle to their introduction from abroad. Thus very beautiful glass fabrics are made at Pittsburg, because that brittle substance can scarcely be conveyed over the rough roads of Alleghany without being dashed to pieces. One circumstance favourable to manufactures is afforded by the pride of the American females, who, disdaining domestic service, prefer to work at lower wages in a public factory. According to a very comprehensive census taken in 1810, the following was the amount of the most considerable American manufactures :—

	Dollars.
Goods wrought in the loom, -	39,500,000
Machinery of various kinds, -	6,100,000
Hats, - - -	4,300,000
Iron manufactures, - -	14,360,000
Leather, - - -	17,900,000
Distilled and fermented liquors,	16,530,000
Articles made of wood, -	5,540,000
Various minor fabrics, - -	23,464,602
	<hr/>
	127,694,602

In producing these there were employed 325,392 looms, 122,647 spindles, 153 iron furnaces, 34 rolling and slitting mills, 141,191 distilleries, (many on a small scale, for domestic use,) producing 22,977,000 gallons of spirits from grain and 2,827,000 from molasses; 132 breweries, 208 gunpowder-mills.

Commerce is a branch which employs a comparatively small part of the American population, yet for which they have shown a peculiar aptitude, and have pursued it with extraordinary briskness and enterprise. Their vessels are seen along the coasts of all the three continents, and they have rivalled or supplanted some of the great European powers even in the distant markets of China. They hesitate not, in little barks of sixty or seventy tons, to cross the Pacific. The bold spirit of a republican government prompts naturally to mercantile enterprises; and, obliged by situation to obtain all the luxuries of life, and all the finer manufactures from across extensive oceans, they were early led into the path of maritime adventure. Even the carrying trade, which properly belongs to a much more advanced stage in the progress of national industry, was early thrown into their hands by the great general war in which Europe was involved, and which rendered theirs almost the only neutral flag that was to be seen on the European seas. In consequence, indeed, of the desperate and embittered hostility which reigned at last between the belligerents, directed especially against each other's commerce, they were exposed to considerable difficulties and annoyances; yet their maritime spirit suffered no abatement. On the examination in 1812, relative to the orders in council, it was stated by Mr

Poole, Mr Berthon, and other Liverpool merchants, that for some years all the imports from America into this country had been exclusively in American bottoms. The general peace in Europe of course deprived America of this carrying trade, which was indeed only an excrescence in her system ; but the fundamental principles, which consisted in the exportation of her own surplus produce, and the import of foreign luxuries, has been in a state of constant increase.

In 1821 the exports were estimated at 64,974,000 dollars, of which 43,671,000 were of home-produce, and 21,302,000 of foreign produce re-exported. Of the domestic amount, cotton forms about 46 per cent. ; grain and flour 15 ; tobacco 13 ; lumber, bark, &c. 6 ; horses, beef, &c. 5. Of the imports, the leading articles are woollens, value 6,959,000 dollars ; cottons 6,665,000 ; silks 3,430,000 ; linens 2,318,000 ; iron and iron-ware 2,969,000 ; hemp, &c. 1,271,000 ; wines 1,632,000 ; spirits 1,640,000 ; molasses 1,708,000 ; teas 1,081,000 ; coffee 2,403,000 ; sugars 1,905,000 dollars.

The following was the proportion in that year of the imports and exports between America and the principal countries with which she held intercourse :

		IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Russia,	- -	1,852,000	628,000
Holland,	- -	1,938,000	3,694,000
British Isles,	-	25,087,000	20,777,000
France,	- -	5,989,000	5,528,000
Spain,	- -	542,000	539,000
Portugal,	- -	356,000	147,000

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Italy and Malta, -	973,000	1,099,000
Sweden, - -	759,000	217,000
Cuba, - -	6,584,000	4,540,000
Hayti, - -	2,246,000	2,270,000
South American countries,		
then Spanish colonies,	1,114,000	1,037,000
Hans Towns and Germany,	990,000	2,132,000
Brazil, - -	605,000	1,381,000
China, - -	3,111,000	4,290,000
British East Indies,	1,530,000	1,966,000
British West Indies,	927,000	265,000

The following detailed view of the imports by America from different countries (including the colonies of each) is drawn from Mr Seybert's Statistical Tables :—

From *Russia*, 432 lbs. wax ; 179,000 lbs. iron, (anchors and sheet ; ) 52,000 lbs. tarred cordage ; 23,000 cwt. hemp ; 600 squares of 100 feet of glass ; other articles, value 532,000 dollars.

From *Sweden*, 532,000 gallons spirits, (rum ; ) 126,000 gallons molasses ; 107,000 lbs. coffee ; 1,775,000 lbs. brown sugar ; 10,600 lbs. cotton ; 40,000 lbs. iron ; 27,000 lbs. lead ; 13,500 lbs. cable ; 2500 lbs. steel ; 25,000 bushels salt ; 1300 squares of glass ; other articles, value 880,000 dollars.

From *Denmark*, 587,000 gallons spirits ; 836,000 lbs. coffee ; 13,000 lbs. cocoa ; 2,820,000 lbs. brown sugar ; 1000 lbs. pimento ; 49,000 lbs. iron ; 69,000 lbs. cordage ; 19,000 bushels salt ; other articles, value 213,000 dollars.

From *Holland*, 430,000 gallons spirits; 16,000 gallons molasses; 341,000 lbs. brown sugar; 10,600 lbs. irons; 58,000 lbs. white and red lead; 200,000 bushels salt; 1400 squares glass; other articles, value 556,000 dollars.

From *Hamburgh*, 17,800 lbs. cordage; 399,000 bushels salt; 260 squares glass.

From *France*, 17,000 gallons wine; 960,000 gallons spirits; 1,607,000 gallons molasses; 17,000 lbs. tea; 1,179,000 lbs. coffee; 114,000 lbs. cocoa; 17,635,000 lbs. sugar; 35,000 lbs. almonds; 31,000 lbs. currants; 87,000 lbs. prunes; 27,000 lbs. raisins; 10,000 lbs. cheese; 16,000 lbs. soap; 7000 lbs. cinnamon; 20,000 lbs. cotton; 82,000 lbs. iron; 58,000 lbs. ochre; 9000 lbs. cordage; 8000 lbs. cables; 33,000 bushels salt; 23,000 squares glass; 6000 shoes; 68 packs cards; other articles, value 1,143,000 dollars.

From *Spain*, 31,600 gallons wines; 530,000 gallons spirits; 2,521,000 gallons molasses; 59,000 lbs. tea; 11,669,000 lbs. coffee; 16,666,000 lbs. sugar; 148,000 lbs. raisins; 67,800 lbs. soap; 60,900 lbs. tallow; 7000 lbs. cloves; 16,000 lbs. indigo; 18,000 lbs. cotton; 118,000 lbs. iron; 44,000 lbs. mercury; 89,000 lbs. paints; 3,814,000 bushels salt; 4,100,000 cigars; other articles, value 807,000 dollars.

From *Portugal*, 140,000 gallons wines; 130,000 gallons spirits; 125,000 gallons molasses; 122,000 lbs. tea; 604,000 lbs. brown sugar; 9500 lbs. figs; 81,000 lbs. raisins; 4300 lbs. soap; 4300 lbs. tallow; 2400 lbs. gunpowder; 1600 lbs. glue; 49,500 lbs. iron; 5,334,000 bushels salt; other articles, value 825,000 dollars.

From *Italy*, 11,900 gallons wine ; 12,200 gallons spirits ; 21,000 lbs. currants ; 50,000 lbs. raisins ; 76,000 lbs. soap ; other articles, value 159,400 dollars.

From *China*, 2,150,000 lbs. tea ; 1900 lbs. nutmeg ; 56,000 lbs. cassia ; 114,000 lbs. white and red lead ; other articles, value 220,000 dollars.

From *Hayti*, 13,000 gallons wine ; 16,700 gallons spirits ; 46,000 gallons molasses ; 2,911,000 lbs. coffee ; 823,000 lbs. sugar ; 8300 lbs. cotton ; 14,600 lbs. indigo ; 4800 lbs. salt ; other articles, value 66,000 dollars.

From *all other countries*, (East Indies, Africa, &c.) 263,000 gallons spirits ; 19,800 gallons molasses ; 4300 gallons beer ; 2,375,000 lbs. coffee ; 1,603,000 lbs. sugar ; 31,000 lbs. almonds ; 714,000 lbs. currants ; 59,000 lbs. figs ; 212,000 lbs. raisins ; 36,000 lbs. tallow candles ; 436,000 lbs. wax and spermaceti candles ; 14,700 lbs. nutmegs ; 4100 lbs. cinnamon ; 171,000 lbs. pepper ; 2700 lbs. pimento ; 34,000 lbs. indigo ; 72,800 lbs. cotton ; 28,000 lbs. gunpowder ; 1600 lbs. glue ; 127,000 lbs. iron, nails, &c. ; 37,300 lbs. mercury ; 17,400 lbs. white and red lead ; 116,000 lbs. lead ; 118,000 lbs. cordage ; 16,000 lbs. cables ; 25,200 bushels salt ; 14,200 chaldrons coals ; 4000 quintals dried fish ; 11,700 pairs of shoes ; 5600 packs cards ; other articles, value 1,409,000 dollars.

The Convention assembled at Harrisburg, in the year 1827, consisting of the leading men connected with the commerce and manufactures of the United States, drew up the following statement of exports and imports for the year 1826 :—

## EXPORTS.

		Dollars.
Whale and other fish-oil,	652,000 gals.	183,000
Spermaceti candles,	836,280 lbs.	288,000
Staves, planks, &c.	- -	2,011,000
Masts, spars, wood-work,	-	319,000
Naval stores,	- -	254,000
Beef, (72,886 hds.) tallow, hides, &c.		733,000
Butter and cheese,	735,000 lbs.	207,000
Pork, (88,000 hds.) hams, &c.		1,892,000
Horses and mules,	3353,	247,000
Wheat,	- 45,000 bushels,	38,000
Flour,	- - 858,000 barrels,	4,121,000
Indian corn,	- 505,000 bushels,	384,000
Ditto meal,	- 158,000 barrrels,	622,000
Rye flour, &c.	- -	144,000
Biscuit,	- -	251,000
Rice,	- - 111,000 tierces,	1,917,000
Cotton,	- 204,535,000 lbs.	25,025,000
Tobacco,	- 64,000 hds.	5,347,000
Hops,	- - 388,000 lbs.	100,000
Wax,	- - 474,000 —	206,000
Spirits from grain,	212,000 galls.	143,000
Molasses,	- 194,000 galls.	70,000
Candles,	- - 2,062,000 lbs.	722,000
Snuff and tobacco,	- -	210,000
Nails,	- 651,000	53,000
Iron manufactures,	- -	121,000
Leather,	- -	697,000

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Carry forward, 46,305,000

# IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

451

		Dollars.
	Brought forward,	46,305,000
Hats,	- - -	272,000
Wooden fabrics,	- - -	631,000
Cotton,	- - -	1,138,000
Other articles about,	- - -	4,900,000
		<hr/> 53,246,000

The tonnage employed in American trade		Tons.
was,	- - -	942,206
Of which British,	- - -	69,295
French,	- - -	14,970
Hanse Towns,	- - -	5855
Swedish,	- - -	3664
		<hr/> 105,654
Native,	- - -	<hr/> 847,860

## IMPORTS.

		Dollars.
Hides and skins,	- - -	2,825,000
Furs,	- - -	338,000
Specie and bullion,	- - -	6,880,000
Copper,	- - -	1,087,000
Wood,	- - -	713,000
Manufactures of wool,	- - -	7,886,000
cotton,	- - -	8,348,000
silk,	- - -	8,104,000
		<hr/>
	Carry forward,	36,181,000



		Dollars.
Brought forward,		36,181,000
Manufactures of flax,	-	2,987,000
_____ hemp,	-	1,787,000
_____ iron and steel,	-	2,831,000
_____ leather,	-	410,000
_____ glass,	- -	511,000
_____ brass,	- -	332,000
_____ wares,	- -	1,634,000
Laces,	- -	659,000
Wool, raw,	- -	449,000
Carpeting,	- -	545,000
Cotton, (bagging)	2,204,000 yds.	275,000
Wines,	- 3,436,000 gals.	1,781,000
Spirits,	- 3,718,000 —	1,587,000
Molasses,	- 13,843,000 —	2,838,000
Teas,	- 10,108,000 lbs.	3,752,000
Coffee,	- 37,319,000 —	4,159,000
Sugar,	- 84,902,000 —	5,311,000
Spices,	- -	594,000
Indigo,	- 1,151,000 —	1,979,000
Iron,	- -	2,620,000
Salt,	- 4,565,000 bush.	677,000
Paper,	- 1,216,000 lbs.	250,000
Hemp,	- 88,000 cwt.	551,000
Whole value imported,	-	74,794,000
Re-exported,	-	24,539,000
		<hr/> 50,255,000

The Convention drew up also the following esti-

mate of the entire products of American industry, which they maintain must be considered moderate, since it allows only 90 dollars to each person, in a country where labour is so highly paid :—

	Dollars.
Food and drink, -	249,000,000
Clothing, -	202,000,000
Horses' keep, -	75,000,000
Other agricultural products,	20,000,000
Products forest, -	200,000,000
Earthen fabrics, -	60,000,000
Mineral fabrics, -	120,000,000
Various staples for manu- factures, -	100,000,000
Fisheries, -	40,000,000
	<hr/>
	1,066,000,000

It is with regret we conclude by observing, that the commercial relations of Britain and the United States are at present in a very unsatisfactory position. Blame may have been incurred on both sides; but it is sufficiently obvious that at the present moment a thick darkness covers America respecting the most important questions of political economy. That restrictive and prohibitory system, the errors of which have been so fully exposed, and which, unless under the immediate impulse of warlike antipathies, has been banished from the enlightened councils of Europe, finds still credit with transatlantic statesmen. Indeed, we formerly observed that, however remark-

able the fact may appear, popular governments have shown very generally a principle of enmity to the principles of free trade. It appears from Fearon and Cooper that there has been much debate among American statesmen, if it was advisable that America should become a country of manufactures, and whether and what encouragement should be given to them. It is not stated as having ever occurred to either party to leave things to take their natural course, which would have guided them better than any legislative adjustment which human wisdom can contrive. The most unwise party has gained the ascendancy, and a tariff has been fixed, imposing duties of about fifty per cent. on all articles of foreign produce and manufacture. As it has occasioned, however, an extensive and just discontent, and as its ill consequences must become always the more apparent, we may hope that more enlightened views will finally prevail on this important subject.

## CHAPTER V.

## PRESENT STATE OF CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF BRITISH AMERICA.

*General View of British America.—Canada.—Great Chain of Lakes.—Geological Structure.—Animals—Vegetables—Minerals.—Falls of Niagara.—Rapids.—Lower St Lawrence.—Social State.—The Habitans.—Upper Canada.—Emigrants.—Cities, Quebec, Montreal, &c.—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.—Newfoundland.*

THE unfortunate contest in which Britain lost so many colonies the most flourishing and prosperous in the New World, left her still an immense territory, which more than equalled in extent the entire domain of the United States. The value, however, was much inferior. Its southern frontier, placed on the utmost verge of the temperate zone, passed rapidly into regions of stern and perpetual winter. The severe climate, indeed, of Lower Canada, and the long season during which it was buried in perpetual snow, gave the impression as if even this best part of British America could never become very va-

luable or productive. When the upper part of the St Lawrence, however, and the region on the lakes began to be explored, it was found to present a much milder and more agreeable climate, and a soil as fertile as any in the world ; and though this favourable character was interrupted by the coasts of Lake Superior, and even the whole tract thence to the Winnipeg, yet far to the west, on the banks of the Red River, was found another extensive tract quite equal in climate and soil to Upper Canada. In the same latitude also was a segment cut off, as it were, from the territory of her old colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, a peninsula enclosing another peninsula, countries which have a gloomy and foggy aspect, and labour under a reproach of sterility ; yet on narrow inspection, in search of spots for emigration, they have been found to contain many beautiful and fertile tracts. Newfoundland is still held as belonging to Britain, though she admits other nations to some participation in that immense fishery, which constitutes its sole value. Still farther to the north, Britain possesses or claims Labrador, the coasts of Hudson's Bay, and the whole of those boundless plains which reach to the newly-discovered shores of the Northern Ocean,—an immeasurable tract, but which neither has nor promises any source of wealth, except from the crowds of valuable fur-bearing animals, which afford materials for the considerable trade already described.

The prominent natural feature of Canada consists in those mighty waters by which it is, from one extremity to the other, pervaded. Lake Superior is

undoubtedly the largest body of fresh water in the world, computed to be 500 miles in length and 1500 in circumference. The water is deep, pure, and transparent. South-east from this lake, and connected by a series of small lakes and channels, is Lake Huron, so called from the celebrated Indian nation who inhabited its banks. It forms an expanse second only to the Superior, being in its greatest dimensions 218 miles long and 180 broad, and in circuit about 750. From the western point of Lake Huron, and connected by a short and narrow channel, branches into the United States the long and narrow lake of Michigan, having only the breadth of 55 to the length of 260. The superfluous waters of Lake Huron, passing through Lake St Clair and several river-channels, spread into Lake Erie, nearly equal in length to Lake Michigan (230 miles,) but of varying breadth, and extending in an opposite direction, east and west. Out of Lake Erie flows northward the channel of Niagara, distinguished by the mighty fall down which it is precipitated, and soon spreading into the Ontario, the last and least in this chain of mighty lakes, but in itself forming a vast inland sea. Its direction, like that of Erie, is from west to east, and its dimensions are 170 feet by 60. Returning to the opposite extremity of the chain at Lake Superior, we find, stretching into the vast interior of North America, first a long chain of little lakes connected by narrow channels, and which combined form what in the early narratives, and even treaties, is called Long Lake. Next occur, still connected by the same channel, the larger expanses of Lake La Pluie, or Rainy

Lake, and the Lake of the Woods. Another channel of about 100 miles connects this last with the Winnipeg Lake, whose length from north to south is almost equal to the Superior, but in a few parts only it attains a breadth of 50 miles. The whole of this wonderful series of lakes, separated by such small intervals, may almost be considered as forming one inland sea. There is nothing exactly parallel to this in the rest of the globe. The Tzad, the great interior sea of Africa, does not equal the Ontario. The Caspian is considerably greater than any of these lakes, and, indeed, almost equal to the whole united. But the Caspian forms the final receptacle of many great rivers, among which the Volga is of the first magnitude. But the northern waters, after forming this magnificent chain of lakes, are still not exhausted, but issue forth from the last of them to form one of the noblest river-channels either in the old or new continent. This river, the St Lawrence, traverses the whole extent of Lower Canada, as the lakes have everywhere bordered and enclosed Upper Canada. From the point of its issue from Lake Ontario, unless where obstructed by falls and rapids, it receives vessels of great magnitude. There is a difficulty in tracing its origin, or at least which of the tributaries of Lake Superior is to be called the St Lawrence. The strongest claim seems to be made by the series of channels which connect all the great upper lakes, though, strictly speaking, till after the Ontario, there is nothing which can very properly be called a river. There are only a number of short canals connecting the different lakes, or rather se-

parating one immense lake into a number of great branches. It seems an interesting question how this northern centre of the continent, at the precise latitude of about  $50^{\circ}$ , should pour forth so immense and overwhelming a mass of waters; for through a great part of its extent it is quite a dead flat, though the Winnipeg, indeed, draws some tributaries from the Rocky Mountains. But the thick forests with which the surface is covered, the slender evaporation which takes place during the long prevalence of cold, and, at the same time, the thorough melting of the snows by the strong summer heat, seem to be the chief sources of this profuse and superabundant moisture.

The physical character of Canada consists, in a great measure, in a prolongation of the geological features of the United States, which extend across the St Lawrence and the lakes. The primitive formation which predominates in the Northern States reappears in the lower bank of the St Lawrence, under that stern and severe aspect peculiar to it, and rendered still more dreary by the severity of the climate, and the snow which covers it during the greater part of the year. Happily, at Cape *Tourment*, about thirty miles above Quebec, this rugged chain makes a movement into the interior, and leaves between it and the river a plain at first narrow, but varying through Lower Canada to a breadth between fifteen and thirty miles. On approaching the Ottawa and the frontier, it recedes still farther, and leaves an intervening plain of about sixty miles in breadth, which constitutes Upper Canada. It throws down, indeed, a branch or spur which touches Lake Ontario, between Kingston



and Brockville, but then resumes its usual direction, which it follows to the Falls of St Mary, between Lakes Huron and Superior. This level tract along the St Lawrence, and the large space enclosed between the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, belongs to the great calcareous plain of the west. It has all its characteristic features; limestone rocks, luxuriant fertility, waters everywhere filled with calcareous impregnations, copious deposits of gypsum and marl. In short, it is one of the finest countries in the world. The primitive chain, however, having touched the lake-boundary at the Falls of St Mary, adheres to it along the whole northern boundary of Lake Superior, which is composed of hills not very lofty, but rugged and barren, and scarcely affording any spots capable of cultivation. The same character of country, with even an excess of severity, is continued along the whole coast of the Little Lakes as far as the Winnipeg, and also along the whole eastern shore of that great expanse. The Winnipeg, however, forms the limit of the primitive and the calcareous formations on its western shore. Instead of dark rocks, frowning in rude and savage grandeur, appears a smiling plain covered with the richest vegetation. This tract, extending to the south, along the banks of the Red River, forms a continuation, every way equal in fertility, of the limestone plain of Kentucky. It is in fact a delightful and desirable region, and only retarded by its distance from markets from becoming one of the most prosperous settlements in the New World.

The climate of Lower Canada is marked by a win-

ter more severe and protracted than even that of the most northerly among the United States. It is the winter of Stockholm and Bergen, not of Paris, to which it corresponds in point of latitude. Mr Lambert, having passed a winter at Quebec, is able to trace its successive steps. At the end of October no snow had fallen, though the frost had become pretty sharp. The early part of November was marked by frequent alternations of rain and snow, with intervals of mild weather; but by the latter end of that month there set in a heavy continued fall of sleet and snow, which rendered it almost impossible to quit the house. The snow drifted to more than the height of a man, and reached even the garret-windows of the small houses, and the streets would have been impassable but for the hard labour of the inhabitants in preserving an open path between the houses and the pile of snow in the centre. This state of tempest continued till the middle or towards the end of December, when the scene entirely changed. The rough and boisterous atmosphere was succeeded by a fine, clear, frosty air, and a bright azure sky, scarcely ever obscured by clouds or fogs, which continued till Lady-day. A white monotonous surface of snow now covers the ground, and the roads, of which every ordinary vestige has been obliterated, are marked by boughs of fir and pine stuck up at short intervals. Now begins for the Canadian the season of gaiety. Unable to pursue any out-door labour, he spends it partly in feasting, partly in sweeping in his sleigh (sledge) and *cariole*, over the wide plain of snow. In this favourite amusement he is exposed, without the genial effects

of exercise, to the keen and piercing cold, rendered more intense by the velocity with which he moves. To ward off these effects, recourse is had to ample clothing ; the great-coat, lined with flannel or chamois, the fur-cap, or Shetland hose, are insufficient without a large buffalo-robe. This robe consists of the hide of the animal dressed, but with the hair still on it, and lined with green baize : scarcely any cold can penetrate through it.

The frost, meantime, is acting on the water as well as on the land. From Montreal to about forty-five miles above Quebec the channel of the St Lawrence is completely covered with large portions of ice detached from the main body, which float down past Quebec, and in their progress make a hollow crashing sound, which heightens the gloomy grandeur of this wintry scene. These masses being wedged in between the island of Orleans and the shore, form a compact body, over which the inhabitants can drive sledges with provisions for the supply of the city. The open breadth of the river is seldom and only for a short time frozen ; yet the boatmen from the opposite side contrive to make their way across by dragging their canoes over the ice, and launching them whenever they come to open water.

In the month of March the depth of winter is passed. During this and the succeeding month, the sun shining clear is often intensely hot ; its reflection from the snow is painful to the eyes, and even tans the complexion. Yet there is no general breaking up till about the middle of April. The ice in the higher parts of the stream then bursts with loud and awful reports, and comes floating down in prodigious

masses, bearing with it roots, branches, and trees which it has torn from the islands and shores in its progress. By the beginning of May the whole has usually cleared off, and the river may be safely entered by European vessels. On land, meantime, the rapid melting of the snow inundates both country and city, and the kennels in the streets of Quebec sound like cataracts. As soon as the ground is clear the most rapid vegetation commences. Nature, roused from her lethargy, hastens to exchange the hoary garment in which she had been so long invested for the bright and splendid robe of summer. In three weeks the trees are crowned with foliage, and the meadows adorned with the richest verdure. An abundant supply of vegetables and poultry relieves the inhabitants from the diet of salted and frozen meat to which they had been long confined.

Five months, from May to September inclusive, compose the spring, summer, and autumn of Canada; or rather the whole season is one continued summer; for the extremes of heat and of cold pass into each other with scarcely one intermediate step. After an Arctic winter the Canadians suffer all the inconveniences of a tropical summer. They are annoyed by swarms of flies in the interior of the houses, and of musquitoes and other venomous insects without. The heat is oppressive, and precaution is even necessary to defend themselves against a *coup de soleil*. The heat is sufficient to bring forward all the grains; but the wet, which often prevails in May and June, with the approach of frost in October, often obstructs

the operations of the husbandman in sowing and reaping.

Upper Canada enjoys a climate considerably milder and more agreeable than the lower country. From the direction of the St Lawrence, which both the settlements follow, it is two or three degrees farther south; but its climate is better than the coasts of the United States, that lie under the same latitude. The dense and gloomy fogs which the east wind brings from the ocean reach it in a very mitigated form. But the main cause seems to be the south-west wind, which comes, as they call it, down stream, and seems to be the same breeze which from the Gulf of Mexico blows over all the western territory, and renders that side of America milder than the eastern. Yet this wind, in passing over the lakes, contracts a degree of dampness which renders it sometimes rather unpleasant. On the whole, however, the climate of Upper Canada is considered extremely favourable both to health and longevity.

The animal and vegetable creations in Canada exhibit few features of distinction from the United States. The bear, the beaver, the wolf, the elk, the deer, the wild cat, the rattlesnake, are common to both. The marten and other fur-bearing animals, are more numerous and their covering richer; but it is from the more inland and northern tracts that the North-west Company draw those ample supplies by which they are enriched. The mocking-bird is heard in the Canadian forest, but not with the same rich variety of tone as in Virginia; and, in general, it is

observed by a late writer,—“ One charm is wanting, and is sadly missed by the native Briton in America: there is no music in the sky, no chorus in the grove. The birds are mute in comparison with the feathered songsters of England.” All the trees of the United States, including the sugar-maple, grow in this country. The pine is peculiarly abundant and valuable in Upper Canada. The juniper is also abundant; and though the peach comes to perfection only in certain districts, the apple possesses equal merit with that of New York.

The mineral riches of Canada are not remarkable, though good iron is found at different points, particularly at Charlotteville, near Lake Erie, but nowhere worked to any extent. The mountains, however, and especially that higher chain which forms the boundary of the province, have probably been subjected to very imperfect examination. The plain abounds with calcareous products,—gypsum, marl, pipe-clay, and clay suited for making bricks.

The waters of Canada, as they form the most important physical feature of the region, so they include the grandest phenomena which nature exhibits in any part of the North American continent. The Falls of Niagara, as to that class of objects, are without a known parallel on earth. There is no steep down which such a sea of waters is precipitated into such an abyss of foam, or whence such mighty clouds and columns of vapour ascend to the sky. This fall appears the more wonderful, as it does not rush from the bosom of a mountain-chain, or down stupendous rocks, like most of the cataracts of the Old World.

The tract, both above and below, consists of a vast dead level plain, covered with extensive forests. The banks a few miles above present a scene of the most profound repose, broken only by the distant sound of the cataract. This grand phenomenon seems connected with a general change of level in this part of the continent. The shores of Lake Erie, though flat, are elevated about 400 feet above those of Lake Ontario. The descent takes place in the short interval between the two lakes traversed by the Niagara channel. This descent is partly gradual, producing only a succession of rapids. It is at Queenston, about seven miles below the present site of the falls, that a range of hills marks the descent to the Ontario level. Volney conceives it certain that this must have been the place down which the river originally fell, and that the continued and violent action of its waves must have gradually worn away the rocks beneath them, and in the course of ages carried the fall back to its present position, from which it continues gradually receding. Mr Howison confirms the statement that, in the memory of persons now living in Upper Canada, a considerable change has been observed. The whole course of the river downwards to Queenston is through a deep dell, bordered by broken and perpendicular steeps, rudely overhung by trees and shrubs, and the opposite strata of which correspond; affording thus the strongest presumption that it is a channel hewn out by the river itself.

The Niagara river, which is sometimes considered a part of the St Lawrence, can scarcely be very strictly considered as a river at all, but rather as a grand na-

tural canal, by which the superabundant waters of Lake Erie are poured into the Ontario. At the critical point it is about three quarters of a mile broad, of great depth, and forms undoubtedly the greatest mass of waters that is poured down any fall either in the Old or the New World. Symptoms of it are discerned from a vast distance. From Buffalo, twenty miles off, two small fleecy specks are distinctly seen, appearing and disappearing at intervals. These are the clouds of spray rising from the falls ; and it is even asserted that they have been seen from Lake Erie, at the distance of fifty-four miles. The sound appears also to have been heard at the distance of twenty or even forty miles ; but these effects depend much on the direction of the wind and the tranquil or disturbed state of the atmosphere. Mr Weld mentions having approached within half a mile without hearing any sound, while the spray was but just discernible.

The view first taken of this wonderful phenomenon is usually from the Table Rock, a broad flat surface which projects above the water, and from which the eye commands at once the whole of this majestic amphitheatre of cataracts. The spectator, if his nerves are firm, may even lay himself flat, with his face projecting beyond, and look down upon this fearful and roaring abyss ; nay, he may touch with his hand the water as it falls ; for this rock is only a prolongation of that great ledge from which the stream is precipitated. The fall is then seen to be divided into two great portions, one of which is called the Horse-shoe, from its form, or the British fall, from the side of



the river on which it is situated ; the other is called the Fort Schloper or the American. The first is 1200, the other 1100 feet broad ; and the separation is made by the brow of Goat Island projecting forward, about 980 feet broad. The American fall is 165 feet in height, while the British is only 150 ; but the latter pours down a much greater mass of waters, and from it alone ascend those volumes of spray which mount so high into the air, and are seen to so vast a distance. The mind is at first stunned by the crowd of astonishing objects which here press upon it, and by the roaring of this tumultuous abyss, and time is required to distinguish the grandeur of each separate object. A host of pyramidal clouds are seen rising majestically, one after another, from the bottom of the abyss, each of which displays a momentary brilliant rainbow, which is covered by the cloud that immediately succeeds. The body of water in the middle part of the great fall is so immense, that it descends for two-thirds of the space smooth and unruffled, till it is dashed into the abyss of foam in the gulf beneath.

Travellers, who desired to view this wonderful phenomenon in every possible light, have sought a path to the bottom of the fall, whence they might look up to it from beneath. This was difficult ; for the river is here bordered by broken cliffs almost perpendicular, whence trees are seen hanging by the roots with their heads downwards. In two places, however, where a great quantity of rocks and earth has fallen, ladders have been made to reach from one fragment to another, and a passage thus formed, by

which an adventurous spectator may reach the bank of the river. One, called the Indian Ladder, is extremely rude, formed merely by pine-trees, with notches cut in them for the feet to enter ; but the other, called Mrs Simcoe's Ladder, from the governor's lady, under whose direction it was constructed, affords very tolerable footing, and is preferred by all sober-minded travellers. Here the banks are found encumbered by fragments of large trees, and by the bodies of fishes and wild animals which have been caught in the vortex, and impetuously borne down ; while birds of prey, lured by the scent, hover around. When the spectator has gained a firm footing, and ventures to look up, he does not obtain so complete and comprehensive a view of the falls as from above ; but their aspect is, in several respects, more sublime and imposing. He can more fully appreciate the vastness of the foaming cataracts, their tremendous sound, the terror of the impending precipice, and the boiling of the mighty flood. The sound becomes more deep and more awful. The iridescent colours are always seen floating amid the clouds of spray ; but here, when the light is favourable, a magnificent rainbow spans the whole of this sea of vapour. Another opportunity is obtained by crossing the river a little way below the fall, while the stream is still heaving with the mighty agitation in which it has been involved, but has so far subsided as to allow a ferry to be established. Here the view upwards appeared to Mr Howison of the most surpassing grandeur. Majestic cliffs, splendid rainbows, lofty trees, and columns of spray, were the gorgeous decorations of this

theatre of wonders. Vast floods, dense, awful, and stupendous, were bursting over the precipice, and rolling down as if the windows of heaven were opened to pour another deluge on the earth. Loud sounds, resembling discharges of artillery, or volcanic explosions, were distinguishable amid the watery tumult, and added terrors to the abyss from which they issued.

Another very striking position is when the observer goes to the foot of the rock from which the fall descends, and obtains a side-view of it. The rock has been hollowed out beneath, while it projects at top, and the water is thrown forward by its own impetuous action ; the result of all which is an arched and awful concavity formed between the stream and the rock. A daring visitor has even advanced for some yards into this fearful cavern, and it has been supposed that even the entire circuit of it might be rounded ; but the deep and fearful darkness, the clouds of spray, the rugged and slippery rocks, and the thunder above, as if all the elements were descending to crush him, will probably deter even British daring from attempting such an achievement.

The Niagara channel, after subsiding from this state of sublime agitation, rolls in a smooth and unruffled channel, till it loses itself in the mighty expanse of the Ontario. This inland-sea, though the smallest of the great chain with which it is connected, is of such extent, that vessels in crossing it lose sight of land, and must steer their way by the compass ; and the swell is often equal to that of the ocean. From the eastern extremity of this lake issues forth the river which is finally and decidedly the St Law-

rence; and its course continues to be diversified by a succession of striking and even perilous phenomena. It flows first in that broad channel called the Lake of the Thousand Islands, from the feature which the name expresses. This name has been supposed to be the vague exaggeration of a great number; but those who have attempted enumeration are satisfied that it is much underrated. These islands are of every imaginable size, from that of a little boat to an extent of fifteen acres, and are equally various in form and aspect. All are more or less wooded, and their face towards the water consists generally of picturesque forms of rock. The voyage through them presents quite an enchanted scene, changing every moment, and which reminded Mr Howison of the description of the Happy Islands in the Vision of Mirza. Sometimes the bateau with difficulty makes its way through narrow channels, when suddenly there opens a sheet of water only bounded by the horizon; sometimes twelve different channels, like so many noble rivers, open unexpectedly on the eye.

The Thousand Isles are followed after a short interval by the Rapids, which continue down to Montreal. These are produced in general by a contraction in the bed of the river, and by numerous islands and rocks which hem the stream within narrow and obstructed passages. Thus pent up, it chafes with prodigious violence, dashes furiously against the rocks, or sweeps round them with the velocity of a whirlpool. Even where the stream is smoothest its aspect is like that of a sea which has been agitated by a tempest of contrary winds. The first Rapid is

called by the French the *Long Sault*, and its chief danger consists in the excessive acceleration of the stream, narrowed by an island in the centre. Yet while the boat is carried along at the rate of ten miles an hour, the channel is as smooth as glass, and the vessel might be supposed lying at anchor, but for the rapidity with which objects on the shore disappear. At length appear the tops of white breakers, forming what is called the Big Pitch, which is produced at the termination of the island, when the two currents which have flowed along its opposite sides encounter, and dash their roaring billows against each other. After the Long Sault the stream widens into the Lake St Francis, where it has a broader and clearer channel, though not free from dangerous eddies; but at the opposite end commences a series of most perilous rapids, called the Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades. These rapids continue almost without interruption for nine miles, during which the river, covered with rocks and breakers, presents the appearance of a tempestuous ocean; and some have considered the scene as rivalling in grandeur that of Niagara. The Cascades present the most awful aspect, being formed by a steep descent with hidden rocks, down which the daring Canadian boatmen can shoot their vessels, but which cannot be ascended without the aid of a canal, laboriously constructed for the purpose. The Coteau du Lac, however, is considered still more dangerous from the numerous hidden rocks which obstruct the passage. Below the Cascades the small Lake of St Louis extends to La Chine, the place of

embarkation for the bateaux from Montreal. A tremendous scene is presented at the eastern part of this lake, where the St Lawrence, and its grand tributary the Ottawa, rush down at once, and meet in dreadful conflict. The swell is then equal to that produced by a high gale in the British Channel, and the breakers so numerous, that all the skill of the boatmen is required to steer their way. The Canadian boatmen, however, are among the most active and hardy races in the world, and they have boats expressly constructed for the navigation of these perilous channels. The largest of these, called, we know not why, the Durham Boat, is used both here and in the Rapids of the Mohawk. It is long, shallow, and nearly flat-bottomed. The chief instrument of steerage is a pole ten feet long, shod with iron, and crossed at short intervals with small bars of wood like the feet of a ladder. The men place themselves at the bow, two on each side, thrust their poles into the channel, and, grasping successively the wooden bars, work their way towards the stern, thus pushing on the vessel in that direction. At other times, by the brisk and vigorous use of the oar, they catch and dash through the most favourable lines of current. In this exhausting struggle, however, it is needful to have frequent pauses for rest, and in the most difficult passages there are certain positions fixed for this purpose, which the Canadians call *pipes*.

Below Montreal, the St Lawrence displays no longer these bold and peculiar features, but becomes a magnificent channel, widening gradually into an estuary, and admitting vessels of the largest dimension. The

shores are considered by Mr Weld to exhibit a more fruitful and smiling aspect than those of any river in the United States, the Hudson not excepted ; and the numerous villages, each with its church and steeple, inspire the idea of comfort and population. The views from and around Quebec are very magnificent. The bold, though not very lofty rocks and heights, the broad expanse of the river, the profusion of natural woods, unite all the sublime features of nature on a grander scale than in almost any other part of America.

Near Quebec are two highly picturesque falls,—those of Montmorenci and of La Chaudiere. The former is at a very small distance from the junction of the stream with the St Lawrence. It is a mountain-torrent of no remarkable magnitude, especially when compared with the mighty flood into which it is poured ; but it falls from the height of 240 feet, and, being broken and spread out by the rocks jutting out from the face of the precipice, it presents a considerable extent of surface. The water in its descent is converted into one unbroken sheet of foam white as snow ; while from beneath rise clouds of spray, which, when illumined by the sun, reflect the prismatic colours in all their variety and lustre. The contrast of this brilliant whiteness with the dark foliage of the firs and other evergreens which spring from the cleft, gives it an appearance so pleasing and romantic, that Mr Silliman considers it the most beautiful waterfall in all North America. Yet many consider the Chaudiere as more deserving of admiration. It is surrounded by a mighty primeval forest

of pine, fir, ash, oak, and various other trees and shrubs intermingled, which, in combination with piles of broken rocks, produce the wildest and most romantic scenes. The body of water is much more ample ; but it does not fall in one brilliant sheet ; the rocks in the most picturesque forms shoot through it like islands. The height is 120 feet, and the breadth 360.

In proceeding to consider the social system in Lower Canada, we find it presenting features that are quite peculiar to itself. It is a French colony ; the manners, the language, the people are French ; they have remained a race and a caste by themselves, holding scarcely any communion with the English settlers ; and yet, while the children sprung from her bosom have shaken off all the ties of union, and view her with a jealous and scowling aspect, this alien race rank among the most loyal and attached subjects of the British crown. In a former portion of this work we have seen the origin of French settlement in Canada, and the efforts made to raise it to a colony of the first magnitude, and to open through it a communication with the most interior regions of the continent. These aims did not fully succeed ; but still, all things considered, they raised it to a respectable rank. The great maritime war between the two nations, however, could not fail to extend to their colonies. The superiority of Britain by sea, the greater magnitude of her American possessions, to say nothing of the valour of her troops, gave her always a decided advantage. Canada, after being several times overrun by arms, was restored



by treaty. But in the war of 1756, guided by the genius of Pitt, the British arms acquired a more decided superiority than ever. The victorious attack of Wolfe on Quebec, sealed by his glorious death, fixed Canada as a part of that great American empire which was secured to Britain by the peace of 1763. A candid American writer has admitted, that there never was a conquered people more kindly and more mildly treated than the people of conquered Canada. All their institutions, however foreign to those of Britain and of her colonies, were preserved entire; their laws of property and succession were continued; their worship was protected. It has even been said, that Britain supported a Catholic establishment in Canada; but, by a late explanation in the North American Review, it appears merely that authority is given to levy tithes applicable to their maintenance. The whole has been crowned with a boon, of which the colonists had no experience or idea; a representative constitution, nearly similar to that of Britain. Such has been the influence of this benignant system, that in the dark crisis, when Britain lost all her other colonies, this one remained faithful; and at a more recent period, when America took advantage of the embarrassed situation of Britain, to commence a war, of which the main and seemingly assured aim was the conquest of Canada, the population of that country, strong in native courage and loyalty, rose and repelled the superior numbers of their invaders. Since that time it is painful to remark, that some dark clouds have gathered over this brilliant horizon. Discontents have fermented; and questions have been

mooted, the same through which thirteen colonies were formerly lost. On a political question so distant, and so darkened by party-spirit and personal feeling, it is not our wish at present to enlarge. We observe with pleasure, that government have resolved to follow a conciliatory course, and that some points which have excited the present contention will be conceded. Meantime, it seems greatly too much to assert, with some politicians, that the attachment of the Canadians to Britain, so recently and so conspicuously displayed, has suffered any deep or lasting alienation.

The population of Lower Canada is stated in the late report to Parliament on the civil government of that country, at 423,373; of which 334,272 are French, 86,110 English, and 2991 Indians. The French, who form thus so decidedly the bulk of the population, are called *habitans*, and, as already observed, have in no degree mixed with the English inhabitants, but have retained all their laws and customs unaltered. Their lands are held under feudal tenure, or what is called the *coutume de Paris*. This forms a sort of perpetual lease, subject to the payment of certain dues to the superior. The annual dues in these *fiefs* are in general very moderate, and consist often in no more than ten shillings, a capon, and a bushel of wheat. The most onerous to the one party and profitable to the other is on occasion of sale or transference, when the superior claims a fifth of the purchase; and though the payment is sometimes evaded to its full extent, yet it frequently happens, that farms which yield scarcely any annual income, bring considerable sums into the coffers of

the feudal successor. The rights of succession to fiefs are not on the strict principle of primogeniture: the eldest son takes the mansion-house and half the property, while the rest is divided among the younger branches. By this arrangement property has become much subdivided, and great fortunes have become rare. There exists also, in regard to property, a salic law, which is attended often with odd and inconvenient effects. The wife is understood to have a joint right with her husband to every species of possession; whence it follows, that no part can be alienated without her concurrence. Even the sale of a house has often been stopped by the *veto* of the lady till her consent was obtained by courtesy or presents. Again, in case of the wife's death, the children are considered as entitled to their inheritance of her half of the property; and in some cases they are said to have ruined the father by insisting on his paying it up.

Mr Lambert has observed more closely than any other traveller the manners of the *habitans*. They appear to be little farmers, retaining still the manners of the old French school. When two carmen meet on the streets they take off their caps and make low bows to each other. Sometimes the men kiss each other; but this practice is not general. The female peasantry occasionally wear hair-powder, and rouge themselves with beet-root. Along with this somewhat fantastic exterior, there is said to prevail a great deal of real harmony and courtesy; and when not drunk, their deportment is friendly and inoffensive. Several generations often live together under

the same roof, without any unfriendly collision. A peculiar physiognomy distinguishes the *habitant*. A long and thin visage, a complexion so deeply sunburnt as to be sometimes darker than that of the Indian; small, dark, and lively eyes, prominent nose, thin lips, projecting chin; these are the features which distinguish five-sixths of the Canadian French. The dress is plain, both as to form and materials. That of the men consists chiefly in a long cloth coat or frock, tied with a worsted sash, and on their head a *bonnet rouge*, while the hair is tied in a long queue behind. Among the elderly ladies many still adhere to costumes a century old; long waists, full caps, and large clubs of hair behind. In their domestic system they are imbued with old principles of frugality and economy, making it a rule to produce and to do every thing possible within themselves. They rear their own houses, generally of logs smoothed, with only one story of three apartments, and a loft or store-room above. They build also their barns, stables, and ovens, and make their own carts, ploughs, and canoes. Their flax is formed into linen; the wool of their sheep into cloths, stockings, and bonnets; their hides are tanned into boots and mocassins; while their straw is shaped into summer hats. This eager anxiety and care in the preserving of money is not united with much spirit or enterprise in obtaining it. They embark with reluctance in any speculative or commercial transactions; they tread on in the steps of their forefathers, declining all participation in modern improvements, even those which they see used with the greatest advantage by the English settlers.

The severe and even contracted economy of the *habitans* is not unaccompanied with that love of gaiety and entertainment which is congenial to the French character. Even the poorest Canadian farmer has his cariole, or little chaise, placed upon steel runners, in which he drives over the winter snows to parties at the houses of his neighbours. After the long fast of Lent especially they have their *jours gras*, as they are termed, when parties of from fifty to a hundred are assembled, and every delicacy which their farms can furnish is spread upon the board. The table groans beneath immense turkey-pies, huge joints of pork, beef, and mutton, and an abundance of fruit-pies. On these dishes the guests regale themselves heartily, with mirth and jollity, and amid copious libations of rum ; but scarcely has the repast closed, when the violin strikes up, and the dance begins. The marriages of the Canadians are also celebrated by a mighty concourse of friends and acquaintances. Carioles, or calashes, to the number of twenty or thirty, pour in from all quarters to church, bringing families to witness the ceremony ; and in towns the new-married couple often parade the streets in the afternoon with a procession of their friends. This gaiety, however, is not generally, in the country districts at least, accompanied with any irregularity of manners. The *habitans* marry early, have great numbers of fat chubby children ; and the females, engaged in hard country-work, soon lose every appearance of beauty or delicacy which their early youth may have afforded. The case is otherwise in towns, where the opulent superiors reside, and spend their time in

an almost perpetual round of extravagance and dissipation. The love of dress, and habits of coquetry, as prevailing in the young ladies, are especially animadverted upon ; travellers noticing, in particular, a custom of sitting at the window, with the view of attracting admirers. The constant residence of a number of military officers does not doubtless tend to improve the public morals. Some celebrate the society of Quebec and Montreal as remarkably gay and agreeable ; while others remark, that the gaiety consists chiefly in feasting and dancing, without any refined or intellectual accompaniments.

There appears to be a peculiar deficiency of learning and education in Canada. The French government, while it held possession, acting upon the jealous principles of an absolute monarchy, discouraged literature, and even prohibited the use of printing. The Romish clergy also were little disposed to promote the general diffusion, among the people, even of elementary instruction. The *habitant*, unaccustomed to consider reading as a necessary attainment, and unwilling to incur the expense, leaves his children in the same ignorance in which he himself has passed through life. Even the national legislators, in Mr Lambert's time, were not only eminently deficient in the powers of oratory, but destitute, in many cases, of the most elementary knowledge ; so that he conceives that the character of that august assembly would be elevated, if the members, before taking their seats, were required to give proof, though on a small scale, of their capacity to read and write. There were understood not to be wanting members unable

to sign their own name. All this, however, is now much altered and amended. Several members of assembly, in the recent discussions, have displayed very considerable talent; and the house have shown a very laudable zeal to provide for the education of the body of the people. For many years after the conquest, the literature of Canada was confined to an almanack; but six newspapers have since been added, of which four are French, and one opposition. The book-stores of Montreal and Quebec still do not indicate any general diffusion of the taste for reading.

The *habitans*, as French, are Catholics, and scrupulously observant of the duties of that religion. As naturally happens however in an unenlightened circle, they are superstitious even as Catholics, and their attention is more attracted by the physical and sensible objects of worship than by any elevated or spiritual ideas. Their houses are filled with little pictures of the Madonna and child, and with waxen images of saints and crucifixes; and even the approach to Canada is announced by crosses erected on the road. An English gentleman being at supper with a *habitant*, complained of the want of light, when his host took a candle out of a box and lighted it; but the wife entering immediately after, raised screams of rage and dismay, exclaiming, that this was the consecrated candle by which alone the house was preserved from destruction! Another lady, on occasion of a violent thunder-storm, caused the windows to be shut, and, by a copious sprinkling of holy water, undertook to preserve the family from the danger without. The storm ceased, and she was

exulting in the success of her efforts, when the windows being opened, it was discovered, with some dismay, that she had by mistake made use of the ink-bottle. Mr Duncan saw in a convent an altar dedicated "au coeur de notre Seigneur." Above it was the painting of a human heart encircled with thorns and pierced with nails, while over it hung a sheet of paper, on which was inscribed "Coeur de notre Seigneur, priez pour nous."

The religious teachers in Lower Canada last year were stated to the house by Mr Neilson, as amounting to two hundred and seventy-five Catholic, thirty-four church of England, and seven Scotch Presbyterian. The former, who constitute so great a majority, are said to be diligent in their duties, of exemplary lives, and not without some share of education.

The social system in Upper Canada is composed of quite different materials. Under French rule, the settlements consisted merely of Detroit, Michillimac, and a few other posts established with a view to carrying on the fur-trade with the interior. Little more was attempted by Britain for a considerable time after this northern province was attached to her possessions. The real commencement of the peopling of Canada was made by the American war. The loyal party, or that which adhered to their mother-country, forfeited their all, and were, moreover, exposed to that violent treatment, of which we have seen examples in the narrative of Smith. The government at home were thus strongly called upon to make every possible compensation to these sufferers. One resource was the granting to them lands in Upper Ca-



nada, a country then lying unoccupied, but of which the value had become better known in the course of the military operations of which it had been the theatre. This situation was acceptable, as being the nearest that could be had to the scene of their former residence; and after the violence of political animosity had subsided, old ties of friendship and relationship, rent by civil contention, began to revive. Their friends on the other side of the Niagara began to exchange visits; and the reports which were then given of the abundance and excellence of the land, which could be obtained on easy terms, drew a continuous tide of emigrants, and caused Upper Canada to assume the character of an inhabited region. The grand accession, however, has been derived from that spirit of emigration which, from well-known causes, has become so strong in Europe during the last twenty years. The contributions have been chiefly from one part of the United Kingdom. When Mr Lambert was in Canada, in 1810, there were scarcely any English and few Irish. The emigration of these nations generally arose from or was combined with political discontent; or it was with a view to farming operations on a large scale, which generally proved unfortunate, but which could only succeed in more smiling and southern districts. It was by Scottish emigrants that the unoccupied lands in Upper Canada were in a great measure filled. The change in the landed system of the Highland proprietors, the introduction of the modern husbandry, and of sheep-farming on a large scale, threw many of their old tenants and retainers out of the home of their ancestors. These un-

fortunate exiles were no converts to the modern doctrines of liberty and equality, no admirers of the republican institutions of America ; they cherished the warmest attachments to their country and kindred, and sought a situation which might differ as little as possible from that what they had left. Even the supposed rigour of the climate, an exaggerated report of which had alarmed the occupant of the fine southern plains of England, was congenial to him whose dwelling had been on the rugged sides of Ben-Nevis and Cairngorm. The recommendation, example, and aid of Lord Selkirk, directed and promoted this spirit ; and the plan in which he led the way, of proceeding in united bodies, enabled the Highlanders to preserve entire those kindred ties to which they are so strongly attached. It was even exceedingly convenient for emigrants who went out with so slender a capital, that, instead of having to pay two or three dollars an acre, fifty or a hundred acres of land could be had for a fee of not more than five pounds. Government, justly appreciating the importance of at once relieving the severe pressure of distress at home, and filling up a valuable colony, have invited successive bodies of emigrants by the boon of a free passage, rations for six or eight months, agricultural implements, and a grant of a hundred acres of good land either in Upper or Lower Canada. They have, however, directed their steps chiefly to the upper territory, where they have created the Perth, Glengarry, and other settlements. With the exception of a few complaints as to the jobbing of agents, they have reported themselves satisfied with their treatment

and condition. It is supposed that Upper Canada has received from Britain and the United States together an annual influx of ten thousand new settlers. In 1783 it was not supposed to contain more than ten thousand in all. In 1803, Heriot perhaps over-rated the inhabitants at 80,000, for a pretty careful enumeration, made in 1811, gave only 83,000. In 1817, Mr Gourlay, seemingly on pretty fair conjectural grounds, made up an estimate of 134,000. If we suppose since that time an annual emigration of ten thousand, and that increase, by natural causes, which usually marks a new colony, the present population ought to exceed 200,000.

The Canadian colonist of Upper Canada, when he has passed the few first years of his somewhat severe novitiate, finds himself in a state of comfort and even plenty much preferable to that of the labouring poor at home. He has cleared probably thirty or forty acres, on which he raises an ample supply of grain, while the rest of his domain affords him wood and pasture. He has had the means of converting his original log-hut into a dwelling of tolerable comfort. The interior shows a picture of abundance ; large loaves of fine wheaten bread, bags of Indian corn, whole pigs hanging round the chimney, dried venison, and large bowls of milk. He occupies also a more conspicuous place in society. Men are valued in proportion to their scarcity, and in a thinly-peopled district one neighbour is a greater personage than elsewhere in the eyes of another. The principles of equality established in the United States have found their way into this settlement, and

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show themselves, not by the abolition of conventional titles, but by the indiscriminate application of them to all classes. The Highland cotter or Paisley weaver is not a little surprised to hear the terms, Master, Sir, Ma'am, Lady, applied to him and his wife, and, when he has recovered from the apprehension of its being a quiz, feels his self-importance elevated. At the same time this situation is unfavourable to any real refinement either of manners or habits. Order and cleanliness, which have never ranked among the many good qualities of the Scottish peasant, suffer a farther declension in circumstances which afford so little motive for the study of appearances. The domestic economy is in many instances conducted on a very coarse and slovenly footing; confused heaps of lumber for fuel, mingled with rubbish, are piled around the houses, while the windows, in which many broken panes have been repaired, not with glass, but with pieces of old hat or cloth, admit light only by a few scanty segments. The absence of subordination, of society, of almost all things by which civilized life is promoted and maintained, induces a sort of a barbarizing process, and generates rough and turbulent habits. Pugilistic contests are said to be frequent and fierce, though not marked by those very dreadful excesses which disgrace similar conflicts in the American Union. "Distance from neighbours, from churches, from books, from schools, from newspapers," takes away all stimulus to intellect and thought, and tends to sink the mind into a sluggish and torpid state. Mr Howison particularly deplores an obstinate and in-

veterate contentment, both as to their condition and attainments, which affords a very slender hope of any speedy improvement. In a report by one of themselves it is admitted, that "rousing up" is a thing much wanted by the natives of Upper Canada, and that they have only a small portion of that stir and enterprise which distinguish their neighbours on the opposite side of the inland-waters.

The religious arrangements of Upper Canada are not quite satisfactory. A most ample and indeed rather excessive provision has been made for the maintenance of a future establishment, by appropriating to it a seventh of the lands in every located district. But as lands can scarcely be leased in Canada, the reserves as yet yield little or nothing, and lie nearly waste. Ten years ago government supported only six episcopal clergymen in Canada. Although there were a greater number of teachers of other denominations, yet the entire supply was very scanty. Between Niagara and Ancaster, a distance of fifty miles, Mr Howison found only two places where divine service was regularly performed; and west of Ancaster the nearest church was at two hundred miles' distance. The Sabbath is thus little distinguished from other days, and many of those even who abstain from labour make it a day of idleness and amusement. The happy effects produced at home by its devotion to religious duties are thus lost. A great proportion of the people are said to grow up unbaptized. Government have of late taken some steps to remedy this evil. In 1827 there were thirty-two episcopalian clergymen, with

an archdeacon at their head, subject to the bishop of Quebec. It is, however, a subject seemingly of just complaint, that the support of government is exclusively given to this church, which comprises a very small minority of the actual population. The most numerous sects are Methodists and Baptists, both come from the United States, and tinctured with the extravagances there observable ; yet they alone prevent many districts from having no religion at all. The Presbyterians are a growing and respectable body ; they have six congregations in connexion with the church of Scotland, and twelve of seceders from that church. Considering the Presbyterian as the established religion of that part of the united empire which has contributed most largely to the population of Canada, there cannot be a question that it has a fair claim to share in the funds devoted to the support of religion. Mr Neilson mentions also congregations of Independents, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, though none of them very numerous. A college has been founded at York in Upper Canada, invested even with the privileges of a university ; but here too it is observed, that the same exclusive spirit prevails. It is governed by a chancellor, which office is held *ex officio* by the archdeacon, and by a council of seven professors, who must all be members of the church of England, and subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. It forms therefore a species of close borough, in which the predominance of this form of religion is completely secured.

Industry, wealth, and population, have not made that rapid and brilliant progress in Canada which has


been so conspicuous in the United States. They are checked by various causes. The feudal tenure by which lands are held in Lower Canada, though agreeable to the peculiar ideas of the actual occupants, is considered by others as highly inconvenient, and these lands are left thus in the hands of the *habitans*, who, though a careful and industrious race, are actuated by little spirit of improvement. Hence Mr M'Gillvray observes, that the value of lands in the upper provinces, notwithstanding its greater distance from a market, is higher than in the lower ; and lands of similar quality, which on the American side of the line are scarcely saleable at one shilling, on the American side bring ten, twelve, or fifteen shillings. According to Mr Mairns, lands, even in Upper Canada, with the exception of a particular line from the frontier to Kingston, do not bear a fourth of the value of those in the opposite territory of New York. Many circumstances here concur to check improvement. Immense grants of land, the future value of which was not known or considered, have been made to individuals on account of favour or service. Even in the granted and located districts called the Concessions, two-sevenths are retained, one for the government, and the other for the church. These lands are indeed tendered to the public at very moderate rents ; but in America no one thinks of a lease where the land itself can be had for little or nothing. These tracts, therefore, remain as deserts, occupying some of the most desirable soils and situations, and checquering the cultivated lands, whose communications they interrupt, and whose tenants they deprive of the advan-

tages derived from an improved neighbourhood. The Canada Company, however, have made a spirited attempt to remove this evil. They have purchased the crown-reserves, amounting to 1,400,000 acres, and half of the church-reserves, making 840,000 acres, for which they are to pay annual instalments of £15,000 for fifteen years. These they sell out to emigrants at ten shillings an acre, advancing the means of settlement, which, with the price, are to be repaid in the course of a certain number of years. This undertaking, which sprung up at the era when joint-stock companies were so lavishly adventured, was perhaps on too vast a scale; otherwise it may prove highly commodious to individuals, and beneficial to the public and to the colony. We find it, moreover, stated, however, that Scottish emigrants are not distinguished by that bold and stirring spirit of speculation which animates the Americans to carry on a new settlement with such vigour, though it sometimes involves them in hazard and ultimate loss. The Highlanders in particular, though they begin their task with briskness, are liable to a premature satisfaction as soon as they see themselves secure of bare necessities, which slackens all their efforts in pressing forward to opulence and refinement. The Upper Canadians consider themselves as suffering from the want of a seaport, both Quebec and Montreal belonging to the lower province. The two Canadas having separate States and legislatures, one holds as it were the key of the other, and imposes transit-duties on all goods that come up the river. These duties paid by the higher province, ought, it is contended, to have



entered into its treasury, and been employed in promoting its internal improvement. The Upper Canadians also conceive, that a great commercial town, attached to and forming the capital of their State, would feel a much greater zeal in promoting all undertakings for its improvement, than when viewing it as a neighbour, and perhaps in some degree a rival. With this view it has been proposed, and even urged, that Montreal should be annexed to Upper Canada; and Mr Horton, the colonial secretary, though sensible that this arrangement would be very unpalatable to the lower province, expresses an inclination to promote it, and to brave all the odium which would be encountered by such a measure. The union of the whole into one State would afford the most radical remedy; but this is so opposed by dissimilar character and habits, and by many prejudices and interests, that the boldest politician seems afraid to hazard it.

Canada, within the limits above described, is a very fertile region. It yields in almost equal abundance and excellence the best productions of the middle and northern States of America. Wheat, the grain of the finest temperate climates, and maize, almost a tropical grain, are fully ripened by the strong heat of its summer. The sugar-maple affords almost to every farmer within himself a full supply of that article of luxury. The grounds in general have been heavily-timbered, and open prairies are much more rare than in the valley of the Mississippi. This involves much greater labour in the first instance; but the ground once cleared, the deciduous leaves, which have



mixed with the soil during so many ages, are found to have communicated to it an almost inexhaustible depth of fertility. Some of these vegetable soils have yielded rich crops for twenty successive years, without any appearance of exhaustion. The farming is all conducted on a small scale, and with little skill. The old settlers adhere to the usages of their forefathers, and repel all idea of improvement, while the new emigrants arrive often without any idea of farming at all. A judicious rotation of crops, and the use of gypsum as a manure, are only beginning to be introduced.

Of manufacture, almost the only vestige appears to be among the *habitans*; the more sober part of whom clothe themselves in substantial homespun, the produce of their own flax and fleeces, and endeavour to have all things within themselves; but this is obviously foreign to the very idea of manufacture on a great and national scale. Even though furs be the special product of Canada, the London furriers are said to make more out of the same quantity, and to give them a much more brilliant gloss than those of Quebec.

The commerce of Canada consists, like that of the United States, and in a degree still more complete, of the exchange of the raw produce of land for the manufactured produce of more improved countries. This state of things is likely long to continue, since it is not thwarted, as in the United States, by political motives and national jealousies. In this view, however, the British government have made extraordinary efforts

to force the timber-trade of her American possessions. In 1814, while the load of fir timber from the Baltic paid a duty of £3 : 4 : 11, that from British America paid only 2s. 4½d. ; and though, in 1821, the one was reduced to £2, 15s., and the other raised to 10s., the encouragement afforded was still very ample. The American timber, as compared with the Baltic, is soft, well-veined, and susceptible of a good polish ; so that for walls, the surface of floors, or ornamental purposes, it is even preferable ; but for all those parts of a fabric which require strength, it cannot be employed with advantage. The timber for the British market is not furnished by the settlers, nor does the sale even assist in clearing the lands. It is procured by a rough and hardy race, who devote themselves to that especial object, in which they encounter the greatest hardships. They seek the swampy shores of the upper lakes, where the forests are most dense, and the trees grow to the greatest height. The time when they cut them down is in spring, when they are often up to the knees in water ; and they select only one tree out of six or seven as fit for the British market. These trees are compacted into rafts of most huge dimension, enclosed with a railing, and sheds raised in the interior for the residence of the steersmen. They are moved forward partly by oars, partly, when the wind is favourable, by small sails, and they push with the greatest boldness and skill across the whole chain of the Rapids, though a considerable portion is dashed to pieces in this perilous navigation. On arriving at Quebec, they are ranged in long array

in front of the town, covering the river often for a space of five or six miles, till they can be broken up and embarked for England.

The quantity of timber imported into the united empire from Canada, in 1824, amounted to 386,400 loads of fir ; 13,300 oak ; 15,600 other wood ; 4000 masts under 12 inches diameter ; 3000 loads of masts above 12 inches diameter ; 12,260 deals and deal-ends ; 45,500 staves. The exports of British manufactures to Upper and Lower Canada in that year amounted to £739,000. The more recent commercial statements which I have been able to procure comprehend the whole of British North America.

The cities of Canada are not as yet on nearly the same scale, nor do they aspire to the same handsome and classical style of ornament as those of the Union. They can scarcely be surpassed, however, in the beauty and grandeur of their situation. That of Quebec is singular in the extreme, being partly on the top, partly at the foot of a precipitous cliff, which Mr Weld elevates to a thousand feet ; but the more moderate and seemingly accurate estimate of Mr Lambert lowers it to three hundred and fifty. The communication is maintained by Mountain Street, answering to its name, which winds along the side of the cliff, forming always a steep, and even, if carelessly trodden, a dangerous descent. Indeed, so completely is the lower town overhung by this stupendous cliff, that, on the loosening of the ice, detached fragments often fall down, by which several of the inhabitants have been killed. The lower town is an assemblage of narrow, crowded, dirty streets, enclosed

between high houses, and through which loaded wag-gons, to and from the port, are continually dragged. The upper town is the seat of the government, the fortress, and of all that there is of fashion in Quebec. It is comparatively well-built and spacious, though without any edifices of the first rank. Round it are those strong fortifications which render Quebec the citadel of British America. They are necessary only for a part of its circuit, the rocky barrier securing against all approach on the side of the river. From this height is commanded a magnificent prospect over a vast scene of savage and cultivated nature ; rocks, forests, and the river St Lawrence, now expanded to a broad estuary.

Montreal, more than three hundred miles above Quebec, can be approached by merchant vessels of the largest size, and magnificent steam-packets run between the two cities. It is situated at the extremity of a large island, looking down the river, while the mountain from which it takes its name rises behind in a swelling semicircular form. Montreal is represented as the most substantially-built city in the New World. The houses, instead of timber or brick, are composed of a dark limestone, which the neighbourhood furnishes abundantly, and the roofs being of tin, kept always clear and glittering, give to the whole a brilliant and somewhat gaudy effect. The streets are narrow and gloomy ; but the great cathedral is considered by M. De Roos as the largest structure in North America, and cost £100,000. The views from the hill above the river are enchanting, exhibiting the channel of the St Lawrence, on one

side vast and smooth, on the other broken into a series of rapids ; the junction of the great flood of the Ottawa ; the shipping, rafts, and various forms of river-craft ; and the country to the north, peculiarly fertile and highly cultivated. Montreal carries on a great trade, which is always increasing with the prosperity of Upper Canada.

Kingston, the chief interior naval depot, and York, the seat of the office for disposing of land to emigrants, are both situated on the Ontario, and are the two capitals of Upper Canada ; but they, as well as Prescott and Brockville, on the line of the Niagara navigation, are as yet only rising villages.

Great efforts have been made to improve by canals the communications of Upper Canada. The main principle has been to substitute the navigation of the Ottawa for that of the portion of the St Lawrence between Montreal and Lake Ontario, where the obstructions are so numerous and formidable. By the Rideau Canal, undertaken by government, it is proposed to join the Ottawa with Kingston, by connecting together a number of streams and lakes, so that only twenty miles of cutting are requisite. The estimated expense was £169,000, and in 1827 there had been expended £45,000. To connect then this line of navigation with the Lake St Louis, the Grenville Canal has been undertaken, which effects its object by a cutting of six miles, with three locks. The cost will be £110,000, of which, in 1827, there had been expended £65,000. These works have been undertaken by government in a great degree with reference to military objects ; and we even observe

Mr M'Gillvray, in his recent evidence, give it as his opinion that vessels will still prefer the old and spacious though obstructed route of the St Lawrence.

Nova Scotia, next to Canada, is the most important and improved of all the colonies which remain to Great Britain. It forms with New Brunswick a sort of exterior angle of the territory of the United States; and the deep Bay of Fundy, with the opposite Gulf of St Lawrence, forms it into a peninsula, joined to the continent by an isthmus of only about twenty miles in breadth. There is scarcely any colony respecting which more gloomy impressions at first prevailed. It has been viewed as a barren and dreary region, enveloped in dense and almost perpetual fogs. The author of "General Description of Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1825,) maintains that this conclusion is very hasty and very partial. The fog is said to be in a great measure confined to Halifax and some other places on the Atlantic coast; while in the interior and in the Bay of Fundy, the sky, with the exception of a month or two in spring, during which the east winds prevail, is usually clear and serene. The seas, which almost entirely surround it, temper those violent extremes of heat and cold to which the rest of America is liable. By a table of summer and winter temperatures it appears that the former never rose above 88°, seldom above 80°, while the latter never sunk below 5°, and seldom lower than 10°. Several ranges of hills traverse the country, separated by valleys fertile and picturesque, filled with numerous little lakes, which have been supposed to cover a third of the country. The useful minerals of coal, lime, and

gypsum, exist in the greatest abundance; and iron is promising, though not yet worked to any extent. The chief objects of industry have as yet been the rearing of cattle and the cutting of timber; in exchange for the products of which there was imported bread-corn from the United States. It has even been concluded that Nova Scotia was not a wheat country. This dependence was found very inconvenient, and a spirit of agricultural improvement having arisen in this colony, supported by several societies patronized by the Earl of Dalhousie, grain is now raised almost equal to its internal consumption. The towns of Nova Scotia as well as of New Brunswick attained great prosperity during the last war, when they became important naval stations, and were enriched by numerous prizes; but peace has deprived them of this source of wealth, and left them to their native resources. A considerable decline has thus been felt, though some property was accumulated during the prosperous period. The society of those towns is very fluctuating, consisting greatly of military and naval officers and merchants, who are stationed or resort to it for a certain period, and then depart to return no more: in this respect it almost resembles a watering-place. The basis of the settlers consists of French Canadians, who live chiefly in the interior on their plantations, and mix little with the British natives. A considerable accession of emigrants has lately been received; and Mr Uniacke imagines there may be a million and a half of acres of good land unoccupied, upon which 20,000 families might be located.



New Brunswick is very nearly a similar country to Nova Scotia, less advanced as to cultivation, but covered with still more abundant and valuable timber, the export of which from St John's, and still more from Miramichi, is very important. A considerable emigration has lately taken place to this country, and Mr Uniacke reckons that two millions of acres still remain for the occupation of new settlers.

The large island of Newfoundland, facing the Bay of St Lawrence, is well known as the seat of the greatest cod-fishery in the world. This island, first discovered and always claimed by England, was finally confirmed to her by the treaty of Utrecht. The French, however, stipulated for the right of fishing on the most valuable part of its coasts; and the same right, at the peace of 1783, was reserved to the United States, who, according to Mr Uniacke, carry on the fishing with much greater vigour than Britain herself, employing 80,000 men, while she employs only 20,000. The interior is rocky and rugged, covered with marshes and impenetrable pine-forests. The inhabitants, at least about the capital of St John's, contrive to raise a supply of vegetables; but for grain and provisions they depend upon the United States. Yet considerable and spirited attempts appear at an early period to have been made to colonize Newfoundland. In 1614 a Dr Vaughan sent thither a number of "idle people;" but they continued to act up to their character, and having learned that in two years "they had not done any labour there to the value of one penny," he sent and brought them all home. Some years after Sir George Cal-

vert, secretary to the king, fitted out a larger colony, consisting of men, women, and children ; and, by some letters collected by Captain Whitbourne, it appears really to have at first made some progress. Captain Wynne, in a letter dated 17th August, 1622, says,—“We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans, both eared and coddled ; a plentiful kitchen-garden. Our beans are exceeding good ; our pease shall go without compare ; raddish as big as mine arm ; lettuce, cale or cabbage, turnips, carrots, and all the rest are of like goodness.” In another letter he mentions a house forty-four feet long and fifteen broad, built of stone, and which, by extraordinary “ pains-taking,” had been made very commodious. In the following year another colony was sent out by the illustrious Cary, Viscount Falkland. Captain Whitbourne penned “ a loving invitation to all his majesty’s subjects for the advancing his majesty’s most hopeful plantation in the Newfoundland,” and he painted, in fact, that island as a species of northern paradise. Yet, notwithstanding this high patronage and these considerable efforts, no progress was ever made in Newfoundland as to culture and settlement. Whitbourne heavily inculcates those who, he says, “ loved soft feather-beds better than hard cabins, and longed rather to sit by a tavern-fire than to have the cold weather-blasts of these seas blow on their faces.” In fact, the habitations of Newfoundland consist merely of temporary wooden sheds or stages for receiving or drying the fish ; and the fishermen, during the severity of winter, retire into the towns. Captain Buchan, having undertaken lately to penetrate into the inte-



## CHAPTER VI.

## ON EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

*Motives to Emigration.—Principle of Population.—Greek Colonies.—Roman Colonies.—Emigrations of Barbarous Nations.—Early Colonization of the East Indies.—Different Character of the present Emigration.—Motives to emigrate from England, Scotland, Ireland.—The Voyage outwards.—Choice between United States and British America.—Journey into the Interior.—Selection of Lands.—Emigration considered in respect to the different Classes of Society—in a National View.—Aids afforded by Government.—Canada Company.*

MEN in every age have manifested a deep attachment to their native soil, to the scenes of their early life, and the associates of their youthful days ; and have never quitted them but with reluctance and regret. Even when impelled by curiosity and adventure to roam for years beneath a foreign sky, they still fondly anticipate the period when they may return, and spend the evening of their days beneath their native roof. Yet it is not the less true, that in every age there have been large bodies of men who quitted for ever the abodes of their nativity to

seek a home and a new country in distant and unknown regions of the earth. Our surprise at this apparent inconsistency will soon cease when we discover the powerful and painful necessity under which they have acted.

In most of the ancient early political systems, the first object of every state was to increase the number of its citizens, to obviate alarms lest the frequent ravage of war, plague, and famine should dispeople the earth. These apprehensions have vanished before the accurate observations made by Smith and Malthus. That Power which had predetermined, not only the permanent duration of the human species, but the peopling of the whole earth from one original stock, has made such ample provision for these grand purposes, that no casualty, no disaster, of whatever magnitude, can defeat or even long retard their fulfilment. One human pair may produce six, eight, or ten children, and, generally, where food can be supplied in abundance, each will rear four to maturity; whence, early marriage being almost universal where the means of subsistence are abundant, the inhabitants of such a district invariably double themselves in one generation. In the next this doubled number doubles itself, and the increase goes on in what is termed geometrical progression. Thus a hundred individuals will in ten generations, or two hundred years, increase as follows:—100, 200, 400, 800, 1600, 3200, 6400, 12,800, 25,400, 50,800, 100,600. This “principle of population,” as it is called is thus amply sufficient to cover the earth with people, and rapidly to fill every void which war,

plague or famine, may create. But this rapid multiplication is soon followed by other results which appear at first less obvious. In old and long-settled countries, where the extent of soil is limited and occupied, and where there has been a long enjoyment of peace and well-being, room is no longer left for this accession of numbers; each branch of industry is crowded with labourers beyond what it can support or employ; eager competition reduces wages to the lowest rate on which man can subsist, and many are thrown wholly out of employment. Thus out of the highest prosperity springs the severest distress, and the richest and most improved communities can scarcely afford the necessaries of life to the majority of their people. For this severe pressure there is only one remedy, which is to transport part of the society to another region, where they may find a virgin-soil, untouched by the axe or the plough, and where persevering labour may soon secure to them that abundance which home denies. These colonies, as they are called, when they have overcome the first obstacles, usually enjoy a career of rapid prosperity. They carry out to regions, whose resources are yet fresh and unexhausted, all the arts and resources of an improved and industrious society, which find there an almost unlimited scope. Yet a hard task at first awaits them. They must hew down immense forests,—must construct habitations,—must break the yet untilled soil,—and, above all, must drive before them the native possessors, who, though few in number, are usually warlike, fierce, and indignant at this foreign inroad.

The earliest colonies recorded by antiquity are those formed by the Phœnicians and Greeks. They were numerous, covering all the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and were of the most signal benefit in extending the range of civilization, commerce, and science. The Phœnicians, finding Egypt fully occupied, directed their chief attention to that fertile part of the coast of Africa which composes the modern states of Tripoli and Tunis. Here they founded, successively, Leptis, Adrumetum, Utica, and finally Carthage, that mighty city, which soon eclipsed its parent and all the other commercial cities of antiquity. At a somewhat later period the Grecian republics, commencing with Miletus, sent forth numerous colonies to the coasts of Sicily, Southern Italy, Gaul, and even the distant and gloomy though fertile shores of the Euxine. They occupied also Cyrene, a part of the African coast which had been overlooked by the Phœnicians. These colonies soon became more opulent and more populous than those of the mother-country, of whom they shared the institutions, arts, and philosophy. Yet original Greece preserved, or rather, perhaps, acquired a pre-eminence in arms and intellectual energy, which none of her colonies ever rivalled.

The ancient emigrations appear to have been conducted on quite different principles from those of modern times. An individual, with his family, if he has one, now collects his effects, takes his passage in a merchant vessel to a remote shore, purchases a piece of land, and settles down upon it. With the ancients, on the contrary, emigration was a national concern,

on a great scale, and under the conduct of distinguished leaders or chieftains. To lead out a colony was considered one of the most arduous exertions of political talent. Frequently, when a state was rent by faction, the head of a party, unable to maintain his ground, was happy thus to create for himself an independent sphere of influence, while his antagonists, thus freed from his rivalry, gladly welcomed his departure. These colonists went certainly under happier auspices than the single and friendless emigrant, who conveys himself to a remote extremity of the globe. They went accompanied by all the persons to whom they were most attached, under the guidance of a favourite chief, carrying with them all that composed their country except its mere external aspect and scenery. They afforded mutual aid, and lightened by sharing each other's troubles. None of the Greek mother-countries seem to have claimed or exercised dominion over their colonies, which became immediately separate states; and if ever they sent aid to the parent-city in her distress, sent it merely from feelings of spontaneous attachment. Athens might for some time seem to present an exception; but the sway which she long claimed over Greece was as the head of the confederacy against Persia, and was exercised without distinction over allies and colonists.

The Roman colonies were established on an entirely different system. They were sent out with the double view of relieving the poverty by which the plebeians were oppressed and excited to tumult, and of strengthening the Roman dominion by a frontier band of citizens. On the conquest of any ter-



ritory, a certain portion of land was usually ceded for the purpose of founding a colony upon it. The number was fixed, and the Triumviri invited the citizens to inscribe their names; and if these proved either deficient or too numerous, the lot decided either the selection or the compulsory emigration of others necessary to make up the precise quota. These colonies contained numbers varying from 300 to 6000. The allotments were small in the first instance, not exceeding an English acre and a half, and never rising to above twenty or thirty acres. These colonies continued Roman, subject to the laws of Rome, though they were not till late admitted to a vote in the *comitia*. The military colonies of Sylla and Augustus, in which the peaceful citizen was expelled to make room for the soldier who had been employed in subverting the liberties of his country, have no relation to our present question.

Another emigration of a terrible character, and exerting an opposite influence, was in continual movement during the early periods of history. The tenants of the bleak forests and wilds of the north, forming themselves, with their wives and children, into vast bands, marched in search of happier climes and more fertile valleys, the path to which they trusted to open with the sword. In a few centuries they had covered with their myriads and trampled under foot the whole extent of the Roman world. The ancients, who saw the north thus give out nation after nation, yet remain still full and overflowing, imagined it to contain some prodigious and almost innumerable hive of people. They called it the *officina hu-*

*mani generis.* They were not aware that there was a principle at work sufficient to fill up every void, and create this continual surplus with the utmost rapidity. The Greek emigrations had diffused light, science, and liberty over mankind; the northern emigration undid this work, and shrouded the world in darkness. Its career was succeeded by lengthened ages of barbarism; yet we may console ourselves by considering that it was almost over "lost mankind in polished slavery sunk" that the triumph was achieved; that the world which Rome had conquered had lost all that was genuine and pure in the lights which once so brilliantly illumined it. A great historian has even supposed that the world was renovated by this infusion of barbarous energy. However this may be, it is not Europe alone which has been exposed to these formidable inroads. Those made by the conquering races of Tartars into Southern Asia hold sway still from the Dardanelles to the eastern ocean; and to these the remarks above made, both favourable and unfavourable, may apply.

In Europe, during the middle ages, there was little migratory movement. Neither the desolating predatory voyages of the Norsemen, nor the daring heroism of the Crusaders, were inspired by this design. It was when the adventurous sails of a Columbus and a Gama had opened a path over the ocean, and disclosed worlds before unknown to the eye of Europeans, that emigration received a new and powerful impulse. Regions more extensive than all the anciently known world, filled with every species of wealth, imperfectly occupied or feebly defended,

were the result of these discoveries ; and all the principles of enterprise and activity were roused into their highest exertion.

Under the above circumstances, emigration to the East and West Indies became a very different thing from that by which the ancient colonies had been founded. It was no longer the poor, destitute, and discontented part of the community, who, ranged under a leader, renounced their native country in hopes of finding, on a distant shore, that subsistence which home had denied them. Crowds of individual adventurers crossed the ocean, not escaping from want, but inspired by the hope of unbounded wealth, of returning laden with the spoil of provinces, and in a condition to rival the pomp of princes. Disdaining every form of humble labour, they employed the compulsory service of the natives, or of slaves dragged from the shores of Africa, to cultivate this fruitful earth, and ransack its bowels. The Spaniards, in many instances, were content to establish the seat of their greatness in the New World ; but when England stretched her sceptre over India, the individuals sent out to administer the government went usually in the sole hope of returning to dazzle their friends and countrymen with a display of the princely fortunes acquired. The planters of the British West Indies, again, did not even visit their rich dominion, but, residing in splendour at London, administered it by agents and slaves, and received home the produce.

The time, however, approached when motives of a humbler and more pressing nature began to urge

Britons to seek these distant extremities of the globe. The impulse of want had indeed operated to a certain extent in filling up her North American settlements; yet the additional impulse of religious zeal and persecution had been requisite to carry large bodies of colonists across the Atlantic. In the end of the eighteenth century, Britain approached the zenith of her greatness, and her wealth became the admiration of the world. Yet so mingled are human fate and human affairs, that this was the very period when the pressure of internal distress began to be most deeply felt. The demand for labour had produced its usual effect of bringing forward a supply more than proportioned to it; and the very improved processes of trade and industry had the effect of throwing numerous classes out of employment, who, in the crowded state of every other department, were reduced to great extremity. Different and special causes, in the different branches of the British empire, united to produce this pressure.

In England the immense manufactures carried on for foreign and distant markets are liable to remarkable fluctuations. Those markets are affected by various causes; many are often suddenly closed; all are often and indeed generally overstocked, and sometimes there is an entire suspension of demand. The extreme distress which then ensues, aggravated by the recollection of former plenty and high wages, and by the view of wealth with which they are still surrounded, produces, in turbulent spirits, often an alarming degree of discontent, and in others a despondence which makes them willing for

ever to quit their homes in search of relief. Even the wonders of machinery, which have effected so important an improvement, and to which British manufacture indeed is mainly indebted for its present supremacy, have the painful effect, in the first instance, of throwing numerous labourers out of their regular course of obtaining a livelihood, who cannot easily find another channel of employment for which they are fitted and which will receive them. The stoppage at the peace of numerous government-works had a similar effect, which was perpetuated by the indiscriminate application of the poor-laws. The constant demand for labour had created a habit of early marriage, in the full confidence that employment would be found for whatever progeny might arise from it; and this reliance was now transferred to parochial aid, bestowed too readily on all for whom employment was wanting. The consequence, as stated by Mr Hodges to the House of Commons, was, that in a particular district of Kent, out of a population of twenty-one thousand, there were eight thousand paupers. In this extremity, it became cheaper for the parish to pay at once a sum for transporting the able-bodied pauper to America, than to bear from year to year the burden of supporting himself and family. Mr Hodges, indeed, apprehends that the removal of the surplus population in this manner were vain, unless the cottages in which they dwelt were razed to the ground; for that, so long as one was left standing, there would be found a young couple to marry and go into it; but it really appears to us a singular account of the matrimonial views of the Kentish youth,

that their fulfilment should hinge upon the question, whether or not there was an empty house at hand to occupy?

In Scotland, so far as it is a manufacturing country, which the Western Lowlands are to so great an extent, the same causes operate, and with greater force, owing to the more active and enterprising character of the people, and that disposition to seek their fortunes abroad, which is combined in them with strong local attachment. Although manufacturers are somewhat ill fitted for the toils and hardships of bringing an unsubdued country under cultivation, yet within these few years there has arisen among them a strong disposition to emigrate to North America. This was indeed but too natural in 1826, when a man working by the piece at the coarser fabrics could not earn more than 3s. 6d., while in 1800—1805 the same labour would have brought 20s., and the added labour of a wife and three children could not raise the joint weekly earnings above 5s. 6d. At such a time the impulse to emigrate could not but be deeply felt. Fourteen societies, consisting of about five thousand persons, united in transmitting to government their wishes for a conveyance to British America. They had been long preceded by another class of the population, usually of a more stationary character. The lands in the Highlands had till lately been distributed according to the principles of feudal partition, being let out by the chief to his retainers in small parcels, which they cultivated with their own hands, and paid an annual rent, partly in kind. This system was incompatible with those improved processes of agriculture which thirty years

ago became general throughout the island. It was particularly inconsistent with the plan of converting the mountains into sheep-walks for the supply of the southern markets, which yet was that by which the largest money-rents could be obtained. The *lairds*, losing their habits of feudal residence and clannish attachment, studied chiefly to enlarge their fortunes, which could be effected only by the ejection in considerable numbers of this crowd of little tenants, who cultivated their lands on principles wholly incompatible with the modern systems. The change thus caused has, since the commencement of this century, furnished a continued succession of emigrants, who, even when the state of manufactures would have afforded an opening in the large towns, preferred a simple and rural life in the ~~centre~~ of the American forest.

In the third of the ~~sister~~ kingdoms the necessity for a great emigration was still more pressing and imperious. There has long existed in Ireland a number of people greatly beyond the due proportion even to its fertile soil. This disproportion experiences a yearly aggravation. There seems rooted in the mind of the Irish peasant the belief of a necessity, that as soon as he reaches manhood he should take a wife, without any corresponding necessity of deliberating how or whence she and the family are to be supported. Dr Doyle very plausibly suspects that this improvidence may partly arise from the very extreme of their poverty; that, with little property, which would give them education and self-respect, they would look a little forward; "but now it seems they cannot be worse, and they so go together with-

out thought. Their very depression and extreme poverty throw them together like so many savages in a wood." The petty tenant who has rented a small spot of ground can provide for the numerous offspring thus thoughtlessly ushered into the world only by comminuting his small lot into fragments so much smaller, that it scarcely suffices to supply a cow and pig with scanty meals of potatoes. So rapid is the subdivision thus effected, that instances are quoted of small farms let on a lease of forty years to an individual, on which, at the end of that term, thirty or forty persons have been found located. The Irish landlords have of late bestirred themselves much, both to check this dreadful subletting, and to clear their lands from the burdensome population with which they had been surreptitiously covered. Both these processes, however, are of extreme difficulty; and although they afford a prospect of ultimately removing the evil, they tend in the first instance to bring it out under an aggravated and more distressing form. This band of old occupants will not proceed upon any common notice to quit; there must be a process of legal ejectment, which, as they are backed by the whole country, it sometimes requires a military force to execute. The new tenant also takes possession at his utmost peril, since combinations exist for the express purpose of making him repent such a step. His cattle, his house, his life, are in perpetual danger of attack. The ejected tenants meantime are reduced to a state of utter destitution and starvation, and have scarcely an alternative but to swell those lawless bands which have



spread dismay and desolation through this unfortunate country. It is impossible, therefore, not to agree with the Bishop of Limerick, that emigration, by which "the sufferers are at once taken away from a country where they are a nuisance, and are passed to a country where they will be a benefit and a blessing," must afford instantaneous and important relief. They have indeed begun to find it for themselves, but in a manner which has filled the other two kingdoms with the most well-founded alarm. The ready intercourse now established between the different parts of the empire, especially by steam-packets, which afford the means of crossing the channel at the expense of a few shillings, has given the opportunity of a most extensive migration both into Scotland and England, which had already without themselves been beginning to feel the pressure of excessive population. In Glasgow alone there were supposed, in 1826, to be 40,000 Irish; in the county of Lancaster 60,000; and the number of Irish in London had increased in thirty years from 70,000 to 120,000. As the wages in Britain, even on their present reduced scale, are still decidedly higher than can be obtained in the sister-island, this tide of emigration must continue to flow till the difference be nearly obliterated; that is, till Great Britain, like Ireland, is deluged with poverty and wretchedness, and till, in reference to the condition of her lower orders, she progressively becomes what Ireland is at the present moment. It is most discouraging, likewise, in respect to all attempts to improve the condition of British labourers by partial emigration, the salutary blank

left being instantaneously filled by the crowd of Irish thus continually pouring in. In short, it seems scarcely possible to dissent from the very strong language of the Westminster Review, when it says, "A flood of evils, hardly less wide-spreading and destructive than the consequences of barbarian conquest, is sweeping over our country,—the degradation of our people by commixture with a foreign race, lower in intelligence, lower in habits of order and self-restraint, lower in ideas of comfort and moral independence, lower, in short, in all the qualities which constitute civilized men." This "tremendous irruption," as the same writer terms it, can be averted in no other way than by turning a portion of it into another direction, and that direction can only be America. That continent, indeed, but for its distance, and the mighty ocean which intervenes, might take off at once the whole of the enormous burden which presses on the three kingdoms. These circumstances, unfortunately, limit very strictly its application; yet in every degree to which it can be applied it will be productive of important and almost unmixed benefit.

The emigrant, who proposes to renounce his native country for new seats beyond the Atlantic, has before him a mixed and chequered prospect. He has the assurance, indeed, of finding, at one or two thousand miles in the interior of America, a large lot of excellent soil, which can be obtained upon the payment either of small fees, or of a price so moderate, and on such terms of credit, that he may have the fair prospect of paying them out of the exertions of his industry upon

the ground itself. Before reaching this point, however, he has to cross the ocean, to transport himself and all his effects a thousand or fifteen hundred miles into the interior, and, after all this cost, toil, and peril, he finds himself in the midst of a boundless forest, whose lofty trees must be hewn down, the rank vegetation cleared off, the soil for the first time subjected to the plough, and finally the first harvest waited for, ere he can begin to reap a single fruit of his bold adventure. He must therefore bring with him not only the necessary expenses of his journey, the means of stocking his farm and ground, but also subsistence for at least one year, besides provision for sundry casualties, which cannot easily be counted or specified.

The emigrant, who prepares to take his departure for the western world, is advised not to encumber himself with many commodities, especially not with furniture, the freight of which and its carriage into the interior will cost much more than its value; and in case of landing at New York, it will be loaded with an oppressive duty of 30 per cent. On reaching his destination, cheap and tolerable furniture, better fitted to his first rude habitation, may be procured or made. All that seems necessary is to provide a good stock of warm clothes, and comfortable bedding and blankets, which will be procured better and cheaper at home, and will not occasion much expense or encumbrance in the carriage. Mr Birkbeck recommends also a few simple medicines, since at least some slight indisposition may be expected, as the consequence of so great a journey and change of climate. Every thing else ought to be converted into money, either

dollars or guineas, which coins bear a small premium in Canada.

The first concern of the emigrant is his passage to America. Seven or eight pounds are stated, generally, as the rate of a steerage-passage, either to Quebec or New York. This includes provisions and all expenses incurred on shipboard; but it appears to have been much enhanced by regulations adopted by government upon good principles, but carried too far. The avidity of several shipmasters having induced them to overcrowd their vessels, and to provide an insufficient supply of provisions, both as to quantity and quality, calamitous effects in some instances followed, and an act was passed for regulating the conveyance of passengers, which not only required that the number should not bear more than a fixed proportion to the tonnage, but that the sea-store should allow a pound of beef or a pound of pork per day to each passenger for the longest period that the voyage was likely to continue. But this costly food was not only superfluous, but distasteful to the great majority of Scottish and Irish emigrants, who, if they had potatoes, a bag of oatmeal, and a few herrings, felt themselves amply provided for, and their person maintained in full vigour. Nor, supposing that they departed as they ought to do, in full health, does a surgeon appear to be necessary. It appears that Mr Fitzhugh, agent for the Passengers' Office at Liverpool, has been for some years in the habit of conveying them at very moderate rates; that single men have been taken for £3, including accommodation, water, and fuel; and that in the case of families he

has made it so low as £2:10s., or even £2. He estimates that 200 persons could charter a vessel of 300 tons, supplied with every thing except provisions, for £510, making only £2:11s. per head. Provisions could be furnished by themselves for £1:10s., or could be supplied at £2, making thus the whole expense £4:1s., or £4:11s. Our own advice would be, rather to pay a few shillings more than to charter a vessel, which would be attended with many risks of mischance and mismanagement, as well as of disunion. This office for passengers, it appears, was established by the American chamber of commerce, with the view of facilitating emigration and preventing imposition upon passengers. Mr Fitzhugh, in his evidence before the committee of 1827, even conceives that the poor might be conveyed to Quebec for 30s. to £2 of passage-money, and 25s. to 30s. of provisions.

After passing the Atlantic, and even before, it is for the emigrant to consider to what point of the mighty continent before him he is to direct his steps. The two grand alternatives are, the United States and Canada. The United States present a very wide and even varied sphere; yet on examination the choice is found to be within somewhat narrow limits. In the Eastern States, land is so far filled up and occupied, that it cannot now be had but at a price too high for those whom poverty induces to emigrate; while the state of industry and of markets is not such as to afford a possibility of farming on a great scale. It is beyond the Alleghany then that the wanderer must look. Here the southern tracts, Kentucky,

Tennessee, and those on the Lower Mississippi, present a luxuriant soil and the means of opulent and profitable planting. But the climate is deadly to the constitution of the European, and the slave-trade which there prevails is abhorrent to his feelings. Few or no British, in fact, have bent their steps toward these regions. The long tract along the north of the Ohio, from the head of that fine river to its junction with the Mississippi, a fruitful, beautiful, temperate region, almost European, and indeed almost English, is that to which the long line of emigrants from the Old World have almost exclusively directed their steps. For those who bring a certain capital and decided habits of industry the prospects are fair. They may purchase from the government fresh and unbroken land, in lots of 160, 320, 480, and 640 acres, at the minimum-price of 8s. per acre, to be paid up in the course of four years. This, however, is land untouched by the axe or the plough, in the depth of the wilderness, distant from any town or dense population. Cleared lands, in the populous districts of Ohio and Kentucky, bring 20, 30, or 40 dollars; and even those which are wholly uncultivated have usually been bought up by speculators, and are offered for sale at a considerable advance upon the government-price. It is a subject of controversy, whether, for an emigrant who has money sufficient, it is best to purchase a cleared spot, or to take up his abode in the wilderness, and do all for himself. In the former case a pioneer has cleared the way before him; he is saved much weary toil and trouble; he steps at once into a tolerable mansion, and finds him-

self surrounded by various conveniences. Others, however, recommend to the enterprising and active settler, who is prepared to face temporary hardships and privations, that he should proceed with his money to the outer boundaries of settlement. He may there purchase a greater extent of ground, and may lay it out according to his own views and ideas ; for, according to Mr Birkbeck, what is called improvement is often in fact deterioration ; and he has the prospect, as the tide of emigration rolls on, that this land, independent of the improvement which he puts upon it, will rise of itself, and reach the level of that belonging to the earlier and more improved seats of emigration. Indeed the contemplation and experience of this has given rise to a class of speculators who purchase land at the minimum-price, and keep it waste, in the mere prospect of its rising with the improvement of the neighbouring districts. This system, however, operates much as a check to improvement, by locking up some of the best lands, and retarding the complete settlement of any district ; and it is even considered as a dubious and very speculative policy to keep capital thus locked up without any immediate proceeds, and upon the chance of a large rise, which various circumstances may retard or defeat.

The next grand resort of emigrants is to Upper Canada ; for the lower province, besides being less fertile, is already in a great measure filled up by the *habitans*. Every British subject, on application at the Land Office, receives a grant of fifty acres without price ; and if, in the course of three years, he has cleared five acres, erected a log-house, and made some

other simple improvements, the land is fixed as his in perpetuity. If, indeed, he desires a greater quantity, which most do who have the means, he must pay certain fees, which, for 100 acres, amount to £5, 14s. ; for 200, £16 : 17 : 6d., and about eight pounds for every additional hundred. These rates are exceedingly moderate, the highest being less than a fourth of those levied on the American side of the waters ; and the soil of Canada being as rich as possible, and its climate, notwithstanding a somewhat rigorous winter, on the whole as good, it seems difficult to assign the grounds of the preference usually given to the lands of the United States, and why, of the ten thousand who usually land annually at Quebec, more than half should proceed thither. Canadian representations consider this to be in many cases the result of delusive reports, and often afterwards bitterly repented of ; and though these statements may be suspected of some partiality, yet the great resort of Americans themselves, notwithstanding strong national feelings, to a country which they do not regard as a land of freedom, leaves no doubt of its powerful and solid attractions.

Emigrants to the United States proceed either to New York or Baltimore. The former till lately was the grand centre of arrival ; but the land-journey from Baltimore to the Ohio is considerably shorter ; and there has lately been made from that city, across the mountains to Wheeling, a road, which is indeed reported by Major Long as rough and bad ; but that making between Philadelphia and Pittsburg appears by Mr Flint's statement not to merit any



preference. All authorities agree in exhorting the emigrant not to linger in the large towns, where no benefit is reaped, and his money, which might form the foundation of his new settlement, insensibly diminishes. For single individuals, the mail-coach, though a clumsy and lumbering vehicle, is perhaps the most eligible ; but for a family the waggon must be employed. A light waggon, with a canvass cover stretching across from side to side, in the form of an arch, with an opening in front to admit air, may be so contrived as to accommodate a large family with such articles of furniture as are absolutely necessary. Such a waggon may either be hired or purchased ; and, in the latter case, it may be resold at somewhat less than half the cost-price. Notwithstanding this loss, the general practice appeared to be in favour of purchase, proving that it was found on the whole most economical. Mr Birkbeck states the price paid for the conveyance of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg at ten dollars, or two guineas for each hundred pounds weight,—a price which limits the settlers to the lightest and most necessary articles,—clothing, bedding, razors, knives, and, if he have a taste for them, books and mathematical instruments.

On reaching the head of the Ohio navigation at Pittsburg or Wheeling, the next object is to descend this great valley, along which lie the finest tracts of Western America. The usual mode of travelling is by water, in arks of various sizes, being flat-bottomed vessels, the interior of which forms a long floating room, in which are all the necessary accommodations for sleeping and living ; and on reaching their desti-

nation they must be sold for whatever they will bring, which will not exceed half the cost. Those, however, who are already provided with a waggon, and who propose to go down only a few hundred miles, may find it more advisable to continue the same mode of travelling. Waggon's may even be procured very cheap at Pittsburg, on account of the great number brought thither by emigrant families.

Thus transported into the heart of the western territory, the next important task of the settler is to fix the spot on which he is to locate himself; and though delay is injurious, yet some mature deliberation is very requisite. He has probably come down with some idea of the sort of quarter to be chosen; whether he can afford and would be willing to pay for a portion of land partially prepared, or would proceed to the outer border of settlement, and make a cheap purchase of unbroken forest or prairie. As he descends the river he will have an opportunity of surveying the successive regions on its banks. He will receive much advice, which ought to be used with caution and discretion. Some have taken a fondness for a particular district, which they support at all hazards; others wish to attract neighbours to their own vicinity; others again seek to deter them, in order that they may pasture their cattle on the unoccupied surrounding tracts of forest. The next question is, whether to choose forest or prairie? The former as yet has been generally the subject of preference; but Mr Birkbeck rather conceives that the prairie will rise in value when it is discovered that by fencing and draining it will make often the very finest land, without

the severe and gloomy toil which attends the clearing of heavily-timbered ground. It should seem, however, that these operations, which require to be performed on a great scale before any fruit can arise from them, are not very well suited to the many, whose funds and resources are limited. The felling of the trees, on the contrary, can be taken at leisure, and every step in the process is an immediate good.

We must now turn our view to the British American emigrant, whom we have already landed at Quebec. He is strongly advised to prefer that port to New York or Halifax, whence he has to transport himself and baggage by a long land-journey to Upper Canada. This advice, however, was given before the completion of the great New York canal, which forms a continued water-communication between the city of New York and Lake Erie, whence, by crossing the Niagara territory, the steam-vessels of the Ontario would afford a conveyance to York or Kingston. We have not, however, met with any estimates formed upon this new route. From Quebec then the emigrant will be rapidly conveyed in steam-vessels to Montreal for 15s. of steerage-passage-money. From Montreal the long chain of rapids is to be passed, and a passage through them may be taken in one of the bateaux, which will cost £1, 8s., and he will be conveyed in about a week to Kingston. Thence a steerage-place in the steam-packet, costing 15s. will convey him to York, the seat of the Land Office, and situated in the finest district of Upper Canada. The tract from the mouth of the Niagara river to the head of Lake Erie is generally considered the most valua-

ble and desirable. Another on the south bank of the Ottawa, between that river and the St Lawrence, has of late been extensively colonized, especially by Scottish emigrants, who have given the name of Perth, Lanark, Huntly, to its leading stations. They are at present most conveniently approached from Kingston ; but when the Rideau Canal shall have reached its completion, which it is rapidly approaching, the Ottawa will become the grand line of communication to Upper Canada, and these settlements will be still more easily accessible.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have become of late very considerable seats of emigration, the reproach of barrenness which was long attached to them having been found only partially applicable. These countries are supposed to include four millions of ungranted acres, of which about half consists of good land. The expense of the passage is here much smaller ; the settler is nearer markets ; at the same time the soil scarcely in any case possesses the luxuriant fertility of Upper Canada, and the climate, often oppressed with fog from the Atlantic, is not quite so agreeable. The islands of Prince Edward, Cape Breton, the district of Gaspé on the Lower St Lawrence, and even some tracts of Newfoundland, are recommended as possessing the same advantages and general character ; but these last coasts, having yet no rudiments of settlement, and being destitute of towns, roads, and communications, cannot be resorted to with advantage by the individual emigrant.

Let us now endeavour to point out to the different classes of emigrants what they have to expect in

transporting themselves beyond the Atlantic, and whether they will act wisely in undertaking so mighty a change.

Emigration to America, as already observed, presents no longer any of those vague and brilliant prospects which dazzled the eyes of the early adventurers. They can hope no longer to share the spoil of kingdoms, to open sources of golden wealth, or to return and dazzle their countrymen with the treasures of the Western World. To earn simple plenty by a life of labour is all that America now offers. Yet such is the pressure of circumstances, that thousands for this alone gladly abandon all that is attractive in the idea of country and home, and become the citizens of a remote and almost savage territory.

The increase of population, and its disproportion to the means of subsistence, operate by no means exclusively on the lowest classes of society. Each, as it rises in the scale, throws out a surplus who want the means of preserving those habits and that place in social life in which their birth placed them, and which it must be painful and humiliating to lose. Although country, therefore, possesses greater attractions for this than for the inferior classes, they do not hesitate to make the sacrifice, and eagerly seek civil and military employment in India and the colonies, even when the income is not very ample. But to the higher and even to the upper part of the middling classes, America has not been found to offer any very tempting prospect. The learned professions of law and medicine, forming a species of aristocracy, which alone rises above the general level, are over-

crowded even there; and a foreign competitor, unless possessed of an eminence which would make him little inclined to emigrate, would excite jealousy. In the church, we believe, the opening is greater, and there has been some clerical emigration; but the members of this body have usually corporate ties and attachments at home, which they are reluctant to quit. Merchants, especially of a speculative description, seem to abound beyond the extent of employment that exists for them; a considerable number are emigrants, but seem rather to have embraced this pursuit under the impulse of circumstances and opportunities, than to have gone out with a view of becoming merchants. The only class who have sought to find in the West the means of living in wealth have been opulent farmers, who hoped to raise themselves into proprietors, and to cultivate estates without the burden of rent, tithes, rates, or taxes. The causes have already appeared which render these expectations delusive, and which limit the western farmer to a small scale of operation and a moderate competence. Mr Birkbeck has indeed made a calculation, how, upon an investment of £2000 upon land in Illinois, the farmer may support himself, defray all his expenses, and clear a profit of £450. His estimates, however, are understood to have completely failed; and it may deserve remark, that they are founded on the presumption that both wheat and Indian corn will bring nearly double the price which he himself states them to bear in the more improved district of Indiana. (Letters, p. 46-7. Notes, p. 143.) But, indeed, this western district must labour for years,

and even ages, under two heavy wants, those of markets and of money. The territory is rich, but only in productions common to it with the other temperate climates. It yields no peculiar or exclusive article which will bear a value in the general market of the world. The same rude products of the soil are still the staple of the most improved territories of Eastern America ; so that those of the interior, after being burdened with a land or water carriage of two or three thousand miles, reach a market already glutted. This want is not so severely felt at first. The surplus is then small, and is taken off by the government establishment, or by the succession of new emigrants, who bring always some money, and must for a year or two purchase the necessaries of life. Both these resources, however, disappear or become trifling as the country is filled with settlement and cultivation ; and the farmer sees a superfluous produce accumulate, of which he has no means of disposing. Mr de Roos knew a gentleman in Canada who had a farm of several hundred acres, yet was fain to ply in the steam-packets on Lake Ontario, for the sake of earning a few dollars in hard cash. This want of money is combined, indeed, with the means of plentiful subsistence ; but it becomes thus almost impossible to support what in Europe is called genteel life. The British gentleman, in his tastes and habits, is almost quite an artificial being. The remotest extremities of the earth must contribute to his humblest meal. He cannot breakfast unless the tea of China be combined with the sugar of Jamaica ; the wines of France or Portugal must be

placed on his table ; the spices of India must season his victuals ; he must be dressed in the cloths of Wiltshire, the silks of Lyons, and the linens of Silesia. But these foreign luxuries, which the habits of European life have converted into necessities, can only be procured by some article which, bearing a price generally over the world, can be turned into money, the common measure of value. The person who has overcome his European habits may indeed live very happily, with every necessary, some luxuries, and complete independence. But most Europeans, even in the middle rank of life, will probably look with horror on the idea of renouncing this second nature, which has been so completely formed in them. The bulk of the emigrant population, then, must long consist of wealthy peasants, dressed in home-spun cloths, cultivating their own ground with their own hands, and living in simple plenty. For the higher ranks this continent affords no refuge ; and scarcely for any in the middling classes who do not stand nearly at the bottom of the scale. The exclusion from social intercourse, the distance from church, the want of any opportunity of attaining the higher branches of education, must also operate strongly with those accustomed to the accommodations and elegances of European life.

Having thus excluded all classes except the lower, and those raised a few steps above them, we may observe, that for them, provided they can face the first hardships and difficulties of settlement, the change appears to be very decidedly favourable. Those who were at home in a state of distress and starvation are re-



lieved, and enjoy a secure and plentiful subsistence. Even the labourer, who did not want employment here, is elevated some steps in the scale of society. The petty farmer and tradesman also, though they may not be wealthier, will be in a more secure, independent, and comfortable condition. Generally speaking, those who are well at home will act wisely in remaining; but, for the many whose situation, as to employment and circumstances, is essentially bad, a removal to the transatlantic regions affords a fair promise of relief.

It is the transportation, meantime, of the lowest rank, of those who are either in or on the very verge of pauperism, that is, in a national view, the object of emigration. The difficulty is how they are to find the means of conveyance across so great an ocean, and of subsistence till they can make the ground to yield it. Under these views, government have been induced, in repeated instances, to facilitate and encourage emigration, not only by free grants of land, but by defraying a part or the whole of the expense of conveyance, and even by furnishing agricultural instruments and rations of provisions for a certain period.

The first emigration under the auspices of government took place in 1815. The terms announced in the commencement of that year consisted in free passage, and a grant, on arrival, of a hundred acres, the same to be hereafter bestowed on each male child attaining the age of 21. The settlers were moreover to be furnished with rations for at least six or eight months, and with agricultural implements at a

cheap rate. In return, each head of a family was to deposit £16 for himself, and £2, 2s. for his wife, to be repaid at the end of two years in case of their being found regularly settled on the lot assigned, and employed in bringing it under cultivation. It was announced, as indeed the terms showed, that these encouragements had less in view the inducement to emigration itself, than the directing that which would spontaneously have taken place towards Canada. This system of transporting those only who could have transported themselves, had evidently no reference to the relief of a pauper and suffering population; and it was liable to the additional objection, that those who could command £16 were likely to be the most respectable of the labouring class, the loss of whom at home might be somewhat severely felt. However, from Scotland alone about 700 accepted these conditions, and were conveyed to Quebec. They declined the invitation of government to accept lands in Lower Canada, and were conveyed up to Montreal. Some accepted employment in that city, and even in the United States, though by so doing they forfeited their deposit-money. A considerable number were located in Glengarry district, which extends along the river above Montreal. The rest, amounting to sixty families, were maintained during the winter in the barracks at Brockville, and proceeded in spring towards the Ottawa. Here they founded Perth, which, being re-enforced by military colonies and successive bands of emigrants, has become an important station, and the centre of a number of other settlements. In the following year it

was expected that government would have repeated the same terms ; but they allowed only land, agricultural implements, and rations for one year,—terms which, however, were sufficient to attract a considerable body of fresh emigrants. In 1818, Mr Robertson brought out a useful body of emigrant farmers from Perthshire, who paid their own passage, but were conveyed by government to the lands assigned to them.

In 1820, a severe pressure was felt in the manufacturing districts of the west of Scotland, and alarming symptoms of discontent had even been manifested. Under these circumstances, petitions were forwarded to government to convey and settle in Canada a number of the distressed operatives. This prayer was not granted in its full extent ; but a promise was made, for those who could effect their own passage, of a grant of land, and £10 in money to be paid by instalments after their arrival. Nine hundred accepted these terms, and 196 more, by means of subscriptions in London and Glasgow, were enabled to follow. They were forwarded to Perth, and settled in two neighbouring townships, one of which was called Lanark. The accounts transmitted to Scotland being favourable, applications were made next year from a much greater number, amounting to between six and seven thousand ; but as only eighteen hundred and eighty-three were found to have the means of paying their passage, that number alone was embarked, and they furnished the means of adding two new townships to the Lanark settlement.

The condition of Ireland, from its excessive popu-

lation, poverty, and discontent, having long drawn the attention of government, it was determined in 1823 to employ £15,000 by way of experiment in removing a colony to Canada out of its most distressed southern districts. Mr Peter Robinson, who was employed to conduct this colony, found at first some jealous feeling among the people; but, having by judicious conduct succeeded in removing it, he had the offer of much greater numbers than he was able to receive. They came even to the sides of the ship, and were much disappointed at not obtaining a passage. Their number was five hundred and sixty-eight, consisting chiefly of dispossessed farmers, and almost all Catholics; and they were located about three hundred miles above Quebec. The whole expenses amounted to £12,900, being about £22 for each emigrant. The accounts were favourable; and, in 1825, government having allowed the larger sum of £30,000, Mr Robinson embarked at Cove two thousand and twenty-four persons, who on their arrival were located in Newcastle and Bathurst districts. Government have continued to allow annual sums of similar amount, and within the two last years have directed a considerable proportion to the unoccupied lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

These experiments, on a limited scale, having succeeded, it has come under deliberation, whether a great effort could not be made at once to throw off the redundant population which presses so heavily on the three kingdoms. It appears evident that they could most commodiously, and with a great addition of comfort, spare a million of their present inhabit-

ants ; but as none of the estimates offer any assurance, that the transportation and all the expense of settlement could be reduced materially below £20 a head, this would amount to the very alarming sum of twenty millions sterling, which the nation in its present circumstances can scarcely be expected to disburse for any object whatever. It has been necessary, therefore, to consider the various modes in which the burden might be lightened. One suggestion is, that repayment of the sums advanced to the emigrants might be required and expected from them in the course of ten or twelve years. These expectations, it is to be feared, are too sanguine. We have already noticed the extreme scarcity of money under which these new settlements already labour, which must for a long time continue to press harder and harder, and would be aggravated in an extraordinary manner by throwing in at once so great an additional body of agricultural producers. Even the limited emigrations between 1817 and 1823 occasioned an extraordinary fall in the prices of produce. A barrel of flour sunk from fourteen to four dollars; a bushel of potatoes from two dollars to one shilling; a bushel of wheat from four dollars to four shillings; beef or mutton from ninepence to threepence. A settler complained to Colonel Cockburn, on his return to Canada, after an interval of years,—“ You left us without food, and now we have more food than we know what to do with.” There seems reason to apprehend, therefore, with the addition proposed, that the products of agriculture would become so superabundant as to be almost without any marketable value. The feeling also of the

moral obligation to repay advances made by government would be much fainter than in the case of private creditors. These sums could only perhaps be levied by legal process,—a mode equally odious and distressing, and, where the whole population of a country were in the same condition, probably inefficient. Colonel Cockburn mentions several cases, on a small scale, of relief afforded in periods of difficulty, the accounts of which were kept open for a considerable time, but finally closed from the impossibility of collection. It seems essential then to put aside every idea of the repayment of millions out of Canada ; and government can look to no other mode of lightening the expenditure, than from the constitutions of corporate bodies, or classes of individuals, whom just claims, or feelings of personal kindness, may attach to the emigrant-population. In England the poor-rates are especially contemplated ; and where the system of affording relief to able-bodied but unemployed labourers has been established, it seems really the interest of the rate-payers to make an effort at once for the removal of those who are likely to become frequent burdens upon them. They could not perhaps defray the whole of so great an expenditure ; for it would not be desirable to burden such a fund with debt ; but they might give considerable aid. It seems also fair to expect of the Irish landlord, who has the comfort and benefit of ejecting a body of superfluous tenants who were cumbering his ground, that he should take some interest in their not being exposed to utter destitution. In Scotland, where the parochial funds are applied only to the relief of the aged and

the infirm, with respect to which classes emigration is out of the question, there is no public fund from which aid could be drawn, and private contributions could not be expected to go far towards an object of such extent. Perhaps in Scotland there might be a greater proportion of labourers who could contribute something towards their own removal.

On the whole, when we consider the immense sums which have been spent in a few months of, perhaps, unnecessary warfare, the disposal of a few millions on so salutary and even urgent an object ought not possibly to be grudged by the public even in its present straitened circumstances ; however, there is little chance of its being actually done, the nation not calling for it, and ministers, unless under circumstances of real or seeming necessity, not being forward to involve themselves in the difficulties arising out of so large an expenditure. It is then important to give encouragement, or at least remove every obstacle, to that individual emigration which is taking place on a much greater scale than any yet despatched under government auspices. Between 1815 and 1824 the emigrants to Quebec increased from 5000 to 12,900 annually ; and the great ports of the United States received doubtless a still greater number. Many of these had of course great difficulties to struggle with, and, in the first instance at least, had no resource but to hire themselves as day-labourers. Indeed we find this course rather recommended for those who arrive without any, or with slender funds. Their earnings, used with economy, enable them to raise a little capital ; they acquire a knowledge of the country, and can

proceed with deliberation to the important concern of establishing themselves on a desirable spot. There seems little doubt, that there would be many in America, who, labouring under the severe want of servants, both for farming and domestic purposes, would very gladly pay the passage of an emigrant, in consideration of an indenture for not a very lengthened term of years. If so, they ought not, we think, to be deterred by the name of slavery, which would be unjustly applied to a transaction so often entered into with a mere view to the improvement and benefit of the person thus bound. Some such arrangement, in fact, took place with respect to the persons called German Redemptioners, who, on arrival, came under an obligation to serve for two or three years a master, who thereupon paid their passage. Some are even said to have defrayed their voyage in this manner who had money in their pockets, which they wished to reserve. This redemptioner system has been decried in consequence of instances of oppression on the part of the captains of vessels; but, provided a good system of regulation were concerted between the government and the persons in want of workmen, it does not appear why a large number of the distressed members of the labouring class might not in this manner be transferred across the Atlantic.

A spirited attempt to facilitate emigration on a large scale has been made by the Canada Company, established in 1826, during that period of sanguine enterprise, to which we owed the rise of so many *joint-stock* associations. This body purchased a *block*, as it is termed, of a million of acres in the London



district, to the east shore of Lake Huron, for which they stipulated to pay £145,000, of which, however, £45,000 was to be employed in the improvement of the country itself, and the payment to be made by annual instalments of £15,000. The Company, as appears from Mr M'Taggart's statement, do not convey over emigrants; but they have agents in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and other principal towns in Britain, and in Quebec and Montreal on the other side, from whom every information and direction may be obtained. On arrival, the settlers find themselves, not in the depth of a lonely and unfrequented forest, but in the midst of settlements and villages already organized, and where all the first difficulties are smoothed before them. When the circumstances, too, appear to justify such a step, the Company make advances to enable the settler to commence his operations. They dispose of a town lot of a quarter of an acre to each emigrant, and a country lot, of which the minimum extent is fifty acres. The price put on the former was at first £4; but it was found afterwards necessary to raise it to £6, and finally to £8. The country lots, at first 7s. 6d., were raised to 10s. and to 12s. 6d. per acre. This purchase-money was to be paid in five, six, or seven instalments, at convenient intervals. On these terms, by the end of 1827, about 300 lots, or 60,000 acres, had been disposed of. The centre of settlement was made at the village of Guelph, founded on the Speed, a branch of the Ouse, or Grand River of Lake Erie. These arrangements appear to have contributed very much to the comfort and satisfaction of the colonists; but we are concern-

ed to state, that the anticipations of extensive profit which the Company indulged have not been as yet realized. The blame, very hastily it should seem, has been attached to Mr Galt, the intelligent and ingenious person to whom the management had been intrusted. The plain truth, conformable to the views already given, appears to be, that the payment of half a million, or any thing approaching to that sum, in hard cash, out of the Canadas, must be very distant indeed. For the present, we doubt the Company must be content with the gratification of serving their country and countrymen, without any hope of that reward which their spirited exertions merited, and may perhaps attain at some future era.

Since the above observations were written, we have perused the remarks of Mr M'Taggart, Mr Head, and Captain Hall, on the interesting subject of emigration. These authorities vary considerably from each other ; but upon the whole there appears nothing to alter materially the views already given. Mr M'Taggart is certainly the most decided anti-emigrationist that we have ever met with. He deprecates particularly the emigration of Irish ; but really, when he estimates the term of an Irishman's life on the other side of the Atlantic at two years, conceiving, that if he enters a quarry, the rocks infallibly blow him up, or if he attempts to cut down a wood, the trees fall upon and crush him, he not having wisdom sufficient to remove himself from these dangers,—and that, at all events, he sinks speedily a victim to the want of common precaution against the inclemency of the climate,—it does not appear very possible to consider this nation

so wholly devoid of the common principle of self-preservation. Captain Hall, treating specially of the Irish colony brought out *four* years ago by Mr Robinson, considers their actual situation as excessively comfortable ; and Mr Head even apprehends, that the mud-cabins of the Irish form a more complete fence against the cold than the rudely-built stone cottages of the Scotch. Both these writers speak favourably of the lot of the industrious part of the emigrant-population ; and really, if they ripen that state into the simple abundance and gay contentment, of which Captain Hall has drawn so interesting a picture in the *Habitant*, there appears little more to desire. That writer even apprehends, that persons in the middling rank, who live on half-pay, or small annuities, provided they are very active and ready, as the expression is, to turn their hand to any thing, may transform pinching poverty at home into ease and abundance in Canada, and that they might even have a fair chance of meeting with as good society as in most country towns in England.

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The above three works having been published since the body of this volume was written and printed, we have examined them with the view of appending any additional information which they may be found to comprise. They make, however, no essential addition to the facts contained in the preceding work, and are chiefly interesting from the personal narrative and observations of the travellers. This is particularly the case with Captain Hall, whose pic-

tures of manners and social intercourse are drawn with so lively a pencil, and render his works so very captivating. Neither does it come within our scope to enter into the lengthened and interesting discussions upon the merits and working of the political constitution of the United States, which form so great a proportion of his book. There are, however, some particulars in these volumes which are necessary to bring down the picture of America to the present moment.

The most memorable changes now taking place in America relate to that immense system of inland-navigation which she has for some time been creating and extending. Already a mighty canal of 360 miles in length, the boast of America, connects the Hudson with Lake Erie. Another connecting that Lake with the Ohio, and consequently with the Mississippi, is on the eve of completion, and will establish an immense inland-line of above four thousand miles in length, from New York to New Orleans. Another great cut, uniting the Erie canal with Lake Ontario, is in equal forwardness.

The consequence of these great works has been, that the character of rapid growth, which has so much distinguished the American cities, is concentrating itself at New York and New Orleans, the keys to this grand system of inland-navigation. Baltimore, whose sudden rise astonished the world, is now standing still; and the same is the case with Philadelphia, which once ranked as the capital of America. These cities and their states, with a view to retrieve their fortunes, are forming vast projects. They contem-

plate either a canal or a rail-way, carried over the Alleghany, and connecting the Chesapeake with the Ohio. The former project has even been favourably reported on to Congress. Mr M'Taggart, however, treats with derision the idea of "locking the Alleghany;" and Captain Hall apprehends, that, if the Americans had either of these works made to their hands, no tolls which could be levied upon them would be sufficient to keep them in repair.

In Canada the Rideau Canal, connecting the Ottawa with Lake Ontario, has already been mentioned, and the original estimate as presented by government at £169,000. Mr M'Taggart, however, who went out for the express purpose of surveying its line, found that a solid and durable canal could by no means be constructed for such a sum, and the estimate has been raised to no less than £438,000. This canal, however, was undertaken for military purposes only, to facilitate communication and the conveyance of stores to Upper Canada in case of invasion. Captain Hall agrees with Mr Gillivray in thinking that it is too circuitous to become ever the commercial line between Lower and Upper Canada. The only mode of improving this is by removing the obstructions to the navigation of the St Lawrence, or, where they cannot be removed, making canals parallel to that river. Thus, it is conceived, the conveyance of goods from Quebec to Lake Ontario might be reduced from £4, 10s. to 15s. per ton. At present they may be conveyed from New York by the Erie Canal for £2, 13s. ; so that this last city must, in some degree, monopolize the commerce of Upper Canada, and even afford the most

commodious route for emigrants to proceed thither. The inhabitants of Upper Canada have really made most spirited attempts to improve their own inland navigation. They have completed, at an expense of £117,000, the important canal of La Chinè, by which a very dangerous part of the navigation below Montreal is avoided. A still more important project is, that of the Welland Canal, intended to connect Lake Ontario with Lake Erie by a line of forty-one miles, and which, as the latter is 330 feet higher than the former, will require thirty-seven locks. The estimate was £200,000, and the subscription being opened in 1826, divided into 16,000 shares of £11, 5s. each, has been filled up to the extent of 13,500 shares, which appears to afford good assurance of the accomplishment of the enterprise. In Nova Scotia also, Mr M'Taggart mentions a canal uniting together a chain of lakes so as to form an inland navigation of fifty miles, and not only connecting a very fertile territory with the coast, but opening access to very rich mines of slate, coal, iron, and copper.



## APPENDIX.

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### LIST OF IMPORTANT WORKS RELATING TO AMERICA.

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#### VOLUME I.

##### INTRODUCTION.—SUPPOSED EARLY KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICA.

- ZENI, Viaggi di Nicolo et Carlo, in Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e Viaggi*, tom. ii.
- TORFÆUS, *Gronlandia Antiqua, seu Veteris Gronlandiæ Descriptio*, 12mo. Hafniæ, 1706
- TORFÆUS, *Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ*, 12mo. ib. 1705
- SNORRO STURLO, *Historia Regum Septentrionalium*; edidit et illustravit John Perinskiold, 2 tom. fol. Stockholm, 1697
- GROTIUS *de Origine Gentium Americanarum*, 4to. 1642
- EGGERS. On the Real Situation of the Osterbygd (eastern coast) of Greenland. (In Danish.)—*Memoirs of the Society of Rural Economy at Copenhagen*. 1793
- ACOSTA. *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 4to. Seville, 1590. In English, 1604
- GARCIA (F. G.) *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*, fol. Valencia, 1607
- DE PAUW, *Récherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, 2 tom. 8vo. Berlin, 1768—9



**Essai sur la Question, Quand et Comment l'Amérique a-t-elle  
été peuplée, 5 tom. 12mo, Paris.**

## BOOK I.

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## BOOK II.

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